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The development of Canadianism in the English-language universities of Quebec, 1960-1970.

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To Sr. Budd:

With grateful thanks from
a Canadian, who appreciates
the friendship and help of
scholars to the South. Hopefully,
a permanent reminder of

Bob Gordon

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIANISM
IN THE
ENGLISH-LANGUAGE UNIVERSITIES
OF QUEBEC 1960-1970

A Dissertation

By

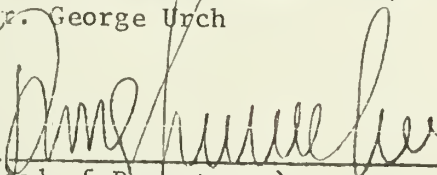
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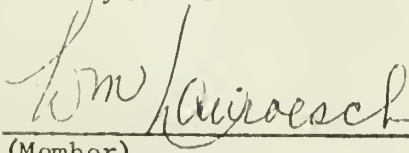
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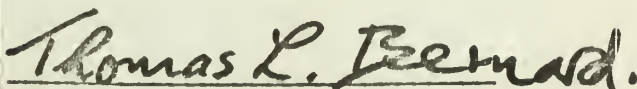
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By

Robert Arthur Gordon

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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CHAPTER I

NATURE AND SCOPE OF PROBLEM

Background

Throughout the decade of the 1960's, the Province of Quebec underwent a severe economic, educational, social and political transformation. This movement, which was commonly referred to as the 'Quiet Revolution', essentially and initially involved an attempt by French-Canadians in Quebec to develop the Province as they saw fit. In short, they wished to become 'Maîtres chez-eux', something which had always been denied them since the British Conquest in 1760, in practice, if not in theory.

The Quiet Revolution hoped also to gain for French-Canadians the same privileges enjoyed by English-Canadians, as the majority, across Canada. English minority rights had always been well protected in Quebec. French minority rights in Canada had been guaranteed nominally by the British North America Act of Confederation in 1867.¹ Yet because

¹J.H. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught, and Harry J. Crowe, A Source Book of Canadian History: Selected Documents and Personal Papers (Toronto, 1959), p. 264.

Confederation consisted of a pragmatic grouping of Provinces which left much jurisdiction in their hands, French linguistic and cultural determination has, in fact, been limited to the Province of Quebec.

As Canada developed, French-Canadians remained isolated for the most part in Quebec, rooted to their Church and to an economy based on agriculture and light industry. Before 1960 they rarely demonstrated any propensity to adapt to the requisites of a technological society. Although French-Canadians overwhelmingly have comprised the majority of population in Québec, the rapid increase in the numbers of Canadians who spoke English, and the accompanying economic domination of Quebec by English-Canadian and American interests, has not allowed French-Canadians to exercise a guiding control even in their 'own' Province. At the same time, the rest of Canada has been developed generally oblivious of the basic needs and rights of the minority French-Canadians.

The dynamic French-Canadian thrust during the last decade has altered the situation in Quebec. English-Canadians, especially those living in Quebec itself, have had to re-cast and to adjust their traditional attitudes and actions. The constant threat of secession, by which the radical French-Canadian Separatistes remind English-Canada that the pact of Confederation can be dissolved at any time, has contributed to this English-Canadian adjustment. The Anglophones have adopted positions ranging from extreme annoyance and/or protective defense mechanisms to ones of sympathetic appreciation of the French-Canadian plight. The

English, especially Quebec residents, became decidedly concerned about Canada's future. While it is true that few French-Canadians have openly opted for secession, it has also been suggested by knowledgeable commentators that for sound geographical, economic and political reasons there can be no viable Canada without Quebec.²

As a new decade begins in 1970, feelings on both sides promise to remain on a tense and emotional plane, at least until the whole question of Quebec's role within Confederation is settled definitively. It has been stated that if the Canadian entity is to survive, the language and culture of the French-Canadian must achieve parity throughout the country.³ Significant numbers of French-Canadians live outside Quebec and, more importantly, the French-speaking Quebecker can no longer continue to be a stranger in large sections of his own country. For bilingualism and biculturalism to work in Canada, French and English-speaking Canadians alike must work harder to functionalize that duality than they have in the past. The Federal Government recently passed an Official Languages Bill so that some political muscle could be given those who believe in

²For example, see Thomas Sloan, Quebec: The Not-So-Quiet Revolution (Toronto, 1965), pp.109-121.

³Report of Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, "General Introduction: The Official Languages" (Ottawa, 1967), pp. 145-49.

the duality of Canada based on the equality of the two founding peoples, the French and the English.⁴

Edward Corbett, an historian of contemporary Canada, has noted that whether or not the French-Canadian becomes truly an equal partner within Confederation depends in the final analysis on the English-Canadian.⁵ Canada is close to the large English-speaking American population to the south and possesses an important voice in the Anglophone British Commonwealth. Thus, the English-Canadian has been, and is, more secure than the French-Canadian. Unfortunately, for the most part he has not viewed the 'French' question even as being of his concern. Yet, if the dualistic concept of Canada is to mature, there will be increasing pressure for the English-Canadian to face the basic issues squarely.

The one-fifth of Quebec's population which is English-speaking has a key role to play in this regard. Their unique position creates a situation simultaneously tenuous and ideally suited to nurturing a successful French-English partnership. Ironically, the English-Quebeckers are now beginning to experience a similar isolation, historically felt by the French-Canadian in North America, in the 'new' Quebec itself. More important, they are in a position to demonstrate to the rest of Canada how two different language and cultural groups can co-exist

⁴This amendment to Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act was a direct result of the Report of Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which of course had been mandated by Ottawa.

⁵Edward M. Corbett, Quebec Confronts Canada (Baltimore, 1967), p. 144.

harmoniously, this by allowing bilingualism and biculturalism to be uniting strengths rather than dividing weaknesses.

Any society depends on its educational institutions to further the goals of that society. As the highest formal educational level, and funded for the most part by public money, the Quebec universities could well represent that Province's primary effort to produce the citizens most capable of coping with the demands of contemporary life. The comprehensive value of a university education is summed up in McGill University's Report, The University and Society:

. . . a university education should raise the fundamental questions about man and society. A student's knowledge of technical and managerial skills must be linked with knowledge of society, culture, and history because this knowledge is necessary for intelligent human judgements. Narrow techniques are soon obsolete, and a rapidly changing society requires people with educated imaginations and judgements.⁶

The McGill Report stresses also that "The university must be sensitive to the needs of society. . . ." ⁷ The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec endorsed for Quebec's universities the traditional functions, the transmission of knowledge, the training of specialists, and the carrying out of research.⁸

⁶ Report of the Tripartite Commission on the Nature of the University: The University and Society, (Montreal, 1969), p. 3.

⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

⁸ Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, Volume II, (Quebec, 1964), p. 62.

These are time-honoured and valuable commitments for any university. Yet, in view of Canada's dualistic concept of nationhood, there is another basic function for which Canadian universities are held responsible. The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism states this point thusly; "Canadian universities are the key institutions in analysing and informing us about the nature of our society."⁹ Therefore, it would seem reasonable to assume that the universities must disseminate an education which allows full representation of both sides of the Canadian linguistic and cultural make-up. Curricula offerings should reflect, whenever applicable, the dual nature of Canadian foundation and contemporary life. This is stated explicitly in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism:

Education in Canada must pay some attention to our cultural duality and to the implications of partnership. . . . Indeed, the existence of two cultural groups and their interaction is of such fundamental importance that it is not really an exaggeration to say that any judgements about Canada will be inadequate if these factors are ignored. This is true for any courses which deal with Canada at school or at university.¹⁰

Purpose of the Study

It has been suggested that the education implanted in Canadian university students can have relevance to the stable and harmonious

⁹Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II, "Education" (Ottawa, 1968), p. 288.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 271.

development of the Canadian nation. By coupling this concept with that which stressed the present vital position of English-speaking Quebecers, it would appear that the English universities of Quebec have a mandatory function to perform. It may be fair to say that in some ways the "Universities are clearly conscious of their role in informing Canadians about their society."¹¹ Yet a scansion of the present university scene attests that this function has not been performed so as to inculcate the duality of Canadian culture, and certainly not so as to ensure that all graduates possess an inherent bilingualism.¹²

This study sought to determine to what extent this duality has been disseminated, in particular, and to what extent Canadian content has been disseminated, in general, within the context of the Faculty of Arts curricula of the English-language universities of Quebec, namely McGill, Sir George Williams and Bishop's, during the period 1960 to 1970. It sought to ascertain how these universities have adapted to the Quebec scene and to the search for Canadian nationhood. The fundamental purpose of the study was to provide a sound basis for making specific recommendations regarding the development of Canadianism at the universities.¹³

In order to facilitate the making of plausible recommendations,

¹¹ Ibid., p. 289.

¹² For example, see R.W. Torrens, Aims and Methods of Instruction in Language Departments of Canadian Universities, Research Report to Commission on Bilingualism (Ottawa, 1967).

¹³ By Canadianism is meant a viable concept of nationhood, involving a cooperative operationalizing of bilingualism and biculturalism.

five basic questions had to be answered. These were as follows:

- 1) What social, political and economic factors have influenced the historical development of education in Quebec?
- 2) What factors, historically, have influenced the making of curriculum in the English-language universities?
- 3) What were the curricula trends featuring Canadianism at the universities during the Quiet Revolution?
- 4) What were the personal characteristics of faculty at the universities during the Quiet Revolution?
- 5) What were contemporary (1970) faculty attitudes towards Canadianism and 'Canadian' curricula?

The first two were important in that they provided the background information necessary to establish the proper perspective for an examination of contemporary issues. The last three were important in that they provided the data from which the recommendations were formulated. It was felt that a knowledge of curricula offerings and change during the period 1960 to 1970 would provide a measure of what had been done to foster Canadianism; also, that a knowledge of present faculty attitudes would provide some indication as to the direction curricula dealing with Canada and Canadianism might be expected to take in the future.

As a means to answering the basic questions, the study tried to determine:

- a) what changes were made regarding compulsory and elective courses, regarding major and minor requirements, and regarding university academic requirements;

- b) what new courses and programs of study were instituted during the 1960's;
- c) what were the stated aims of the various disciplines whose curricula content in any way dealt with Canada;
- d) how effective were the programs and curricula dealing with Canada;
- e) what trends were evidenced regarding ethnic origins of faculty;
- f) what trends were evidenced regarding academic employment;
- g) what were contemporary faculty attitudes regarding the inculcation in students of a competent bilingualism and a sense of biculturalism, and;
- h) what were contemporary faculty views regarding the viability and relevance of curricula in terms of social, cultural and intellectual awareness of the Canadian duality.

Research Methodology

Various research tools were utilized to gather the data required to answer the five primary questions posed in the section outlining the purpose of the study. These could be enunciated as: a) primary published and printed sources; b) secondary published sources; c) interviews and; d) questionnaires. In some instances, one tool provided all the data from which the answer to the question was drawn. In others, a combination of tools was employed.

1. Historical Development of Education in Quebec:

To gather the data pertinent to this aspect of the study, strictly secondary published sources were utilized. Books, reports and newspapers provided the material from which the data was collated to sketch the facts in broad outline. These sources were employed with a view to relating four specific aspects of historical development: a) the Canadian struggle to establish a national identity; b) Quebec's particular struggle within the confines of Confederation; c) the development of education in the Province, and; d) the implications for the present and future.

2. Historical Development of the Universities:

To examine the development of the Arts Faculties of each university, from the chartering date to the present, the tools of the historical method were utilized. Primary sources, such as catalogues, records, departmental reports, Faculty minutes, institutional reports and briefs, and secondary sources, such as histories of the universities, journals and yearbooks were perused to facilitate the accumulation of the relevant data. The historic aims were not examined in great detail. The purpose merely was to view curricula trends through time, so that historical perspective could be given the contemporary aims and curricula, which were treated more extensively. A knowledge of this material was essential if the study was to draw sound and meaningful conclusions regarding both future curricula direction and the viability of curricula offerings as a method of transmitting Canadianism.

3. Curricula Trends 1960-1970:

To determine significant curricula change and aims during the period of the Quiet Revolution, more than one method was utilized. Primary sources, namely university catalogues, reports of the universities, the Faculties of Arts and departments, and minutes, were of more value than any secondary sources which, in fact, could only be peripheral to this aspect of the study. While other primary sources, such as textbooks, reading lists and syllabii were incorporated where possible, the research for this section relied heavily on catalogues and reports. A thorough analysis of course offerings was carried out for the decade in question.

A singularly valuable source, for data pertaining to curricula plans and contemporary aims especially, was the interviews conducted with department chairmen. The interview in toto attempted to incorporate various data applicable to more than one phase of the study; but it dwelt in depth on departmental aims and curricula emphases regarding Canadian content. The interview was administered to this sample because departmental chairmen represent the best source for data concerning curricula developments. Furthermore, the numbers of chairmen per se did not pose an impossible task in terms of the feasibility of carrying out individual interviews. Chairmen of various disciplines within the Faculty of Arts, such as classics and psychology, were not interviewed because their subject matter tended to be outside this study's focus. The disciplines of concentration included English, French, economics, political science, sociology, history and geography. A discipline-by-discipline analysis

was undertaken with a view to discovering general or significant themes. Examples from each university were used where applicable.

An interview schedule, which greatly facilitated the systematization of collected data, was constructed so as to gain information from each department on pre-determined categories and through a similar format.¹⁴ The desired information concerned: a) the aims of departmental curricula; b) the nature of curriculum change; c) plans for future change, and; d) the chairman's opinion regarding the viability and importance of departmental curricula offerings in terms of the situation encountered by a nation having two predominant ethnic groups. Notes were taken at the interviews, with usually only the interviewer and the respondent being present. In order to allow for unforeseen and opinionated responses, the questions were open-ended. The responses were collated by the researcher and interpreted as fairly and as accurately as possible.

4. Characteristics of Faculty:

To examine the characteristics of faculty during the 1960's, several methods were utilized. As it was felt that staffing changes could have had some influence on curricula, (e.g., as in the case of French-Canadians as new faculty), an examination of faculty additions and resignations was carried out. Again, catalogues were the chief tool in providing data regarding appointments and leavings, and regarding such biographical entries as ethnic origin, universities attended and courses taught. The interview

¹⁴The interview schedule can be found in Appendix B , pp. 191-2.

with department chairmen was also used for this purpose because chairmen clearly were a key source for enunciating departmental personnel. Departmental personnel policies, including actual personnel change and the reasons for such change, were prominent items in the interview schedule.

5. Contemporary Faculty Attitudes:

To gather the data which could demonstrate faculty perceptions regarding curricula emphasizing Canadianism, a survey questionnaire was utilized. An interview technique was precluded due to the large numbers which made up the population to be sampled in this case. The questionnaire was designed to provide a different perspective towards Canadian curricula than that realized from the interview with department chairmen. It sought attitudes rather than factual responses. These attitudes were considered significant because at universities faculty are important to the formulation of departmental curriculum (policy). They are virtually dictatorial in terms of actually implementing curriculum through individual courses.

The questionnaire was administered to all full-time faculty (including chairmen) in the Faculty of Arts at McGill, Sir George Williams and Bishop's in 1970-71. It was examined for inappropriate and ambiguous items and pre-tested with faculty at Dawson College in Montreal.

Besides seeking substantial biographical data, the questions hoped to measure opinion.¹⁵ The questionnaire was essentially concerned with the following:

1. In the preparation of students, what obligation does a university have to society?
2. How effective is your present university in preparing students for life in the dual society of Quebec?
3. In terms of curricula content in general and in your individual departments, what importance should be attached to Canadian content?
4. What compulsory courses and/or competency requirements in the French language should be required of students graduating in Arts?

The data concerning the questionnaire were analysed, utilizing a process which consisted primarily of seeking relationships between a number of variables. It centered upon the associational probability of the biographical variables and the scaled responses. Frequency counts and descriptive percentages were tabulated for each combination.

6. Resumé:

The dissertation devoted a definitive chapter to each of the primary questions posed earlier in this statement. It was felt that the

¹⁵See Appendix C, pp.193-5.

various data to be collated from the several avenues would provide some basis for drawing some conclusions regarding the development of Canadianism through curricula in these universities. The concluding chapter, then, presents the findings and problems, uncovered during the research, regarding curricula assessment and faculty attitudinal evaluation, in related context and in global terms. It presents, also, some recommendations regarding the development of Canadianism at Quebec's English-language universities.

Definition of Terms

1. The English: Those Canadians who accept the English language as their primary tongue.
2. The French: Those Canadians (almost entirely of Francophile extraction) who accept the French language as their primary tongue.
3. Anglophone: A person whose mother or primary-tongue is English.
4. Francophone: A person whose mother or primary-tongue is French.
5. Universities: The three English-speaking universities of Quebec, namely McGill, Sir George Williams and Bishop's.
6. Chairman: Head of a department within the Faculty of Arts.
7. Professor: A full-time member of University faculty with rank of Lecturer or above.
8. Attitude: Position assumed by respondent of questionnaire on a scaled item.
9. Quiet Revolution: The resurgence of French-Canadians in Quebec to forge the leadership of their Province, and to gain just rights throughout Canada, beginning about 1960.

10. Bilingual: The speaking of both French and English, the two Official Languages of Canada.
11. Bicultural: The acceptance and understanding of the two heritages which form the nucleus of Canadian life: French-Canadian (originally from France); and English-Canadian (originally from the British Isles).
12. Canadianism: A viable concept of nationhood, involving cooperative operationalizing of bilingualism and biculturalism.
13. Canadian content: Any curricula content which dealt with Canada.

Limitations of the Study

It is logical to assume that the period 1960-1970 should have brought widespread change to the English-language universities of Quebec. The Quiet Revolution, in particular, was serious and complex. The (Western) world, in general, underwent rapid technological advances and assumed a new set of values, the latter being especially influenced by the youth culture. A study which attempted to encompass all facets of change connected with the Quebec university scene, however, would have been too overwhelming to be justly examined by one researcher.¹⁶ Curricula of the disciplines which focus on Canadian topics, (i.e., the social sciences and the humanities), did provide a manageable subject for research, and this was fortunate. Furthermore, while some attention was given graduate curricula in terms of what is offered per se, in essence the study as defined concentrated on undergraduate curricula.

¹⁶For example, administration, government, admissions.

The fact that only the Faculty of Arts was examined presented a limitation as to the comprehensiveness of the study. It should be noted that the study could not hope to be representative of the university body as a whole. Students in other university Faculties have also been subject to certain compulsory courses and regulations; these students must also prepare to live in Quebec's dual society. Important segments of university curricula which operate outside the jurisdiction of the Faculty of Arts, and the faculty in those categories, together representing a large percentage of the total university output, have not been considered in this study.

It should be pointed out that the institutions being examined comprised only the English-language universities of Quebec. No consideration was given to the development of Canadianism in the French-language universities. It should also be noted that the institutions which comprised the study's focus did not include all English ones in Quebec which offered programs leading to a first degree. While officially there are only three chartered universities, other colleges and university-affiliated institutions did, in fact, offer programs which are very similar at bachelor's level. As this study was not concerned with graduate programs, except in a cursory way, these institutions could legitimately have been included in the study. Moreover, whereas Bishop's University grants its own degrees, they are virtually all at bachelor's level, and its one thousand students attend a campus located rurally one hundred miles from Montreal. On the other hand, Loyola College, despite being able to confer degrees only through the University of Montreal, enrolls close to four thousand students and is situated in urban Montreal. Nevertheless, the

three official universities do enrol about seventy-five percent of the English students in higher education, and thus provided representative evidence as to the direction being taken by Anglophone institutions of higher education in the Province, in terms of adapting curricula to the requisites of contemporary Quebec.

The recent (1969-70) inception of the English post-secondary compulsory college for high school graduates, prior to gaining university entrance, should be mentioned. These institutions are beginning to fulfill the functions traditionally carried out during the universities' first two years: the time when the compulsory and prerequisite courses (e.g., French) have been taken. While the development of the universities from 1960 to 1969 has not been influenced by this innovation, it is clear that current and future curricula will be, especially as the general program of the colleges will allow the universities to become even more specialized than in the past. This factor should not detract from the thrust of this thesis; its potential influence should be noted, however.

Several practical limitations affected the research. The recency of the period under consideration precluded gaining access to certain important but confidential files and records. Administrative reform at universities, in general, however, now has made departmental and Faculty files available, and this was not a serious problem. Again, the potentially sensitive nature of the questions to be asked of the university personnel made it difficult in some cases to gather frank and suitable responses.

Therefore, the questioning during interviews was carried out as tactfully as possible so that respondents did not feel overly threatened. Anonymity and confidence were respected completely for the questionnaire responses in order to enhance reliability of response and to preserve the validity of the study. While anonymity was difficult to respect in terms of the interviews with chairmen, due to the obviously limited number of universities and disciplines, confidence was respected at all times.

Some of the data was gathered from university publications, especially catalogues. In certain instances, data became incorrect a posteriori, but it was not possible to know this from the printed catalogue. Again, professors are not bound to cover course content as exactly outlined in the catalogues. Generally, however, it was assumed that catalogues contained accurate information. It should also be pointed out that the questionnaire did not attempt to produce empirically valid data. It merely sought to establish some general trends regarding faculty attitudes.

Related Studies

As far as could be determined, no other study had attempted to measure and to evaluate the English universities of Quebec in terms of curricula change, and certainly not with reference to the variables to which this study addressed itself. In Canada, few academic dissertations had dealt with Canadian Higher Education.¹⁷ Thus, it was not surprising that

¹⁷ National Library of Canada, Canadian Theses; Published Annually, (Ottawa, 1962-68).

Dr. E.F. Sheffield, Professor of Higher Education at the University of Toronto, in discussing the general field of theses, stated: "You are not likely to find many, if any, within the past few years dealing with university curricula. . . ."¹⁸ Again, few completed at American universities dealt with Canadian Higher Education, and those that had devoted primary emphasis to teachers' programs. Dissertations concerning the curricula of American universities, while valuable in the general sense, had little applicability to the variables presented by the Quiet Revolution to the Quebec universities. In short, as an avenue for related research, the area of academic dissertation was not fruitful.

Just as most theses in Education have been in areas other than higher education, the efforts of Professors of Education in Canada tended to focus on lower levels. There are less than a handful of Professors of Higher Education in Canada. As a result, as Dr. Sheffield pointed out in his paper entitled Canadian Research on Higher Education, most of the work undertaken in the field has been carried out by faculty, students and laymen outside the academic departments of Education.¹⁹

In this regard there were two major sources. The first was the institutional self-study. Most major studies in this category provided only peripheral background value to this dissertation. Some dealt primarily with university government and the roles of constituents, as was the case with

¹⁸Letter, Dr. E.F. Sheffield to Robert Gordon, February 16, 1970.

¹⁹Edward F. Sheffield, "Canadian Research on Higher Education", paper presented to the Association of Quebec University Professors of Education, Montreal, Quebec, September 26, 1969.

the Rapport of the Deschênes Commission at the University of Montreal and, while interesting, lent nothing of substance to this study. Others, in this vein, devoted at least a section to curriculum structure and departmental decision making. The Report of the Commission on the Government of the University of Toronto, and the Roy Report and the work of the Geoffrion Commission at Laval University were examples of this type.

Yet another type of institutional self-study confined attention to the teaching and learning aspects, and was of more value. For example, McGill University's Tripartite Commission on the Nature of the University: The University and Society devoted the second section of its preliminary report to "The Evolving Curriculum". It did not discuss actual curricula at McGill, but its papers examined practical learning mechanisms, the aims of the various core programs offered, and the involvement of the university's constituents in curricula formulation. The preliminary report of the Frumhartz Commission on Teaching and Learning in the Faculty of Arts of Carleton University, the 1967 University of Toronto study on Undergraduate Instruction in Arts and Science, and the Report of the Principal's Committee on Teaching and Learning at Queen's University pursued related avenues. The Toronto study, besides considerations of teaching and learning methodology, presented possible structuring of degree programs and course choice for each year of undergraduate work. The Carleton study, similarly, discussed alternative structures, and also specific course and departmental requirements. It offered as well the interesting results of a student survey concerning course choice and requirements.

Lately, there have been others appearing, dealing with the 'Americanization of Canada' at the universities. These dealt primarily with faculty typologies and, in that sense, although not examining the Canadian cultural duality, were valuable source materials for the faculty aspect of this study. Examples of this were the institutional studies at the Universities of Waterloo, Windsor and Alberta. Others presented a Calendar description of courses concerning Canada or not concerning Canada, as the case may have been, as at the University of Toronto. These studies were thematically related to this dissertation, although the philosophical thrust clearly was different.

The other major source was the voluntary and government agency. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, for example, produced a wide and up-to-date range of publications. Most of its work, while very comprehensive, was of a topical rather than an institutional nature and, thus, reference to individual universities was made only when the point at hand dictated. Moreover, the definitive works, such as the Bladen Committee Report on Financing Higher Education in Canada and the Duff-Berdahl Report on University Government in Canada, did not deal with curricula. This fact generally characterized the other agency research as well and, as a consequence, the value of this source in specific terms was minimal.

Despite their generalized nature, two studies were helpful. The Humanities Research Council Report by F.E.L. Priestley on The Humanities in Canada provided a detailed account of programs in the humanities at all Canadian universities. Unfortunately, it did not deal with specialized course content and, moreover, is rapidly becoming outdated. The more

recent supplement by R.M. Wiles offered only a bibliography of ongoing research, which is a loss to this study. Similarly, because of the Faucher-Timlin studies, (one in French, one in English), on the Social Sciences in Canada, prepared for the Social Science Research Council of Canada, tended to concentrate more on research topics, they were not as promising an avenue as their title seemed to suggest.

Thus, there was only one primary source which could be considered invaluable; the Report of the Royal Commission. Two were undertaken in education and published during the 1960's, one Federal, one Provincial. Both were commissioned as a direct result of the repercussions of the Quiet Revolution, and both had definitive mandates from the Government concerned. Both already have been influential in producing new and alternative structures for education in Quebec and, to some extent, in Canada. Fully documented and meticulously researched, both Reports are already standard reference works.

The Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Education in Quebec presented a comprehensive five-volume account of the total educational structure of Quebec. It was liberally sprinkled with recommendations, many of which have been adopted by the Provincial Government. One of the key recommendations falling into this category was the post-secondary system of colleges for general and vocational studies. These colleges, as was suggested in the limitations of the study, will transform the make-up

of the undergraduate university curricula; not only will they replace the first two years of university work, as does the American junior college but, in fact, only graduation from the college will entitle a student to proceed to the first year of a three-year bachelor's degree program. Like the European model, this degree will be more specialized and advanced than presently. This restructuring of higher education has important implications in that ultimately the post-secondary colleges will be responsible for much of the educational curricula designed to ensure harmony, flexibility and competence in a dualistic society as is that of Canada. In short, if the universities so desire, this function can be avoided at their level, as technically they will not be primarily responsible for it and, besides, do not enrol any more than a minority of the college graduates.

The Report dealt at length with the universities. It detailed current problems, especially the need for expansion and diversification of curricula on the French side. It also recommended that Loyola College, an English-Catholic institution, be elevated to limited university status; as yet, nothing has been done with this political football. As would be expected from a Report covering so much, it could not specifically discuss the curricula of any individual university like it could the state system of schools. It granted the universities their traditional autonomy regarding curricula offerings, because by being autonomous, each was different.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism concerned itself with those two subjects on a nation-wide basis, in an

attempt to analyse the situation and to suggest ways of improving the feeble actualization of the Canadian 'raison d'être',²⁰ and of preserving the shaky Canadian entity. Book Two, which is devoted entirely to Education, gave considerable attention to the universities both in terms of what has been transpiring and what, in fact, should take place. Specific recommendations included the improved teaching of the second Canadian language at university level and the application of truly Canadian course content whenever possible, instead of a slanted or one-sided version.

Undoubtedly, the most helpful data gleaned from any related studies were the Research Reports dealing with Education, which were submitted by individual scholars at the request of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Most were completed about 1966 and, of these, six with specific relevance for the universities should be noted. René Hurtubise's Le Système de la Province de Québec was a general source work, but it does devote a chapter to the universities, and an interesting section on the nationalistic tendencies of the Union Générale des Etudiants de Québec.

The other Reports were more directly concerned with curricula and attitudes. Valiquet's study, although dealing with lower level education, was most important to the university. After administering reading and listening tests to measure the effectiveness of French instruction in Canadian schools, he concluded that while Quebec and Ontario could be

²⁰ It should be noted that spelling in this dissertation will reflect 'British' English, as used in Canada, and that French phrases commonly used in English (Canada) will not be treated as foreign terms.

considered reasonable, but certainly not bilingual, the rest of Canada scored lower than norms for American fourth-year high school students. Furthermore, if Canada was not producing bilingual students in reading and listening, it could not be hoped to do so in the more difficult aspects of speaking and writing.

Torrens, in studying "Languages in Canadian Universities", stressed how pitiful was the situation in the English universities. While two-thirds of those surveyed did offer French-Canadian literature, the latter was not required even for those students specializing in French. Yet the French universities insisted on courses in English literature for their students. Torrens also discussed specific institutional admission and graduation requirements, and student registration in courses at various year levels. He recommended more be done to extend French-Canadian courses in the English universities, and especially those which consider the language itself. In a similar survey of the teacher-training institutions, again after examining admission and graduation requirements in French, Torrens concluded that the English ones were doing little to promote bilingualism and biculturalism. Since these people represented such a vital segment of the population in terms of shaping the minds of Canada's young, Torrens recommended sweeping revisions of existing programs.

Painchaud conducted a study involving the three truly bilingual universities: Ottawa; Laurentian in Sudbury, Ontario; and the Collège Militaire Royale at St. Jean, Quebec. Whereas the first two are private, it was interesting to note that the one which has experienced some success

in terms of providing its students, French and English, with a beneficial education in Canadianism, has been the Federally-run military college. In point of fact, Ottawa University and Laurentian University offer many (advanced) courses only in English, and the level of actual student bilingualism could only be termed deplorable.

Finally, Auclair and Read devoted the last of their three-volume study on business to "Cultural Differences in Leadership Among French and English Enrolled in Schools of Business". Although naturally enough all appeared more economically oriented than social humanitarian oriented, the French students gave more consideration to the latter factor than did the English. This factor was reflected in the two different standards of living for French and English. A more important factor, which was concluded from the findings of the business study, indicated that the French and English each conducted their style of business oblivious of the other group and its values. The authors stressed that if better cooperative interaction was not forthcoming, two management solitudes would polarize just as had other aspects of Canadian life. The implications for the Canadian society, in terms of development of competence and attitudes regarding bilingualism and biculturalism, were readily apparent.

Importance of the Study

There was some value in assessing curricula offerings and in evaluating faculty perceptions of curricula with respect to the development of Canadianism. Besides providing clues as to the role played by the three English universities of Quebec in preparing students to live in a mixed

society, some indication could also be ascertained as to the manner in which curricula offerings have been adapted to the 'new' orientations of Quebec.

Despite almost a decade of outspoken student dissatisfaction with university education, in general, the university faculty continue to exert the major influence in curricula decision making and implementation in North America. The central theme of The Academic Revolution, a definitive study of higher education by Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, clearly emphasizes this: "If this book has any single message it is that the academic profession increasingly determines the character of undergraduate education in America."²¹ There was reason to assume that because the American influence has been so pervasive, this process at Canadian universities would demonstrate a similar direction. Thus, faculty responses to pertinent questions could provide some suggestion as to the future curricula at these three universities in Quebec. Further, it was possible to suggest what preparation in Canadianism would be received by students in Quebec's Anglophone universities.

Finally, as it has been argued that the Province of Quebec represents the most important testing ground for the successful actualization of Canadianism, it was believed that the data could have import with respect to curricula development in the other English-speaking Canadian universities. In fact, in view of the precarious political position in which Canada has now been placed because of her historical neglect of the French-Canadian, the data could have implications for all English-Canadians who value the nation and the tenets upon which it was founded.

²¹ Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, N.Y., 1969), p. 510.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF QUEBEC IN EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The history of Quebec since the British Conquest has been unique. Two linguistic and cultural groups have developed life-styles virtually oblivious of the other. This situation has created serious problems for Quebec especially, but also for the total concept of Canada. Although Canada currently functions as a united country from sea to sea, age-old problems, emanating from Quebec, continue to arouse emotional reaction. It was thus important to elaborate upon the historical relationship between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians in order to place the focus of this study in proper perspective.

Search for Identity

Canada, having been blessed with one of nature's finest endowments, has been assured of a bright economic future. In the quest for a definitive identity, however, such assurance has by no means been guaranteed. The social stability which normally accompanies mature nationhood has yet to be attained in this young, vast, and thinly populated country. Root cause of such a situation lies primarily with the divisiveness of the two major ethnic factions, the French and the English. Partly because of French-Canadian feelings of apathy or futility, and partly because of the manipulations and

compromises of politicians of both cultural backgrounds, Canada has avoided both an immovable constitutional impasse and an irrevocable polarization. Nevertheless, the political arena has been constantly fraught with crises which focused on the inability of the majority English and the minority French to coexist in a state of mutual trust and harmony. It is fortunate that Canada has not experienced the trauma of civil war which has plagued many new nations.

The tension has existed primarily in the Province of Quebec. Variations in educational patterns for French and English have contributed to the malaise. The English in Quebec have been able to prosper in large part because of a progressive and pragmatic educational system which adapted to the demands of a rugged environment, as well as accommodating to other systems in North America. The French have not kept pace; classical education was offered to a small minority who progressed beyond elementary school. The Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, undertaken at the request of the Provincial Government at the outset of the Quiet Revolution in 1960, acknowledged the comprehensive superiority of the English system in comparison with that of the French.¹ In higher education especially, the English had developed excellence by borrowing freely from the best of British and American models. The Anglophone universities enrolled roughly the same number of students as did the French counterparts, despite

¹Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, (Quebec, 1966) passim.

the fact that the English population of Quebec has never comprised more than one-fifth of the total.² Educational imbalance has contributed to the unquestioned financial domination by the Anglophones in Quebec. The general lack of parity for the French language and culture in Canadian institutional development has been another key grievance. During the decade of the 1960's, the major issues of dispute were aired more openly and energetically than at any time since Confederation in 1867.

What have been the issues which have led to such a tenuous existence since Confederation, a compact which presumably consummated a union of the two factions? It is true that attempts at anglicizing the French had never achieved much success. The French-Canadian had clearly demonstrated that he had no intention of relinquishing the rights to his established religious and civil systems which had been guaranteed by the first British military regime in the 1760's, and legitimized by the Quebec Act of 1774.³ Yet official nationhood had come only after more than one hundred years of peaceful co-existence. Consequently, a unique feature of Canadian evolution had been the assumption that the two prime cultural groups, the conquering English and the defeated French, could join in equal and harmonious partnership. A trial partnership had been operative for some years prior to Confederation between Upper Canada (English) and Lower Canada (mostly French). The French had indicated a willingness to work beside English-Canadians in repulsing the

² See Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, (Quebec, 1966), Book II, "Les Structures Pédagogiques du Système Scolaire", Section 322, p. 206.

³ J.H. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught and J. Harry Crowe, A Source Book of Canadian History: Selected Documents and Personal Papers, (Toronto, 1959), pp. 57-8.

invading Americans during the War of 1812.⁴

Since the Conquest of 1760, the percentage of population representation for the two language groups has altered. The combination of aggressive immigrants from Britain and the influx of post-American Revolution United Empire Loyalists brought many Anglophones who established settlements throughout Canada. In the latter half of the nineteenth, and during the twentieth centuries, European immigrants invariably chose the Anglophone language due to the general linguistic nature of the North American continent. The French-Canadians, except for pockets left over from their colonial regime, remained largely in Quebec. Any French flow from Europe was cut off after 1760. Although the approximately 60,000 stranded by the Fall of New France have continued to multiply, the French have been increasingly overwhelmed in terms of total Canadian population.⁵ Mobility for the French has been limited due to language and cultural variance with Anglophone North America. To leave Quebec has virtually meant the end of a heritage carefully nurtured in Quebec. Evidence in this regard can be found in the sizable assimilated French populations of Ontario and New England.

The British North America Act of 1867, which marked the constitutional beginning of Canadian nationhood, had tried to define a fair and

⁴The omnipresent threat of American domination has continually provided Canadians with a reason for cooperation.

⁵Today there are approximately five million French in Quebec alone, and almost one in three Canadians is of French origin. Nevertheless, proportionately the percentage maintains a downward trend. See Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, "The Official Languages", Chapter II, 'Composition of the Population. The Two Main Language Groups', pp. 17-39.

workable duality. The actual contract of Confederation granted several major jurisdictions to the Provinces. It also gave primary consideration to the permanent dualistic nature of the Canadian population, and to the fact that spheres of influence for each language group were to be maintained.⁶ In contrast to the American concept of the 'melting pot', Canada has accepted and accommodated itself to the fact that the nation could embrace two primary cultures, French and English.⁷

Although the substantial French minority in Canada seemingly had been guaranteed full participation in the running of Canadian affairs, the facts suggest otherwise. Quebec's ability to exercise leverage has lessened each time another Province joined the original four of Confederation. In short, the history of the French since the Conquest has reflected a defensive struggle within the context of a social and political framework which shifted steadily to favour the Anglophones. In Canada as a whole, the English have enjoyed the superior role and benefits of the partnership. In Quebec, they have taken advantage of the constitutional guarantees and so, unwittingly or not, perpetuated the 'two solitudes' concept so eloquently drawn in Hugh MacLennan's novel of life in early twentieth century Quebec.⁸ The two language groups have proceeded educationally along separated tracks, intermingling superficially. It has followed directly that other essential walks

⁶See Seymour Martin Lipset, "Value Differences, Absolute or Relative: The English-speaking Democracies", in Social Foundations of Canadian Education, ed. by Anand Malik (Scarborough, Ontario, 1969), pp. 53-9.

⁷F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education (Toronto, 1968), p. 5.

⁸Hugh MacLennan, Two Solitudes (Toronto, 1945) passim.

of life have been separated as well. The rights of Quebec's English minority have always been fully safeguarded, especially in the field of education. This has not been the case for the French in other Provinces, even those with substantial French minorities.

The approximately one million Anglophones residing in Quebec have been able to flourish. Concentrated in the Montreal area, they have enjoyed the sophisticated economic products of an urban and industrial environment. They have always been close to the comforting outlets of New York and Ontario. They have tended to devote primary political attention to Federal affairs, and to leave the Provincial field largely to the French. If an honest French-English fusion has been unattainable in Quebec, it is understandable that the rest of Canada has been historically oblivious to the problem. Real comprehension has not been possible with such shallow contact between the two groups.⁹ More serious, as recently as the mid-sixties Claude Julien, a prominent Parisien political analyst, stated: "Today they know and trust each other so little that the continued existence of this 1867 Confederation pact is in doubt."¹⁰

Much of the blame for the present situation must rest with the Canadians of British extraction. In many ways, their traditional ties have endured more forcefully than have those of the French. The French-Canadian, having been dropped completely by France upon losing the French and Indian War, carved out an indigenous culture. The English-Canadian continued to

⁹ Edward M. Corbett, Quebec Confronts Canada (Baltimore, 1967), p. 259.

¹⁰ Claude Julien, Canada: Europe's Last Chance (New York, 1968), p. 2.

depend on Britain's lead for major decision making and to revere the tenets of Crown and Empire well into the twentieth century.¹¹ Britain had ratified complete independence in 1931 with the Statute of Westminster. Yet in 1964 the movement to replace the anachronistic emblem of the British Merchant Marine with a distinctly Canadian flag caused a split within Parliament, and demonstrated that Canadians were still far from universally agreed as to the meaning of Canadianism. Many Anglophone Canadians do not wish such a strong British tie as has existed historically. In fact, to many, the British liaison has presented frequently a serious block in the process of developing Canadianism. It has certainly affected French-English relations. Blair Fraser, a prominent Canadian journalist, stated that the debacle of the Queen's visit to Quebec in 1964 symbolized the dreary mutual feelings existing between the two major ethnic groups. Pessimists believed the unity of Canada had been destroyed, and even the optimists admitted it had been impaired in the first half of the 1960 decade.¹²

Further complicating the traditional French-English dichotomy, Canada breaks down on regional lines; the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, and British Columbia. The mutual antipathy regarding the constant possibility of Americanization clearly cannot be sufficient grounds for a nation's existence. The lack of a vital national thrust and prolonged foreign commitments has allowed each region to divert its primary attention to local

¹¹ Although the Canadian population is now multi-cultural, the Anglo-Saxons have always maintained the strongest bases of power. See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto, 1965).

¹² Blair Fraser, The Search for Identity: Canada 1945-1967 (Garden City, 1967), p. 208.

problems. Because the Act of Confederation allocated natural resources to provincial jurisdiction, regional interests have often reflected insularity and selfishness.¹³ Frequently, obsession with local concerns has been a greater obstacle to Canadian identity than either the vastness of the land or the smallness of the population.¹⁴

Because the Act of Confederation granted educational jurisdiction to the Provinces, provincialism has emerged in this important field. The rationale had been clear and legitimate. Provincial control would enable the guarantee of language and religious rights. As Joseph Katz, a Canadian educator and researcher, points out, an unforeseen side effect emerged:

Provincialism rather than nationalism has tended to emerge as a result of the way in which the several educational systems have been developing. Good as it is that each province is seeking to find the best education for itself, there nevertheless remains the fact that regionalization and provincialism are dogging the footsteps of our graduates of the educational systems.¹⁵

In summation, it can be said that the history of Confederation has been less one of the cooperation of federated provinces than of a subtle battle between the Federal Government and the various provincial governments which constantly tried to sap the Federal power. This conflict has existed among groups of essentially similar ethnic and language background.

¹³ Stewart Reid, op. cit., pp. 258-9.

¹⁴ Julien, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁵ Joseph Katz, "Canadian Education Today", in Canadian Education Today, ed. by Joseph Katz (Toronto, 1956), p. 234.

It is understandable that when the two distinctly different language groups were called upon to cooperate in Quebec, there has existed a virtual de facto polarization.

Considering the forces which have hampered the development of nationhood, it is amazing that Canada has passed its Centennial year intact. Partial explanation lies in the fact that Federal Governments, especially in recent years, have been sensitive to Quebec. Although Anglophones outnumbered Francophones in Canada as a whole, careful consideration was given the minority which was so centrally established in Quebec. Such consideration, however, aimed more at maintaining the peaceful status quo than at attempting to functionalize the purported conceptualization of Canadianism. Another plausible explanation is that Quebec had been guided by Provincial Governments which nominally acknowledged Ottawa while solidifying their own power bases. Usually they simply adopted a form of passive acceptance of Federal hegemony by avoiding affairs of a Federal nature. Despite overt solidarity, the operationalizing of the Canadian duality working harmoniously throughout Canada has not yet been brought to fruition.

Nevertheless, during the decade of the 1960's, Canadians of both persuasions exhibited an aroused consternation regarding the future of their country. The catalyst was the awakening of Quebec's dormant nationalism. Sensing that not only could they move to participate more fully in the economic life of their own Province, but also that their collective weight could force a re-examination of the principles of Confederation, the French emerged from their cautious and isolated status. By flexing their political muscles

actively, they were able to effect leverage in Federal events. Modern Quebec wanted a full share in all aspects of national life without sacrificing its French heritage.¹⁶

The movement was no casual challenge to Canadian unity. Realizing that Quebec was most serious about both her dissatisfactions and expectations, and that her strategic location in Canada's heartland made Confederation vulnerable, a sensitive chord was at last touched in the usually complacent English population. It became apparent that Canada was passing through a serious struggle for national survival.¹⁷

Fortunately, many English viewed this development with optimism. In general, they reacted seriously to French requests for equality throughout Canada. They tried to appreciate the French viewpoint concerning the inadequacies of Confederation. This about-face was evidenced especially in Quebec. Doubtless their sudden insecurity in Quebec itself contributed to the changed mood. Tangible evidence of the shifting national position was cited in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. In response to the question of teaching French compulsorily in the schools of Canada, only thirty-six percent of the sampled population replied in the affirmative in 1943. By 1965 the situation had virtually reversed in that sixty-four percent felt that French should be taught.¹⁸ Another

¹⁶Corbett, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁷Johnson, op. cit., p. 180.

¹⁸Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II, (Ottawa, 1968), p. 201.

encouraging sign was that Canadians in general began to seek a bicultural identity through the creation of an indigenous culture.¹⁹

In the opinion of many federalists, the best way to break down the historical malaise and to realize an identity would be to integrate the two primary cultures and to operationalize both languages from coast to coast.²⁰ Such developments would actualize the national 'raison d'être', and eventually produce a truly Canadian population, one clearly distinguished from other nationalities. This population would be free from the threat of American domination. It could also act as a neutral liaison with Europe because it would not be a direct participant in the American-European competition.

In an effort to forestall the traditional provincial view, the governing Liberals in Ottawa during the late 1960's have fostered the 'cooperative federalism' concept. This compromise allowed leeway for the Provinces in matters directly concerning them, at the same time acknowledging the Federal Government's overall mandate.²¹ In the absence of concrete constitutional revision, the Liberal Government seemed willing to be flexible in discussing contentious issues. The federalist Prime Minister, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, a charismatic and bilingual scholar from Montreal, has had

¹⁹ Howard Adams, The Education of Canadians 1800-1867: The Roots of Separatism (Montreal, 1968, p. 117.

²⁰ See for example, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, "La Nouvelle Trahison des Clercs", in Ramsay Cook, Canada and the French-Canadian Question (Toronto, 1967), pp. 166-7.

²¹ See Porter, op. cit., pp. 383-5; also, Canada One Hundred 1867-1967 (Ottawa, 1967), pp. 293-304.

some success in bringing the nation together. Although there remains some hostility in Anglophone areas, due to the Federal Government's seeming pre-occupation with Quebec, the nation seems determined to preserve its unity. The kidnapping and assassination of Quebec's Minister of Labour, Pierre Laporte, in October, 1970, and the subsequent invocation of the War Measures Act by Trudeau, has produced an unprecedented outpouring of national solidarity.²²

A mood of concern and compromise has pervaded many aspects of Canadian life at the conclusion of a hectic decade. Canada now functions bilingually in all Federal business, under the Official Languages Act. The new Canadian flag emblazoned with the Maple Leaf proudly flies. Inroads made in the realm of education are further grounds for optimism. Ontario, New Brunswick, Manitoba and Saskatchewan have agreed to initiate French language schooling. Glendon College, of York University in the heart of Anglophone Toronto, has set total bilingualism as its goal.²³ There is some reason to hope that Canada can proceed into her second century as a maturing nation confident of finding identity.

Quebec at the Cross-Roads

Whatever the future, it can be safely assumed that the French-Canadian view will have a definite influence on Canadian evolution. In Quebec, where the areas of dispute are the most pronounced, serious issues

²²See Montreal Star, October-November, 1970, passim.

²³Johnson, op. cit., p. 182.

remain to be resolved. Those issues had been articulated by the exponents of the Quiet Revolution, which had surfaced about 1959. Since that time, the traditionally tacit acquiescence to clerical dictate, and the English monopoly of financial and managerial power, have been challenged more than in all the total period of combined English-French existence in Canada.

The Quiet Revolution had been precipitated by an emergent group of social scientists who saw Quebec's decadence in new perspective. Seizing the initiative on the death of Premier Maurice Duplessis, who had ruled for two decades through patronage, rural over-proportionment of legislative seats, and Church help, the 'revolution' marked the first French-led drive to participate in the economic growth of North America on their own terms. Duplessis' hand-picked successor, Paul Sauvé, died suddenly within a few months of taking office. With the incumbent National Union in disarray, the election scheduled for 1960 was thrown wide open. The Liberal Party (i.e., the party to which the leaders of the Quiet Revolution belonged) was able to capitalize on general discontent, and gained a narrow victory.²⁴

The dynamic Liberal team, led by Jean Lesage, were well aware of Quebec's previous economic direction. They knew that American and English-Canadian investment money had been dominant in the development of Quebec's primary industries. They knew too that Duplessis had agreed to

²⁴ Julien, op. cit., p. 44.

outlandishly inequitable terms concerning private development and utilization of Quebec's natural resources.²⁵ The new emphasis was straightforward. The initial aims of the Quiet Revolution were summed up by Mr. Jean-Marie Martin, former President of the Superior Council of Education:

They want their children to achieve the 'good life' for themselves and for their families and to make a worthwhile contribution to the building of their province and their country, or, if you prefer, of our country.²⁶

Quebec's self-assertion was consistent with the slogan of the Quiet Revolution, 'Maîtres chez-nous'.

The Lesage Government pursued a policy of autonomy for Quebec in the fields of social welfare and economics. For example, the private power companies were appropriated to form Hydro Québec. Plans were also laid to build Quebec's own steel complex, SIDBEC. The Quebec Government moved to implement activities upon which Ottawa had already embarked. Quebec instituted Medicare; Pension and Baby Bonus schemes, in direct opposition to the existing Federal programs, were also created.²⁷ The complexities of the modern society had produced some ambiguity over matters which were not clearly either Federal or Provincial. It was difficult to interpret a constitution constructed under very different conditions. Quebec seized every opportunity to divest Ottawa of its customary prerogatives. In general, Ottawa tried to

²⁵ Herbert F. Quinn, The Union Nationale: A Study in Quebec Nationalism (Toronto, 1963), pp. 81-4.

²⁶ Jean-Marie Martin, "Quebec", in Changing Patterns of Higher Education in Canada, ed. by Robin Harris (Toronto, 1966), p. 84.

²⁷ Cook, op. cit., pp. 155-6.

accommodate Quebec without jeopardizing the cohesion of Canada as a whole.

Throughout the decade a series of sharp interchanges occurred between the Governments of Quebec and Canada. One of the most tricky was the dispute regarding right to sovereignty for international agreements, in the fields of education and culture. The former is a prerogative of the Federal Government; the latter falls under the aegis of the Provinces. Quebec claimed that her 'special status' enabled her to negotiate directly with foreign countries. Quebec argued that Ottawa was doing little to strengthen ties with the Francophone world. When Quebec moved to perform this function for herself, the conditions were there for a showdown. Ottawa compromised several potentially dangerous issues either by acquiescing to Quebec's insistence that she participate as a sovereign French state, or by allowing Quebec to be fully represented in leading the Canadian delegation.²⁸

The jockeying for international predominance fed a growing uncertainty in Quebec's English community as to Quebec's real intentions regarding the Canadian entity itself. Initially the Quiet Revolution had not caused alarm, but the thrust had shifted to challenge what the French viewed as the patently inequal partnership of Confederation. The French wished parity for the French language in all Federal Government operations. Francophones

²⁸ As President of France, Charles de Gaulle took political advantage of this factor. On his trip to Canada in 1967, he believed he had considerable support in Quebec, misreading genuine affection for political support. He preached 'Vive le Québec Libre' and Montreal Mayor, Jean Drapeau, sternly rebuffed him. Ottawa's official reaction was icy, and de Gaulle cut short his visit.

had gained few of the executive jobs outside of selected Quebec activities. If they wished to advance, English had been mandatory, whereas the English had not had to learn French.²⁹ The pressure which was exerted resulted in the Civil Service and the Government-run railroad beginning to require bilingualism, and in assuring that adequate numbers of French-Canadians obtained managerial positions. This trend was felt particularly in Montreal, and some English became most concerned.³⁰

To the moderate English, bilingualism was a reasonable price to pay for the preservation of national unity. To many, however, it was the English who were now being discriminated against. Fears escalated when Lesage's Liberals fell surprisingly in the 1966 election to a rebuilt Union Nationale led by Daniel Johnson.³¹ Johnson noted that the English ridings had voted solidly Liberal, and he did not let them forget it. The pressure for 'Maîtres chez-nous' was intensified in the latter half of the decade. Quebec's political climate seemed to be assuming an increasingly nationalistic tone. The Federal Government of Trudeau's Liberals was unable to exert much leverage on Quebec in this instance, even though his electoral victory in 1968 had soothed the country in general. The consternation of English Quebecers reached its height in 1968 when the Johnson Government initiated overtures to make French the only official language of Quebec. It was at this time that

²⁹ Corbett, op. cit., pp. 102-3.

³⁰ Montreal had a population of about two million, with about thirty-five percent being Anglophone.

³¹ The Liberals gained more of the vote, but the Union Nationale controlled the rural vote which enjoyed representation well beyond what its numerical quota would suggest.

the popularity and strength of the determined Separatistes reached their highest point. This period presented critical problems for French and English alike. The Quebec Government nominally endorsed Confederation and continued to protect English minority rights in the Province. However, many English were not taking anything for granted. The most pessimistic visualized their hard-earned livelihood and status being steadily and inevitably eroded in a Province that would have room only for French-speaking citizens. Despite such uneasiness, as the decade came to an end, most English and French wanted to believe that the vast majority of Quebecers were willing to opt for life within Confederation. The overwhelming Liberal victory in the Provincial election of 1970 appeared to bear this out.³²

Notwithstanding the outward solidarity of the Quebec population, it should be remembered that the Separatistes must be considered as an integral, and quite possibly permanent, segment of the new thinking in Quebec. At the outset of the Quiet Revolution a vocal, violent, but essentially non-intellectual and anarchistic clique of Quebecois made a short-lived entrance, and then appeared to falter. The movement was able to survive, however, and began to attract adherents who believed that only a complete break with the rest of Canada would enable Quebec to preserve her language and culture. They generally disregarded Quebec's historical shortcomings, an agricultural economy and a weak educational system. The Separatistes refused to attack the French-Canadian politicians and clerics who had guided the

³²Economics played a significant part also. Most analysts felt that the electorate had responded primarily to the Liberals' promise of one hundred thousand new jobs for high-unemployment Quebec.

Province during the earlier periods. Instead they saw two hundred years of exploitation by the English as the root of the problem. They believed that only national independence could save French-Canadians, forgetting that the many French-Canadians living outside Quebec would be left to assimilation. Events have consistently shown there can be no doubt that the Separatistes intend to pursue their beliefs fervently.³³

The strong Daniel Johnson had been able to keep Quebec politically stable by fighting avidly for Quebec's cause, within Confederation. As a result, the Separatistes were kept off balance. With Johnson's unexpected death in 1968, the political situation deteriorated. Jean-Jacques Bertrand, an honourable and long-time moderate from Quebec's most harmoniously integrated riding in the Eastern Townships, became Premier. Unlike Johnson, he was unable to contain the designs of radicals within the Government itself, let alone to execute any control over those in the Separatiste groups. Having gained both intellectual leadership and prominent converts from established parties, the various Separatiste splinters consolidated into the well organized Parti Quebecois. The platform of non-violence and an economic 'common market' with Canada had positive appeal among many French. The Parti Quebecois became a viable force in Provincial politics. It helped that René Levesque, the Parti leader, was a well-known former Liberal Cabinet Minister. He was generally viewed as the most dynamic and charismatic politician in the

³³Julien, op. cit., p. 66.

Province. In the April, 1970 election, the Parti became a viable force in Provincial politics.³⁴

The constant threat of Separatism contributed to the weakening of the Quebec economy, which deteriorated throughout the decade. Investors steadily lost confidence in Quebec. Americans sought more settled and promising conditions elsewhere. For example, whereas investments rose in Canada in 1969 by twelve percent, in Quebec they did so less than four percent. More than seven percent of the work force was unemployed in Quebec during the winter of 1970, the highest rate in Canada. This fact is not surprising in a Province where the percentage of total Canadian population has consistently been higher than the percentage of Gross National Product, and where half the labour force has only an elementary school education.³⁵ Nevertheless, a more stable political climate would have allowed the economy to develop more fully in line with its potential.

Educational Developments

The unpromising realities of Quebec did not deter the architects of the Quiet Revolution. They were determined to reinforce the inadequate French

³⁴Montreal Star, April 30, 1970. The victorious Liberals, who won a large number of seats, received less than fifty percent of the vote, chiefly because in many ridings five parties were contesting the seat. It should be noted also that although the Liberals won seventy-two seats of the one hundred and eight in the legislature, to the Parti Québécois' seven, the latter gained a significant twenty-three percent of the vote.

³⁵Corbett, op. cit., p. 7.

educational system, and to bring it up to date in the technological age. Yet so much needed to be done. It was only in 1956 that the first public secondary school had been opened.³⁶ Prior to that, elementary education had been the norm for the overwhelming majority. For those lucky enough to proceed further, a classical course had been the sole avenue. The clerical objection to a state system had considerable influence in this regard. Ostensibly, it was felt that Government intervention would infringe on parental rights. During the 1960's the clerical block presented a significant deterrent to the drive towards a technocratic society, especially in the hinterland.³⁷ Another contributory factor was that some ambitious politicians were reluctant to forego the facile control of the rural voter by allowing him to become unduly sophisticated through education. The Lesage team, however, realized that the French educational system was inadequate in the face of modern demands. They moved to correct the situation by completely overhauling the public program.

The English were generally sympathetic to French educational needs, as improvements ultimately could help all Quebeckers. But they were alarmed at the Government pressure to weaken their strong system. Financial and linguistic considerations were the key points of contention. Traditionally by law, the schools had been supported by separate taxation for Catholic and Protestant Boards. A later provision guaranteed separate language

³⁶Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education (Quebec, 1966), Volume II, Sec. 209.

³⁷Julien, op. cit., p. 51.

instruction, thus establishing the possibility for English-Catholic and French-Protestant entities as well.³⁸ Local control of this type has allowed the English to build an enriched system and, theoretically, the status quo has not evolved by unfair means. No one had imposed the antiquated and mediocre system of schooling which had existed in the French sector. Nor had anyone imposed an agricultural economy or a reactionary, corrupt, political apparatus as had existed in Quebec.³⁹ When the Union Nationale Government of the mid-1960's initiated moves to standardize teachers' working conditions across the Province, regardless of tax base or precedent, the English believed that their system would be diluted. English-Protestant teachers, who were the Province's best qualified, and who had the most to lose both financially and professionally, fought such action adamantly. In the opinion of the English, introspection by the French was required, not 'penalties' to the English. They geared to fight the attempts which seemed to be leading towards a unilaterally legislated educational system for Quebec.

During the latter years of the decade, Governmental regulations continued to tighten. The language question provoked another crisis. Published statistics revealed that virtually all of the post-war immigrants had been opting for English-language instruction for their children.⁴⁰

³⁸ David Munroe, "Democracies, Minorities and Education", in Social Foundations of Canadian Education, ed. by Anand Malik, op. cit., pp. 45-6. English-Protestant has included the large Jewish population of Montreal.

³⁹ Julien, op. cit., p. 60.

⁴⁰ Montreal Star, May 12, 1970, "Briefs Tell how Quebec Immigrants opt for English", p. 3.

Sensing that this trend proffered long-term danger to the Francophone existence, Jean-Guy Cardinal, Minister of Education in the Union Nationale Government, moved to protect the French fact. He allowed a unilingualist school board in Montreal to deny English-language schooling to immigrant families.⁴¹

The wave of Anglophone protest forced a re-examination by the Government. Premier Bertrand acted to correct the language situation by passing Bill 63 in the Quebec legislature. This Bill declared French to be the language of instruction in Quebec schools, but permitted English-language schooling if parents so desired. This move provided breathing space, but by no means ended the confrontation. Bill 62, as yet unresolved because the Liberals replaced the National Union in April, 1970, would replace Montreal's forty-two Catholic and Protestant school Boards with eleven multiconfessional Boards.⁴² These Boards would have no division by language, and would be so geographically and demographically constituted that the French would be in the majority in virtually all. It is seen that this Bill guarantees nothing for the English. To preserve the quality education to which they are accustomed, the English might eventually ghettoize themselves further by moving to districts where they could be in a majority.⁴³ This possibility clearly would not aid the cause of fostering the development of Canadianism.

⁴¹This situation had arisen in a district which had been French, but where many Italians had concentrated over a short space of time.

⁴²See Montreal Star, February, 1970 passim.

⁴³Several authorities saw this as a possibility; for example, Dr. Michael Oliver, Director of Research for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

At the university level, Government restrictions have been exerted more subtly. The Universities are private, but greatly dependent on the Government for both operating and capital monies. The expensive capital outlay required to build up the French system has not allowed much scope for development in the English. Operating budgets, as allocated, have been detrimental to the growth and sustenance of prestigious universities. For example, McGill University's budget requests for the 1966-67 academic year were slashed because the Government claimed McGill was highly endowed and, therefore, did not need public funds as did the others.⁴⁴ In fact, McGill has consistently run annual deficits and, on the basis of the 1970 grant, claims it will go six million dollars into the red.⁴⁵ It is true that the French Universities have not been consistently happier about the grants than have the English. It is also true that with eighty percent of the Province's population, the French needed more than three universities. Hence, the multi-campus Université de Québec was introduced. Nevertheless, the English population remains uneasy in the light of Governmental decrees which appear to curtail their higher educational system.

Contemporary Implications

With many negative factors preying on their minds -- the weak

⁴⁴This claim neglected to consider that the endowment was earmarked for specific purposes, that McGill had wide graduate school and international commitments, and that such a development might hurt independent fund-raising irreparably.

⁴⁵Montreal Star, June 19, 1970, p. 12.

economy, the unstable political scene, and the unilateral legislation of educational matters -- many English despair of playing any role in the Quebec of the future. Some vacated the Province in the earliest years of the Quiet Revolution; more have done so as the decade progressed. Houses have been for sale everywhere in Montreal, whereas despite tight money and prohibitive interest rates, in Toronto they have been hard to find. English parents often have sent their children to university outside the Province and/or have encouraged them to seek employment away from Quebec upon graduation.

The emigration of educated and talented Canadians to the United States has long been a serious problem for Canada. Primary reason for this exodus has been attributed to the priority given the exploitation of primary industry. The development of those secondary industries in which such brainpower would have been needed has not received similar priority. Also, moves from East to West had always been a natural occurrence. New arrivals invariably landed on the Atlantic side and headed West to participate in the fruits of the frontier.

The recent trend has had a different rationale. Those leaving Quebec today are often people who have roots in the Province, and who leave the past behind reluctantly. It is fair to suggest that many believe that emigration from Quebec is the only alternative for Anglophones. Many European immigrants have been by-passing Quebec in favour of more stable and profitable ventures elsewhere. The latter have hesitated to restrict themselves, wishing

to leave the total North American market open by learning English. The Quebec Government has abetted this loss by trying to insist that 'nouveaux' learn only French. This 'brain-drain' has hurt Quebec to some extent. Yet the dilemma facing the French, namely, how to preserve their very survival as a cultural entity, is real. To many French, a certain economic sacrifice in the short term is a price that must be paid.

There is another irony to the Quiet Revolution. The French birth-rate is currently the lowest of any Province in Canada. This fact worries the nationalists, who cannot count on traditionally large families to keep the Francophone population expanding geometrically. This phenomenon is explained in part by the weakened power of the Catholic Church. Also, the low standard of living, relative to North America in general, has been felt sufficiently to make child-rearing an expensive proposition. Thus, despite any English exodus, the distribution of French and English in Quebec has remained reasonably static.

The implications for the people who remain in Quebec in the 1970's are both obvious and serious. The political scene must be stabilized. The Separatistes remain a force which must be contained. Quebec must bring its technological and business practices up to North American standards, and must develop its natural resources to potential. Steps in the correct direction have been taken. But money continues to be in short supply, and debts and expenditures cannot be wished away. To sustain the French cultural heritage will present a continual challenge. It always will be susceptible to encroachment by the proliferating Anglophone population of North America.

The federalist Premier, Robert Bourassa, elected in 1970, has indicated that the French language will continue to be given priority in all aspects of Quebec life. Especially sensitive to the fact that eighty-three percent of supervisory administrative jobs in the economic life of the Province are still held by Anglophones, he has stated clearly that French will become the language of work at all levels.⁴⁶

A strong stand within Quebec does not mean an anti-federalist position, however. Recent trends indicate that the French are prepared to effect a smooth transition into Canada's second century. Overwhelmingly, they are far from ready to give up on Canada. The French are adopting a mature attitude as to their role in the North American society. They have never been more confident of their potential to contribute to it. In short, there is every reason to conclude that the French approach to Canada and Quebec in the future will be vigorous, productive and determined.

In the light of this determination, Quebec's English can never be complacent again. They will have to adjust to living in the new milieu, and they must learn French. The rest of Canada must be willing to be patient with Quebec as she struggles to find her own soul and role in Canada.

The decade of the 1960's has been crucial in Canada's development as a nation. The issues were bared by the frankness of the Quiet Revolution.

⁴⁶See Montreal Star, June 12, 1970. Also, the increasing number of French university graduates in the applied sciences will make this function easier to accomplish.

The challenge for Canadians is clear. Bilingualism and biculturalism can work in Canada. The concept of Canadianism can triumph over traditionally insular habits and ideologies. For success to become a reality, however, Quebec must share both in the responsibility and the advantages of life in Canada. The French-Canadian must play a full political, economic and social role. That role has been realized only partly, but enough to make the participation of French Canada within Confederation at least as likely an outcome as an independent Quebec.⁴⁷ Therein lies an important warning. Overconfidence at this stage would be fatal for both French and English. So much more remains to be done. As the stronger partner, much of the onus for the success or failure of the Canadian ideal must rest with the attitudinal position adopted by English-speaking Canadians.

⁴⁷Corbett, op. cit., p. 44.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CURRICULUM IN THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE UNIVERSITIES

It is axiomatic that universities have been able to influence student attitude through the philosophical thrust and aims of curricula. Prior to the Quiet Revolution, the universities had pursued a consistent approach to their Arts programs. Originally, the universities based Arts curricula on the classical and humanist models. This especially has been evidenced in the development of McGill and Bishop's Universities, primarily because both date back to the first half of the nineteenth century. A later movement, emanating from the United States, incorporated the more pragmatic applied and social sciences. Sir George Williams University, dating only from the 1920's, partially featured this avenue of higher education from the outset. McGill had shifted to include some social sciences during the latter decade of the nineteenth century. Basically, in the formative years prior to 1960, Canadianism and Canadian content per se were not prominent in curricula offerings.¹

Before examining curricula trends during the 1960's, it is important

¹Up to 1960 few Canadian scholarly works were extant, and resource materials concerning Canada were scarce.

to elaborate upon specific university curricula patterns as they emerged through history. This procedure is necessary in order to assess Canadianism and Canadian content in proper perspective. Two questions need to be answered in this regard. One, what influences have shaped the Arts curricula at the universities? Two, what has been the concern for Canadianism during the universities' years of existence?

Historical Curricula Trends

Each of the Anglophone universities of Quebec was established for a specific and different reason. McGill obtained its charter in 1821 with the expressed intent of serving the small English community of Montreal. Bishop's College was established some one hundred miles from Montreal, at Lennoxville, in order to continue the training of Anglican Divinity students in the Diocese of Quebec at post-secondary level.² Bishop Mountain, the driving force behind the College, saw McGill as becoming too secularized, and the relative isolation of the Anglophone Eastern Townships was viewed as more appropriate. Sir George Williams developed out of the formal educational framework of the Montreal YMCA. High school courses had been offered as early as 1873, but the move towards College status did not come until after the First World War.

McGill, unable for a number of reasons to begin the teaching function until 1834, was launched under conditions quite naturally borrowed from Britain:

² Bishop's College was granted a charter and became a university in 1853.

Principal Mountain laid the foundations for the creation of the Faculty of Arts, and while he believed that instruction should be given in a manner consistent with the English National Establishment, he desired that the University should be open to students of all creeds with equal privileges and that Professorships should be tenable by graduates of the Scotch Universities.³

Initial lectures were delivered in such subjects as Classical Literature and History, Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, and Hebrew and Oriental Languages. University policy called also for consideration to be given religious instruction and theological dogma.⁴

A similarity in the origins of McGill and Bishop's can be seen. McGill was essentially secular but included a religious connotation. Bishop's had been founded for the specific training of clergy, but it was also intended to offer the benefits of a sound and liberal education.⁵ The petition presented to the Governor of Canada in 1843 stressed that the youth of the Province would be educated in the principles of religion and in the various branches of learning and literature. Although the College was connected to the Church of England and Ireland, youth of other religious professions were not excluded from enrolling. The requirements demanded of candidates for admission to Bishop's in the early years included an ability to read and translate both Latin and Greek. As these were retained for the most part until the Second World War, Bishop's had some trouble in attracting students. For those who did attend, the chief courses were Greek,

³Cyrus Macmillan, McGill and its Story 1821-1921 (Toronto, 1931) p. 74.

⁴Ibid., p. 144.

⁵D.C. Masters, Bishop's University: The First Hundred Years (Toronto, 1950), p. 13.

Latin and Mathematics, despite a substantial list of subject offerings.⁶ With the humanities emphasis and the paucity of science offerings, "the syllabus at Bishop's was not substantially different from those at other universities in the English-speaking world at this time."⁷

Two central differences between McGill and Bishop's soon emerged. First, as McGill encountered variant views regarding the nature of the dominant creed to be utilized in teaching, and as revenues were in short supply, the Governors did not wish to limit their sources of income by retaining links solely with the Church of England and Ireland. Thus, McGill quickly outgrew any specific religious connection. Bishop's has only tried to do so in the 1960's, with only moderate success due to the deep roots. Second, the initial curricula similarities did not last long. McGill reacted to the demands of the North American environment. A wider range of subject matter was offered, much of which was in new applied fields. Bishop's did not experience such a thrust.

It was under the Principalship of William Dawson, who headed McGill for most of the second half of the nineteenth century, that course offerings had been greatly diversified. Dawson had seen that a total reliance on the old learning of Europe was not adequate for North America. He insisted on expanding and modernizing the curriculum. The year 1856 saw the establishment of general courses in Applied Science, with a separate Faculty being

⁶For those in Theology, besides the obvious theological emphasis, there was more Greek and Hebrew.

⁷Masters, op. cit., p. 21.

created for this purpose in 1878. The Annual Report of 1896 noted that the revised Faculty of Arts curriculum would introduce such new subjects as economics and political science as soon as the necessary funds could be found.⁸ In 1900 the funds were found, and the subsequently famous Stephen Leacock was appointed Lecturer in 1901. McGill grew into nine Faculties and nine associated schools, but Arts and Science always remained the predominant Faculty.

Bishop's University, on the other hand, did not veer perceptibly from the original course of study. Curriculum trends remained constant despite the fact that Divinity students were slowly swallowed, in terms of percentage of enrolment, by those who followed an Arts course exclusively.⁹ The Principal stated in his Convocation Address of 1860 that Bishop's was liberal in the same sense as were the American Colleges; in view of the fact that religion was the cornerstone of everyday life, the secular should blend with the religious in university education.¹⁰

Expansion was difficult for Bishop's in those early years. Despite the generosity of some benefactors who endowed chairs, money was scarce. A number of fires and depressions did not alleviate the problem. Although

⁸ McGill University, Annual Report (Montreal, 1896), p. 10. At the same time, it should be noted that emphases on Classical studies were not lessened.

⁹ In 1857 the four year Arts course involved the simultaneous first year study of Greek, Latin, Mathematics, History (Roman), Rhetoric and Divinity, with the same subjects to be continued at the advanced level. As might be expected at a university based on the residential Oxbridge model, the tutorial rather than lecture method was utilized.

¹⁰ Masters, op. cit., p. 54.

these factors undoubtedly influenced the development of Bishop's, enrolment was able to grow, albeit very slowly. But in curricula matters, little emphasis could be placed on the physical sciences. At the turn of the century, the program still focused overwhelmingly on the humanities. The curriculum generally reflected the University philosophy that "the whole object was to give a generous education for life, rather than a specialized training in any one field."¹¹

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw little change in Arts curricula at McGill and Bishop's Universities. The emphases continued to be humanistic. Bishop's favoured its theological liaison; McGill offered some option through the emerging social sciences. The Great War made a considerable dent in a Canada still clearly tied to British foreign policy. Many men were drawn away, and money available was siphoned off to the war effort. It was not until after the War that further significant curriculum change was effected.

Bishop's broke long-standing tradition by offering Science as a full option in 1922. By 1936, Science was offered as a full degree program.¹² Yet it appears that this departure was more for pragmatic reason than for a desire to deviate from the humanistic philosophy. Because matriculation in Latin was required for admission to the Arts course, many potential students

¹¹Ibid., p. 94. Some professional training for teachers was inaugurated in 1903.

¹²Just before the War, a full-time Science Professor had joined the Faculty.

had been going elsewhere.

McGill's new Arts curriculum of the 1920's called for continuation of three subjects in the three senior years.¹³ This move basically paralleled the trend towards specialization at the undergraduate level which was transpiring at many American universities. The heavy load of obligatory subjects was reduced. Henceforth only English, Latin, Mathematics and some languages, (not specifically but presumably including French), would be required in first year, and less in the second.¹⁴ Although two sciences would be required to graduate, the rest of the student's program would be essentially elective. Such a shift in curricula direction allowed the provision of fuller courses of training aimed at future political and municipal employment. It should not be concluded that original purposes were to be discarded. The Annual Report of 1924 stated that the ". . . undergraduate faculty should be mainly reserved for the purpose of providing a sound, conservative, broad-based, liberal education, which, after all, is the real purpose for which it was originally endowed."¹⁵

During the 1930's, little was done to alter existing trends in the Arts Faculty. Having always absorbed the Pure Sciences under the aegis of the Arts Faculty anyway, the latter formally because the Faculty of Arts and

¹³ McGill University, Annual Report (Montreal, 1923), p. 43.

¹⁴ Ibid., 1924, p. 128.

¹⁵ Ibid., 1924, p. 129.

Science. Courses of study in esoteric disciplines, such as Chinese Studies, were added during this period.¹⁶ Impressive faculty research enhanced McGill's reputation internationally. Philosophical thrust did not change. The outbreak of the Second World War again precluded attention being devoted to the establishment of new curricula direction.

It was not until 1960 that a further curriculum re-evaluation was effected at McGill.¹⁷ The Dean's Report of that year dealt with the specific changes:

. . . there has been a curious combination of close prescription in the first year with an almost complete lack of it in the remaining three. . . . The new curriculum deals with both ends of this matter. In effect, it liberalizes the first year and introduces more articulation and direction into the senior years. . . . the student's work will be largely concentrated in two cognate subjects and in the two parts of the Faculty Course. . . . It seems better to give departmental instruction in his earlier years, and to attempt a synthesis, a tying together of his departmental specialities, when he has acquired something to tie together.¹⁸

Although specialization had made definite impact on the Arts curriculum at McGill, it is seen that in requiring such a solid liberal education for its students, the University had not wavered greatly from the premises of its founding.

¹⁶Paralleling American concern for the emerging Soviet Union, Russian Studies were added in 1957.

¹⁷The Principal admitted that half a century had elapsed since the last careful curriculum review.

¹⁸McGill University, Annual Report (Montreal, 1960), pp. 34-7.

Bishop's had been even more singularly devoted to its original roots. No significant post-war curriculum review was carried out. D.C. Masters, the University biographer, writing in 1950, stated that the blend of religious and secular curriculum " . . . substantially was and still is the position of Bishop's at its best."¹⁹ The academic tradition of Bishop's had been built on three main principles, those of Christianity, humanism, and science. In the attempts to produce the 'cultured man', Bishop's had moved from an initial Liberal Arts curriculum to one which encompassed some of the social sciences. Because Bishop's had continued to stress humanistic studies, it varied from its original approach much less than any other Canadian and American universities.²⁰

Sir George Williams University's heritage and perspective have been clearly different than those of McGill and Bishop's. Sir George Williams has not been tied to any classical humanism. Its original purpose was to serve the community. The College per se evolved as a result of the YMCA wishing to provide more distinctiveness in educational terms. In the 1920's, the 'College' moved to become more self-sufficient. Although continuing to operate as an arm of the YMCA, it became co-educational in 1926. A more important change came in 1929 when the College programme was extended to include the first year of studies at university level in Arts, Science, Commerce and pre-Engineering.²¹ In 1931-2, a program comparable to Junior

¹⁹Masters, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁰Ibid., p. 159.

²¹Sir George Williams University, Announcement (Montreal, 1969), p. 36.

College was operative in both day and evening division. By 1934 a four year program had been inaugurated, and as a result the first degrees were awarded in 1936. In 1948 a charter was granted to the College in its own right. This did much to clarify the quality of Sir George Williams' degrees in terms of admission to graduate schools and of credibility with the external world. In 1959 official University status was granted by the Quebec Government. Sir George Williams remained as the nominal educational arm of the YMCA until 1967, at which time it severed connection and assumed the separate independence of a corporate body to which it was entitled.²²

Despite its rapidly changing status as an educational institution, Sir George Williams did not negate its original purpose of serving the community. Moreover, its urban background produced a unique type of education, one which was humanistic in tone, but simultaneously geared to the pragmatism required in the modern society. The general education concept which was being fostered at the University of Chicago was one of the leading influences on the curriculum.²³ But the philosophy of the YMCA itself played its part, as did other educational trends emanating from the United States. Thus, while stressing academic techniques and scholarship, Sir

²²Harold C. Cross, One Hundred Years of Service with Youth: The Story of the Montreal Y.M.C.A. (Montreal, 1951), p. 355. Sir George Williams had experienced a remarkable growth. From nine graduates in 1936, and a total of 371 students in 1937, the University had grown to 7,000 day and a total of 19,000 by 1969. Annual graduates now number in the thousands.

²³Henry F. Hall, The Georgian Spirit: The Story of Sir George Williams University (Montreal, 1966), p. 91.

George Williams aimed to develop character and personality as well. The College claimed to be person rather than subject matter centered, and to feature experimentation and flexibility. The curriculum and the requirements for a degree were not to be considered sacrosanct.²⁴

It would be unfair to the other two Universities to suggest that they too were not person centered. Yet they were highly selective and stressed academic rigour in a way Sir George Williams did not. Generally, the latter has attempted to provide a chance for all who have had any ability to benefit from university study. Philosophically, this process still is in evidence today, although the normal pattern of supply and demand has forced Sir George Williams to become rather more selective during the 1960's. There can be no doubt that Sir George Williams has performed a sterling role in educating those Montrealers who wished a chance at prices they could afford. That it blossomed into a large university attests in part to the success of that role. Without the traditional base which history had bequeathed to the other two Universities, Sir George Williams took the best of the classical humanism and adapted it to the contemporary scene. The result has been a curriculum geared to the demands of North America, and to the social needs of the community.

Concern for Canadianism

It would appear that it would have been easy for Sir George

²⁴Ibid., p. 96.

Williams, with its public service philosophy and its traditionless past, to adjust to the realities of the Canadian duality. In fact, Dr. Cameron Nish, a prominent historian of French-Canada, pointed out that Sir George Williams had an interest in Canadianism long before the Quiet Revolution. Unlike the other two, Sir George Williams had no heritage to put aside and could devote energy to the development of an on-going one.²⁵ In this respect it should be noted that enrolment always included a good proportion of French-speaking Canadians.

As the impact of the Quiet Revolution spread, "the University . . . continued to search for an effective way in which it might make a positive contribution to the rich potential of the Province of Quebec and its people."²⁶ Five experimental courses taught in the French language were instituted in 1964. These were primarily for the twenty percent Francophone enrolment, but it was hoped that students whose first language was English would ultimately take some of their degree program in the language of the provincial majority.²⁷ It was felt that the proximity of excellent French universities precluded the necessity of offering a complete degree program in French-language instruction.

Sir George Williams recognized the importance of bilingualism for the

²⁵ Dr. Cameron Nish, Director, Centre de Recherche en Histoire Economique du Canada Français, Sir George Williams University, Interview with Robert Gordon, July 3, 1970.

²⁶ Sir George Williams University, Annual Report (Montreal, 1964), p. 7.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 7; see also Sir George Williams University, Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Staff Conference, May 25-26, 1964, p. 9.

individual citizen, particularly in the Province of Quebec. It believed that the University had a responsibility to take active steps to promote bilingualism.²⁸ In its Brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Sir George Williams Association of University Teachers claimed it had acted to foster Canada's basic 'raison d'être', and that further steps in this direction would be welcomed and supported by the faculty.²⁹ Specifically, the Brief recommended the development of instruction in both languages to the point where every university graduate would be bilingual and familiar with the bicultural heritage.

Unfortunately, altruistic goals were easier to proclaim than to attain. The experimental program involving the courses taught in French were curtailed due to the difficulty and expense of lecturing in two languages.³⁰ Course enrolments had been small. Professor J.H. Whitelaw, Coordinator of Academic Planning at Sir George Williams, admitted that the early idealism had proven most difficult to put into effective practice.³¹ It did not help that the faculty, constantly expanded by an influx of foreigners, seemed reticent to adhere to its own dictates. The special program in bilingualism

²⁸ Sir George Williams University, Staff Minutes, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

²⁹ Sir George Williams University, Association of University Teachers, Brief Submitted to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Montreal, undated), p. 1.

³⁰ Interview with Dr. Cameron Nish, July 3, 1970.

³¹ Professor J.H. Whitelaw, Coordinator of Academic Planning, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 8, 1970.

being offered to the faculty was very poorly attended.³² The three possible formats for ensuring the bilingualism of every student, namely pre-university competency, French course requirements, or competency testing at university were never put into practice.³³ Reliance has rested with acceptance of high school standards which have been far from approaching bilingualism.³⁴ Clearly, the University does not have to accept blame for the traditional impasse. Yet it must be noted that official statements by the University have raised an unduly optimistic image of the real situation.

McGill University, similarly, has claimed a distinct interest in the Francophone side of the Canadian scene. Early in its history McGill acknowledged a predominantly dualistic society. Students from the French-Canadian Colleges were admitted to equal standing with McGill students even in the 1840's.³⁵ "It was also realized that in a country of two languages instruction in French was an absolute necessity", and a Lecturer was appointed in 1846.³⁶

³²Sir George Williams University, Staff Minutes, op.cit., p. 9.

³³Ibid., pp. 7-8.

³⁴Beginning in 1971, the Diploma of Collegial Studies will require French competency. The Diploma will be prerequisite for admission to Quebec Universities.

³⁵Macmillan, op. cit., p. 175. It was admitted that partial reason lay with the need to increase enrolment.

³⁶Ibid., p. 187.

The interest continued. For example, the Annual Report of 1908 summed up the role McGill envisioned for the study of French:

. . . a most important course was established in the subject of French phonetics. . . . To those whose mother tongue is English, the Province of Quebec offers peculiar facilities and advantages owing to its large French population. . . . Such being the case, the university ought to strive to become a prominent center of French teaching. . . . Money spent to extend this branch of academic work would be wisely spent. To secure a permanent fund for that purpose . . . is therefore a goal to be kept steadily in view. Any extension of French teaching is natural owing to its French environment, and because it is natural, academically sound.³⁷

The next year's Report noted that it had always been the policy of the Faculty of Arts to give prominence in its curriculum to the study of the French Language and Literature.³⁸ It is interesting that as part of the curriculum review of the 1920's French achieved required status in the Faculty of Arts.³⁹ In 1938 the requirement was raised to include a continuation into second year.

Although not specifically a curriculum addition of the normal academic year, in 1905 McGill had initiated a French Summer School, which has been in operation ever since. It was felt that the ". . . gratifying feature of this extension of the work of the University is the gradual deepening hold which the practical study of French appears to have on those parts of the

³⁷ McGill University, Annual Report (Montreal, 1908), pp. 32-3.

³⁸ Ibid., 1909, pp. 9-10.

³⁹ Ibid., 1924, p. 124.

Dominion which have not the favourable environment that a large French center like Montreal possesses."⁴⁰ Some years later, in 1924, it was noted that the French Summer School was doing valuable work in promoting a knowledge of French in particular, and of Canadian conditions in general.⁴¹

McGill expressed confidence that it was promoting Canadianism. Referring to the standards achieved in 1933, the Annual Report stated:

There is no doubt, too, that the facilities for the study of French in McGill are unique. The requirements in this department are . . . at least one full year in advance of the requirements of most colleges situated in wholly English-speaking communities. . . . at least 500 students in the Faculty are able to read French fluently and to listen to lectures in the French language with ease.⁴²

The Report of 1938 suggested that the French fact was accorded primary attention:

The University of McGill . . . can never be indifferent for a moment. . . . French speech and letters must always occupy a leading place in our affairs. The task of building a union of heart and mind between the two great races which constitute the vast majority of the Canadian people is and should be one of the most important charges committed to the University.⁴³

Documented evidence suggests that the foregoing statement was

⁴⁰ Ibid., 1906, pp. 24-5.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1924, p. 35.

⁴² Ibid., 1933, p. 54. In 1933, there were 771 registrations in French out of a total of 1,172 students at McGill.

⁴³ Ibid., 1938, p. 110.

somewhat optimistic as to what McGill really was accomplishing. Accounts of Quebec's social and historical development generally agree that English persons' competence in the French language was tokenistic in interest and poor in performance. This situation was not restricted to non-university people. On the contrary, the intellectual elite, which in essence attended McGill, was notably lacking in interest and poor in performance.⁴⁴ Moreover, McGill's habit of hiring Principals and Deans in Britain suggests that primary allegiance lay to a culture across the Atlantic. The first Canadian-born Principal was appointed in 1962, after the start of the Quiet Revolution. French Professors traditionally were hired in France because they represented a 'pure' French tongue not available among French Canadians.⁴⁵ Suggestions frequently had been made that the French Summer School was the next best thing to spending time on the European Continent. It seemed that Canadians were not availing themselves of the Summer School opportunity anyway. The great majority have always come from the United States.⁴⁶ Finally, despite earlier curriculum policy statements regarding French, the curriculum review of 1960 did not list French as being compulsory.

Thus, it must be pointed out that as was the case with Sir George Williams, McGill's self-reports are misleading. McGill has overestimated the effectiveness of her role regarding the development of Canadianism in the

⁴⁴ See Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, op. cit., passim; also, Porter, op. cit., p. 73.

⁴⁵ Dr. Donald Theall, Chairman, Department of English, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 8, 1970; Dr. J. Ethier-Blais, Chairman, Department of French, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 20, 1970. Dr. Ethier-Blais was the first Canadian-born Chairman of the French Department, being appointed in 1970.

⁴⁶ McGill University, Annual Report (Montreal, 1911), p. 34.

period prior to the Quiet Revolution.

The historical influences and environmental limitations operating on Bishop's University have made it difficult to adjust and to contribute to the development of a society based on two languages and cultures. The first one hundred years of teaching tradition and the faculty have been British. The system was consciously modelled on the format of Oxford and Cambridge. Any move towards drawing on the local Canadian influence was not in evidence.⁴⁷ There is no evidence either that French language ever was compulsory in the course of study. It would not have been easy for Bishop's to actualize in its graduates the concept of Canadianism. The Calendar of 1960 stated that 'While adding to its early traditions, humanistic and Christian, Bishop's University has adapted itself to the needs of the modern age.'⁴⁸ In view of the emerging Canadian search for identity, it is questionable that Bishop's really was adapting to Canadian needs.

Summary:

To conclude, it has been seen how there was no historical curricula thrust at the universities which had been geared to Canadianism. The universities demonstrated little tangible evidence as to any formal emphasis regarding the stressing of Canadian content throughout the period up to 1960.

⁴⁷ Masters, op. cit., p. 156. Unlike many Canadian universities, the American influence on Bishop's has been minimal.

⁴⁸ Bishop's University, Calendar (Lennoxville, 1960), p. 2.

In fact there existed, for a variety of reasons, a distinct paucity of Canadian content offerings. It should be noted, however, that the classical humanistic curriculum, which was prevalent at the universities, was consistent with contemporary trends in countries such as the United States and Great Britain. Two major points are significant of mention. One is that up to 1960 the universities had developed generally while paying only token lip-service to the French fact which surrounded them. The second is that the English-language universities in Quebec, by taking (curriculum) direction from sources external to Canada, were not well prepared or equipped to focus on the implementation of an indigenous curriculum. Both of these points have important implications in the light of the Quiet Revolution which began in 1959.

No one who reveres individual and academic freedom in the broadest sense will argue with the fact that the universities did not specifically stress a sense of Canadianism. In view of Canada's search for identity, however, it was necessary that the universities begin to play their part. It becomes important for this study, therefore, to examine both the aims of the universities during the period of the Quiet Revolution, and the specific changes which occurred regarding curricula and Canadianism.

CHAPTER IV

CURRICULA TRENDS AND THE QUIET REVOLUTION

The Anglophone universities in Quebec carried out a considerable expansion of curricula focusing on Canadian content during the decade of the Quiet Revolution. Whereas the 'Canadian' disciplines did not generally offer Canadian area studies as programs for majors in 1960, a significant increase in Canadian content options was realized as the decade progressed. Although such options were not compulsory by any means, the trend is important in that for the first time the opportunity was being provided students to study Canada in depth. In several disciplines, Canadian subject matter emerged to a point where it constituted about twenty-five percent of the total departmental curricula content. Moreover, specific centers for Canadian studies also were established.

It is to be remembered that one of the primary functions of this study was to assess curricula change regarding Canadianism during the period 1960-1970. In that connection, this chapter essentially contrasts the differences existing between curricula offerings of 1960 and those of the end of the decade. Specifically, five factors are given concentration. First, the aims of the disciplines focusing on Canadian content are

enunciated. Second, a discussion of the general shift in compulsory courses from 1960 to 1970 is presented. A small but essential section is included regarding the new Collegial system. Third, the curricula additions in specific Canadian content which occurred during the decade are documented. Fourth, the innovative Canadian Studies Programs are outlined. Fifth, a general evaluation of Canadian curricula content is sketched.

Contemporary Aims

For the period prior to 1960 the universities' programs were such that it was possible to discuss curricula aims in terms of the Arts Faculties in general. Such a function becomes more difficult in the era of the multiversity. Since 1960 especially, individual departments have grown in size and have exercised considerable autonomy. In general, departmental aims have been apolitical. Knowledge has been considered international, and there has been no conscious stressing of Canadian identity through curricula content. Essentially, each department tends to be geared to furthering that discipline as a specialized field of study. This, of course, is consistent with a similar trend throughout North America.¹ It is apparent also that departmental aims have roots in the basic philosophy which pervades the Faculty of Arts as a whole. For example, the Business Department at Bishop's clearly attempts to prepare students for responsible business careers through

¹At the same time, it is to be noted that stated departmental aims have often been obscured or altered in the implementation process. There has been little to check individual professors in this regard.

the liberal arts:

The business executive, in order to make proper decisions, should have a broad general education. The programme of studies for the B.A. degree in Business Administration will, therefore, have a liberal arts foundation. Since the administrator must see events in proper perspective, emphasis will be placed upon the Humanities and the Social Sciences. This is consistent with the philosophy of a liberal arts college such as Bishop's University.²

Contemporary aims have thus reflected two primary goals. One is rooted in general liberal education, the other in disciplinary specialization geared to professionalism and to fostering specific interests in a field of study. Although the development of Canadianism has not been stressed directly, the transmission of the Canadian culture generally has been considered part of the overall program. But a Canadian ideology per se is considered neither a university prerogative nor a desirability. The assumption has been that if individual students are to be better Canadians, they should be educated impartially and thoughtfully. The results will take care of themselves. Responsible Canadians will emerge through exposure to all viewpoints.

In the English Departments, for example, the primary aim is the promotion of the study and enjoyment of English literature. Students are introduced to the work of the great writers, and are urged to develop a sense

²Bishop's University, Calendar (Lennoxville, 1960), p. 37.

of critical evaluation and appreciation.³ Although there appears to be some obligation to the Canadian culture, and therefore some attempt is made to examine Canadian literature, two factors preclude undue emphasis on this. First, chief source for the transmission of the Canadian culture was seen as lower public levels of education. The universities' role was not to become involved in any 'indoctrination' through the teaching of literature. Second, any English literature, be it South African, Australian or Canadian, is worthwhile studying if it meets the criterion of excellence.⁴ The literature of Britain must play the predominant role, with that of the United States following. The study of Canadian literature can realistically be only of secondary importance because production has been far more limited than the other two.

The situation in the French Departments is similar. The literature of French Canada receives some attention because there is a need to be aware of the milieu in which the universities are operating. It is minor attention in comparison to the literature of France. The primary aims of the French Departments are two-fold. The first consists essentially of enabling students to gain language fluency. This phase takes place for the most part at the lower years of the university program. It is hoped that the actual process of living in Quebec, a factor not available to most departments of modern languages, will supplement this phase. The second attempts to provide

³Ibid., p. 54.

⁴Interview with Dr. Donald Theall, July 8, 1970; Interview with Dr. James Gray, Chairman, Department of English, Bishop's University, June 9, 1970.

clear knowledge of the development and substance of French literature. In this case, technical proficiency and cultural broadening are the goals, and this function is carried out in the senior years.⁵

In the social science disciplines, the primary aims were more difficult to ascertain. Generally, the pattern of specialization prevails. The stress on professional standing and preparation for graduate work are certainly pivotal aims. But their role as part of liberal education is also noted. Economics Departments see the discipline as pervasive, contemporary and vital and, thus, one major aim is to develop an interest in an academic field which should form part of any general education. Canadian economics is not seen as a primary field of knowledge, but it is felt that every student should know some to be a responsible citizen.⁶ For the more devoted students, there exists a specialized training for careers as professional field economists and for the rigours of graduate school.⁷

In the Political Science Departments, the undergraduate programs try

⁵Dr. Gilbert Taggart, Department of French, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 7, 1970; Dr. J. Ethier-Blais, Chairman, Department of French, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 20, 1970.

⁶Professor Muriel Armstrong, Acting Chairman, Department of Economics, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 15, 1970; Dr. T.A. Judson, Chairman, Department of Economics, Bishop's University. Interview with Robert Gordon, October 3, 1970; Dr. Graham Smith, Chairman, Department of Economics, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 14, 1970.

⁷It was noted that the Honours and graduate programs help to retain faculty and are openly encouraged.

to teach only the values and concepts of politics. The curricula do not attempt to serve any political or socialization process. They introduce the discipline in a sophisticated way so that students will be aware of the various political points of view. This discipline serves little value at the practical level of careers, with the exception of exercising limited potential in governmental and civil service areas, and of replenishing the ranks of academia.⁸ In the discipline of sociology, the general aim is to make students the better for taking sociology. This may entail the training of competent social scientists, but again, outside of the academic world, career scope has been limited. Developing Canadianism per se is not a function of curricula aims in sociology.⁹ Geography Departments have played down any politicization process, seeing their role as training students in the use of the mind, and in utilizing geography to develop people who are both knowledgeable and tolerant of the world in which they live.¹⁰ The study of geography in the world context can help Canadians to see their own country in perspective, whereas looking only at Canada would not provide perspective, political or otherwise.¹¹

⁸Dr. Harold Waller, Chairman, Department of Political Science, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 21, 1970; Dr. Klaus Herrmann, Department of Political Science, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 14, 1970.

⁹Dr. John Rawin, Acting Chairman, Department of Sociology, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 17, 1970; Dr. David Solomon, Chairman, Department of Sociology, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 13, 1970. 'Service Courses' are frowned upon at McGill, although helping with nurses and social workers.

¹⁰There is little demand for geographers beyond school teachers, and thus professionalism is not an important aim.

¹¹Dr. J. Gilmour, Department of Geography, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 10, 1970; Professor James Young, Acting Chairman, Department of Geography, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 6, 1970.

Even in history, which is the discipline most easily able to teach Canadianism, the departments refrain from doing so. To train parochial attitudes is biased history, and biased history is bad history.¹² The aim of the History Departments is to educate in such a way as to make better humans. Curricula aim at achieving a clearer grasp of all relevant factors which have affected human decisions in a historical perspective.¹³ There is an attempt to show what studying history is like, and to promote historical scholarship. The History Departments try to explain the present. It is acknowledged that the heritage has to be taught. In transmitting that heritage, it is imperative that the base line of European and British Commonwealth history be covered. But the study of history is neither national nor anti-national; it is non-national. The university level policy is to avoid the experience of various lower educational systems which have been the conscious tools of States. In short, history instruction intends to make students aware of the historical continuity of man's development by teaching the 'why' and the 'how'; facts are not enough. It can be seen that aims of the History Departments would not have been affected by the Quiet Revolution. It is felt that as all history deals with complex societies, a feeling for world history will allow a better adaptation to Canadian society.¹⁴

¹²Dr. Robert Vogel, Chairman, Department of History, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 10, 1970. Dr. Vogel resented the notion that if Canadianism is not taught formally that students do not know it.

¹³Bishop's University, Calendar (Lennoxville, 1968), p. 93.

¹⁴The Chairman of the History Department at Sir George Williams University, Dr. John Hill, claimed that the Quiet Revolution had affected departmental aims. Because it was felt that students should be concerned and informed about their immediate society, S.G.W.U. interprets strictly the rule requiring French comprehension for advanced seminars, and graduate work overwhelmingly focuses on Canadian History. The faculty has been sufficiently politicized in an academic sense to be consciously aware of the importance of stressing Quebec and Canada. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 3, 1970.

Compulsory Courses 1960-1970

In order to graduate in Arts at the universities, several basic requirements have always been mandatory. At the beginning of the decade in 1960, they did not reflect any propensity for Canadianism, tending to represent rather the philosophical tone of each institution.¹⁵ Bishop's University, for example, in 1960 required courses in English Literature in first and second years, as well as two courses in Divinity, and a course in either Latin or Greek.¹⁶ It is seen that the classical, humanistic and Christian bias was pre-eminent to the extent that a minimum of twenty to twenty-five percent of total course content required for the Bachelor's degree applied to this directly. It is to be noted also that French was not a requirement, nor were any courses which might be considered as dealing specifically with Canadian content.

At McGill, the complete revision of the Arts curricula had been concluded in 1960. Essentially, the compulsory orientation was the same as

¹⁵The different types of degrees -- General, Major and Honours -- required varying criteria at the advanced specialization level, but not at the lower level where basic compulsory courses have been operative. The General degree required little specialization; the Major degree reflected a planned program rather than a level of competence but required an approved sequence of courses in a specific subject; the Honours degree has been based both on a specialized, approved sequence of courses and on superior academic attainment. The latter should not be confused with a first class cumulative average (called Distinction) which can be gained while pursuing any type of degree.

¹⁶If the actual language was not desired, students could substitute a course in Greek or Roman Civilization.

at Bishop's, but without the Divinity. McGill's philosophical position was rooted in secular Europe. First-year requirements were structured around two groupings of subjects, which corresponded roughly to the humanities and the social sciences. All students had to complete a course in English Literature, and two in a foreign language.¹⁷ Like Bishop's, French was not listed as a specific requirement. A classical language was also required, unless matriculation had been completed in that language. After fulfilling those obligations, students were allowed some crossing from group to group; specialization came later. In the second year, one course was permitted for Arts students from a third group of subjects which encompassed the pure sciences. The remainder had to come from a chosen group. Third and fourth years called for five courses each, two of which consisted of the Faculty Course. The latter attempted to instill successive conceptions of man's nature and world. The seventeenth century was featured in third year, and the Enlightenment and the modern world in the fourth. In total, of twenty courses required for graduation, a minimum thirty percent compulsorily emphasized classical humanism. There was nothing which treated Canada in similar fashion.

Sir George Williams University enumerated a list of compulsory courses in 1960, far simpler than the other two. Specifically, of the twenty-one courses required for the General Arts degree, only three were compulsory, namely English in first and second years.¹⁸ In line with the university

¹⁷This was raised to three if a student had not matriculated from high school in that language.

¹⁸Sir George Williams University utilized an American-style semester and grading system. Also, an Honours degree was not offered until later in the decade.

philosophy, these were not as heavily geared to literature as were the other two. First and second-year programs were filled out by selecting a course each year from each of the main groups of subjects, such as general science, natural science and humanities. Thereafter, in third and fourth years a student was able to register for any eleven courses, as long as prerequisites had been fulfilled. Six had to be from the humanities and the social sciences, however. Superficially, this curriculum appears less bound to European tradition than the other two. Although students had greater choice, the rigidity of course offerings made its basic thrust not decisively different.

Beyond general compulsory requirements, each department at each university was able to exercise its own option as to mandatory requirements. In those disciplines which most naturally might have focused on Canadian content, namely history, political science, economics, sociology, geography, French and English, little emphasis was given Canada, however. In 1960 there appeared to be more emphasis on developing Canada as an extension of Europe through Britain than on concentrating on Canada as an emergent nation.

As might be expected, Bishop's called for the least requirements regarding Canadianism. Only the History Department mentioned Canada in Calendar course descriptions, and such mention was cursory. A General degree in history required no specific course on Canada. Although it was unlikely, theoretically Canadian history could be avoided at advanced level for an Honours degree. In the compulsory introductory course, seemingly little

attention was devoted to the Francophone side of Canadian History¹⁹:

The following topics will be emphasized: the process of colonization in North America to 1763, the establishment of the British regime in Canada, the Loyalists, the development of the United States to the Civil War, representative and responsible government, immigration and settlement, development of communications, Confederation, growth of political parties, settlement of the West, social and economic development of the Dominion, imperial and external relations.²⁰

In French, the first-year course stressed that students were required to read a considerable amount, preferably of French-Canadian material. Yet it should be mentioned that the second-year course was the prerequisite for all advanced work, and it dealt solely with the Literature of France.²¹ Only two other departments mentioned compulsory Canadian courses. Honours Economics required either Canadian Economic History or a similar course in European. Business Administration required French in first year.

McGill did not require much more. History demanded the most, and the Department's offerings were structured overwhelmingly around Europe and Britain. Although History of Canada was required for Majors, in the required Special Subjects course which involved in-depth study individually, British topics predominated. The only allowance for Canadian study was a 'Topic in Canadian History 1867-1896'. Also, the 'Economic History of the United

¹⁹Traditionally, Canadian Historiography has broken down into French and English camps of interpretation, with some variation of each within.

²⁰Bishop's University, Calendar (Lennoxville, 1960), p. 74.

²¹Many students would be given credit for the first-year course, having taken equivalency in Senior high school matriculation.

States and Canada' was a fourth-year Majors option. Despite the wide course resources at McGill, for those specializing in history no more than two courses of twenty needed would focus on Canada.

Other disciplines called for somewhat less Canadian content than history. Economics required only 'Economic History', which gave brief attention to North American industrial development, and 'Money and Banking', which gave partial attention to the Canadian system. Political science included only one possibility for Canadian content by forcing a choice between 'Municipal Government', a study of the systems of Great Britain, the United States and Canada, and 'Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy', an analysis of industrial societies which included Canada. Geography required 'North America' as well as 'The Technique of Regional Studies', a course which featured Canada more for its laboratory facilities than for its intention to study Canada. In the joint Honours program in history and political science, Canadian History was required for the comparative government and general history course. It was not mentioned in connection with the international relations course of study.²²

The Sir George Williams requirements in 1960 reflected to some degree an awareness of Canadianism. Although only two of nineteen history courses dealt with Canada, at least one of 'History of Canada since 1783' and the 'History of French Canada' was required for majors. Both these courses were sensitive to Canadianism. The latter was self-explanatory, the former

²²McGill University, Calendar (Montreal, 1960) passim.

featured the ". . . growth of the Canadian nation . . . knowledge of evolution of Canadian institutions . . . to analyse the present problems of the nation" in the context of sectionalism, imperialism and nationalism.²³ Moreover, cognate courses in the 'Government and Politics of Canada' and the 'Economic Development of Canada' were required. Whereas McGill and Bishop's stressed the literature and civilization of France, and thus risked not exposing many students to the literature of French Canada, French Canadian Literature was compulsory for Majors at Sir George Williams.

Lest it appear that Sir George Williams was developing Canadianism in curricula beyond the other two universities, however, it should be pointed out that no other departments required significant Canadian content. In fact, the only required courses paralleled those same options and combinations in economics and political science as required at McGill.

Curricula expansion, which accompanied the decade of the 1960's, brought mixed reaction towards Canadian content.²⁴ General compulsory course change was minimal. The only apparent step of any significance was taken at Bishop's in 1966. Students were required to take at least one course in a language other than English. French generally became that language. In anticipation of large enrolments, Bishop's inaugurated a terminal course in French at first-year level, which stressed French-Canadian reading material, and which was designed to satisfy both the language requirement and to

²³ Sir George Williams University, Announcement (Montreal, 1960).

²⁴ It has been stressed continually by various researchers that there has been a direct correlation between the lack of Canadian material in some of the social science faculties in Canada and the percentage of American faculty. See Montreal Star, Editorial "Canadian Content on Campus", June 13, 1970.

improve fluency and knowledge of native French culture. This must be viewed as an intelligent step in helping to Canadianize a predominantly Anglophone campus.²⁵ No other moves of any significance were undertaken at the universities in a general sense. It is worth noting that simultaneously the Sir George Williams Engineering Faculty retained a French requirement. Also, the Commerce Faculty there strongly recommended French because the business and governmental communities preferred bilingual graduates.²⁶

The requirements of the individual departments evidenced somewhat more Canadian orientation. Economics Departments, for one, shifted to include a Canadian emphasis. By 1963 Bishop's was requiring Majors to take North American geography, Canadian and American history and the Government of Canada as cognate courses. In 1961 Sir George Williams required 'Problems of Canadian Economics since Confederation', and followed later with 'Statistics of Canada' and either 'Economic Development of French Canada' or 'Problems of Canadian Economic Development'. McGill in 1962 required economics and history Majors to take 'Economic Policy', a course stressing Canadian aspects of political and administrative problems, as well as Canadian history and possibly the 'Economic History of the United States and Canada'.

History required increasingly more emphasis on Canada. In 1963 Sir George Williams required 'Canadian History since 1534' or 'History of French Canada', thus ensuring that consideration was given by Anglophone students

²⁵ Bishop's University, Calendar (Lennoxville, 1966), p. 46. It should be noted that because it was not actually stipulated, a student could theoretically avoid French.

²⁶ Sir George Williams University, Announcement (Montreal, 1965), p. 200.

to the Francophone side of Canada's past. 'Inter-American Relations Canada and the United States' was another option in the requirements for history majors who, throughout the decade, were generally required to take an increasingly heavy load of Canadian material. Requirements expanded to encompass an advanced reading course in Canadian history, the History of Canada, as well as a choice of four among seven North American courses, four of which focused on Canada. At McGill in 1965, a North American Honours option was begun, the compulsory courses for which entailed History of Canada, History of French Canada, Historical Evolution of Canadian Political Parties, Economic History of the United States and Canada, and the Special Subjects course which, by this time, encouraged a Canadian topic.²⁷

It is worth noting also that subtle influence could be exerted by departments beyond the actually stated stipulations. For example, although in theory a history major at Bishop's could avoid courses on Canada after the introductory level, if he so desired, the Chairman stressed that all registrations in the Department needed departmental approval. Therefore, it was unlikely that a student would take less than two, and usually would take three courses in Canadian history.²⁸

Various other departments introduced some compulsory Canadian content courses. At Sir George Williams, geography required Geography of Canada, and

²⁷New subjects had been added to this course. Also, later it became a two-year tutorial or seminar in which two of six topics were Canadian, viz. 'Race and Religion in French Canada' and 'The Age of Laurier, 1886-1919'.

²⁸Professor Claude Thibault, Chairman, Department of History, Bishop's University. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 9, 1970.

political science similarly Government and Politics in Canada. French required French Canadian literature for majors, and also that candidates pass an oral examination in fourth year. Such trends were similar to developments at the other two universities.

In summation, it is apparent that some attempt was made during the decade to include Canadian content courses in departmental requirements. This would conform to the suggestion that the transmission of the Canadian culture is an integral aspect of departmental aims. It should be remembered, however, that such courses usually were required only as part of a planned group of courses focusing on area considerations. Also, students not majoring in the 'Canadian' disciplines would normally pursue few courses on Canada because required courses of the Faculty of Arts per se altered little from 1960 to 1970.

Influence of the Collegial System

The 1969-70 academic year established a permanent variation to the traditional 'lock-step' of Anglophone education. Governmental legislation in 1967 had introduced the collegial system to provide both pre-university and professional technological education to post-secondary graduates.

Although the universities did not alter philosophically, this new system has already begun to force change throughout the undergraduate programs. Commencing in 1972, as the new system develops, the universities will offer

programs of study only at present third-year level. Until that time, they will offer the pre-university curriculum of the collegial program as well.

The Government's total collegial pattern could not have been implemented in one year for financial, plant and personnel reasons. This factor has been seen in many States, including Massachusetts, where the system has been built in stages. On the French side, over thirty so-called CEGEP's have been operationalized in three years. This procedure was relatively easy because many existing classical colleges had merely to be converted; a few had been built new. On the English side, no institutions were remotely similar, and thus everything had to be developed from the start. Dawson College in Montreal was the only Anglophone College to be chartered, and it opened in September of 1969. As a result, the Anglophone universities had agreed to offer a parallel academic program on their campuses until such time as sufficient Anglophone Colleges could be established. Naturally, this did not help those students wishing technological education, (the primary reason for the Colleges), but it did provide some coordination of the educational system at an innovative and critical period in Quebec history.

The universities drew up programs to handle this emergency. What they devised essentially paralleled the pre-university curricula of Dawson College cum Department of Education. Nevertheless, as McGill pointed out in its special brochure on the subject, ". . . the programmes to be offered at each university will be designed by it. They will differ in detail from

those offered at Dawson College, and will differ somewhat between universities."²⁹ McGill's collegial requirements called for a total of ten courses in the two collegial years: one course in English, one in French, two in the same language other than English (if that was French, another elective was allowed), and six electives. Term papers and examinations could be written in French. If a student had obtained first-class distinction in high school French, the latter was not a requirement, although at the end of first year an oral exam had to be passed.

Bishop's was very general in its collegial requirements: English, two or three humanities (of which one might be a language), and two or three social sciences. On the other hand, it was also stated that collegial students would be urged to follow a course in French.³⁰ This development was accompanied by other changes which affected the Arts degree. Henceforth, a demonstrated proficiency in a language other than English would exempt a student from the university language requirement. It is interesting to note that simultaneously the faculty had been split over the question of requiring French-language competency for graduation which, of course, did not become de facto.³¹ Bishop's finally modernized its classical bias by allowing the substitution of a course from the humanities or the social sciences in place of the previously required Divinity, Latin and Greek.

²⁹ McGill University, Appendix to Calendar (Montreal, 1969), p. 1.

³⁰ Bishop's University, Calendar (Lennoxville, 1969), p. 55.

³¹ Dr. David Smith, Dean of Arts, Bishop's University. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 9, 1970.

At Sir George Williams, the collegial requirements did not include French; rather, two credits in English, two in humanities (one of which could be mathematics), two credits in social science, one credit in natural science, and three electives. For those students wishing to pursue university studies later in cinema, drama, English, French and other languages, French was mandatory, however. It is apparent that the majority of collegial students at Sir George Williams would not be required to take French.

It should be noted that with the inception of the collegial system, the onus of preparing Anglophones in French language has been removed.³² The colleges per se have a French competency requirement, although its adequacy has yet to be verified. Also, serious curriculum review will be necessary to make the revamped undergraduate program more specialized and rigorous for the college graduates who, in fact, will have completed the traditional first two years of university-level work when they arrive as undergraduates at the universities. If specialization increases, as predicted, there are major implications for compulsory courses and electives featuring Canadian content. It is important, therefore, to examine to what extent Canadian content has been increased since the start of the Quiet Revolution.

Canadianism and a Decade of Change

It was primarily in the area of electives that Canadian content

³²See Chapter VI for faculty perceptions regarding this matter.

courses were allotted a considerable percentage of curricula additions.³³ Virtually every department Chairman interviewed at the universities claimed that Canadian content had been given priority as often as had been feasible.³⁴ Thus, whilst Canadianism has not been stressed unduly in any compulsory sense, it would be untrue to state that the universities' departments had not tried to provide a sound basis of Canadian content courses. At the same time, as has already been noted, it would not be true to state that the specific rationale was the desire to establish a national identity. What had emerged was the awareness and discovery of a body of knowledge which simultaneously had become available and worth teaching. It is unlikely that any subtle pressures emanating from the contemporary Quebec political scene had forced any change either. All Chairmen denied such a possibility. The actual answer lies in the combination of two factors; a young nation was beginning to come of age at precisely the same time as the universities underwent unprecedented expansion.

Canadian content courses were sparse at the three universities in 1960. All curricula offerings at Bishop's were restricted, but those which featured Canadian content were particularly so. Of the twelve courses listed by the French Department, only one dealt with the literature of Canada, the rest concentrating on that of France. Yet, at the same time, Bishop's

³³ Although this might seem to be a natural corollary to the emerging Canadian search for a national identity, this trend does not correspond with the findings of other studies. These studies were, for the most part, carried out at 'nouveau' institutions where foreign faculty were dominant. See, for example, The University of Windsor, A Special Study (Windsor, undated) and The University of Waterloo, A Special Study (Waterloo, undated).

³⁴ See list of Interviews, Appendix A, pp. 189-90.

offered nine courses in German, twelve in Greek, and eight in Latin. Only the theological students tended to read the latter two subjects. A mere three of these were graduated in 1962 out of a class of over one hundred, and thus it would appear that Bishop's was devoting an overproportionment of its operating budget to this traditional but minority function.

The paucity of Canadian content was not restricted to the French Department. Only one of fourteen courses offered by the English Department acknowledged Canadian literature, and that was in a poetry course shared with British and American. Economics offered but Canadian Economic History. Otherwise, the only discernable Canadian content courses were in history. Of twelve courses offered, a respectable three dealt with Canada, although none specifically focused on French Canada.

With its stress of the Eurocentric curriculum, Canadian content received limited attention at McGill in 1960. As one example, the History Department had built its program around the civilization which had emerged from the heritage of Europe.³⁵ Of the twenty-four courses offered by the Department, only two, the general survey course and the 'Economic History of the United States and Canada', appeared to deal with Canada. At the same time there were nine courses on Britain, including a full course on Celtic Britain and Ireland.³⁶ Again, political science had only two courses of seventeen dealing with Canada, although four others did so very peripherally.

³⁵Dr. Robert Vogel, Chairman, Department of History, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 10, 1970.

³⁶Incidentally, there was no specific course on France, except within the context of Europe.

It should be mentioned, however, that one was 'French-Canadian Politics', which considered intellectual and political thought concluding with current issues which had distinctly French-Canadian viewpoints.³⁷ English offered one advanced course in Canadian literature. Sociology offered 'The Culture and Social Organization of French Canada'. Geography offered nothing beyond the two previously documented. One-quarter of the twenty-eight economics courses devoted at least partial attention to Canadian content. Most were intertwined with American economics, although 'Transportation in Canada' was an exception. Other disciplines, which might have dealt with Canadian material, such as fine arts, did not in fact do so.

Sir George Williams offered at least some Canadian content in nine disciplines in 1960. The English Department presented Canadian literature in a contemporary vein, and as a complementary course to French-Canadian literature. Fine arts gave a course in Canadian Art. Political science gave a law course which contrasted Federal-Provincial court systems and considered Quebec civil law.³⁸ Sociology offered a parallel course on the 'Social Origins of Canadian Law'. Geography provided 'Canada, Past and Present' which emphasized the main trends in cultural and historical development, both regionally and nationally. Education gave 'Education in Canada', focusing specifically on Quebec's unique system. Economics offered 'Economic Development of French-Canada', which considered the implications of the French-Canadian search for economic and cultural survival. The Department

³⁷ McGill University, Calendar, op. cit., 1960, p. 1061.

³⁸ The Napoleonic Code, similar in North America only to Louisiana.

also offered 'Canadian Statistics' and 'Labour Economics'. The reasonable history offerings have already been enumerated. In summation, it is seen that although each discipline offered something in Canadian content, in terms of percentage of departmental offerings, it was minimal.

By contrast, the curricula additions realized during the decade demonstrated that commendable attention was devoted to improving the quantity of Canadian content courses. Each institution was involved in this thrust in an individual and different way. Resources of both materials and professors of course affected each university.

Some disciplines, which had not been a part of the curriculum at Bishop's before 1960, provided Canadian content in their initial offerings. The primary course offered in political science in 1962 was 'The Government of Canada and Canadian External Affairs'.³⁹ In 1964 was added 'Political and Social Thought in French Canada' which tried to explain minority privileges and responsibilities under a federal system.⁴⁰ In 1969 came the pivotal course, 'Problems of Quebec Politics', an advanced course featuring contemporary theory and practice in Quebec.⁴¹ Similarly, geography entered in 1962 and offered the prerequisite 'North America'. Subsequently followed 'Southern Quebec', and 'Historical Geography', focusing on explorations in Canada and reconstructions at key dates in Canadian history.

³⁹The Professor had been a career diplomat of high standing.

⁴⁰This course was cancelled when the Professor became Chairman of the History Department in 1966. 'Political Studies in Canada' replaced it, however.

⁴¹Bishop's University, Calendar, op.cit., p. 120.

Established disciplines at Bishop's, too, moved to provide more Canadian content. History added to the existing survey course as well as 'Canadian Thought from 1760 to the Present' and 'Quebec Political Parties' in 1963. The latter was an attempt to explain French-Canadian nationalism since 1867.⁴² A small graduate program was also nurtured at this time. Reading courses and Historiography were offered as background to theses in Canadian history. In 1966 the Chairman of twenty years resigned, to be replaced by a French-Canadian. The first-year course on 'Modern History of Europe' was eliminated and replaced by Canadian history, an important move because enrolment was high in first-year history. 'Canadian-American Relations' and a Seminar on French Canada were offered at advanced level.⁴³ Of seven Professors currently on staff in history, two are specialists in Canadian history. Other disciplines evidenced some addition within existing courses, as in French and English.

With its large Arts Faculty, McGill was able to provide Canadian content options in a more varied fashion than Bishop's. In some disciplines, the percentage did not reflect any more substantial a segment of the total in 1969 as it did in 1960. The increased scope allowed many more courses to be offered on Canada, however. For example, with nine of thirty-nine economics courses dealing with Canada in 1969, the choice was adequate, especially as there were key courses in 'Canadian Economic Policy', 'Statistics of Canada' and 'Government and Business'.

⁴² Ibid., 1963, p. 87.

⁴³ Professor Thibault believed, however, that Canadian history could not be stressed to the detriment of other bodies. Moreover, quality rather than quantity was the aim. Thus in 1969, only four courses of twenty-one were concerned directly with Canada. The rest dwelt on Britain and Commonwealth, Europe and the U.S. equally. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 9, 1970.

Other disciplines, which had sparse offerings in Canadian content in 1960, expanded considerably by 1969. History, understandably, featured in 1969, a strong Canadian content grouping. As new professors were brought on faculty, new courses were added, and new topics could be added to the Special Subjects course. Previously the options had been restricted because advanced individual study required extensive attention from hard-pressed faculty, notwithstanding the necessary degree of specialization.⁴⁴ McGill had offered the History of French Canada since 1961.⁴⁵ In 1966, the engagement of another French-Canadian history specialist allowed three courses (each focusing on a differing field) to be introduced, as well as the 'Historical Evolution of Canadian Political Parties', a course which examined problems of parties at both Federal and Provincial levels. Subsequently, another member of faculty, specializing in the History of English Canada, was engaged, and so came 'Canadian History 1841-1914' and 'Canadian Diplomatic History'. At the end of the decade, McGill had five full-time faculty and some part-time in Canadian history. Course offerings had increased from two of twenty-four in 1960 to nine and one-half of forty-five in 1969.

Other disciplines expanding offerings included political science which added 'Politics of North America', 'Canadian Political Process' and 'Public Opinion' (of Canada). Also, sociology made in-roads in 1961 with two new courses, 'Social Stratification' and 'Analysis of Industrial Societies'.

⁴⁴Dr. Robert Vogel. Interview, op. cit., July 10, 1970.

⁴⁵A compulsory course for the North American Studies Program which began in 1965.

Most years thereafter, a course focusing on Canada was added. These included 'Sociological Aspects of Political Behaviour', focusing specifically on Quebec, 'Urban Sociology', 'Social Change', a course deemed desirable for majors in the French Canada Studies Program and, in 1969, 'Analysis of Canadian Society', which emphasized organizational differences within varying regional, religious, and ethnic communities.⁴⁶

While little change transpired during most of the decade in the French Department, simultaneous with the advent of the temporary collegial programs, McGill offered several new courses at the advanced level. The 'History of Political and Social Ideas in French Canada' was introduced in second year, the 'Literature of French Canada until 1939' at third, and the 'Literature of French Canada since 1939' in fourth. Two and one-half courses were also offered in seminar format on Contemporary French-Canadian Literary Topics. There was introduced also a full graduate seminar on French-Canadian literature. In English, McGill annually offered a course in Canadian literature. 'North American Fiction' also included some scope regarding Canada. A further half course in Canadian literature was introduced in 1967. Courses involving Canada were offered in the disciplines of education, fine arts and religion.⁴⁷

Sir George Williams University lay somewhere between the two previously mentioned, in terms of Canadian curricula in 1960. Expansion

⁴⁶ McGill University, Calendar, op. cit., 1969, p. 181.

⁴⁷ McGill trains a large number of teachers in a separate Faculty, at both undergraduate and graduate level.

brought significant Canadian content. Economics alone added five courses which dealt with Canada, in particular 'Public Finance', 'Federal and Provincial Taxation Policies' and 'Industrial Relations'. Political Science, not a very large Department at Sir George Williams, added 'Canadian Federalism', a course focusing on the system's reaction to the demands of cultural dualism and regional pressures, and a course concerning Canadian External Affairs. Sociology, although a fledgling Department in 1962, introduced in rapid order 'Intergroup Relations', 'Cultural and Social Organization of French Canada', 'Area Studies in Demography' and 'Social Stratification'. Geography, for its part, offered 'Canadian Frontiers of Settlement', a study of contemporary pioneer areas, 'Urban Geography', a specific study of Canadian cities, and the 'Historical and Political Geography of Quebec and Ontario'.

It was not difficult to sustain the offerings in Canadian history for they had always comprised a substantial percentage of the total program. In 1960, three full courses were available. By 1964, 'History of British-America 1760-1867', an intensive study of Canada from Conquest to Confederation, an advanced reading course in Canadian history, and a course featuring Canadian Historians and Historiography were also available. In 1966, 'History of Quebec 1759-1965' was introduced, the purpose of which was to provide an in-depth study of the social, economic and cultural institutions of Quebec. Thus, even though several courses had to be cancelled in 1968, the most notable of which for Canadian content purposes was 'Inter-American Relations', in 1969 a full seven of thirty-five departmental courses offered dealt entirely with Canada. Graduate work in history at Sir George Williams has tended to be in Canadian fields.

In peripheral disciplines, several interesting courses were available. Besides its 'Literature of French Canada', the French Department offered in 1965 separate advanced courses on 'The Contemporary French Canadian Novel' and 'Poetry'. In an effort to broaden knowledge of the wide scope of French culture in Quebec, courses were available also in 'French Cinema' and 'French Theatre'. The English Department offered two courses in Canadian prose and poetry. 'Popular Culture in the Mass Media' gave special attention to Canada. Fine arts offered two courses, 'Canadian Sculpture and Architecture' and 'History of Canadian and American Art'.⁴⁸ 'Education in Canada' and 'Religion in Canada' were also Arts course options.

Canadian Studies Programs

The rationale underlying the enumeration of the foregoing was to indicate that the universities were clearly conscious of developing Canadian content during the period 1960-1970. In over-all disciplinary programs, Canadian content has fared well in proportion. Added to this, two other programs were initiated, one at McGill and one at Sir George Williams, which deserve special mention. One, the French Canada Studies Program, was initiated at McGill in 1963. It was originally intended to channel the resources and energies of McGill towards establishing a center of advanced study and research in this field.⁴⁹ Despite the lack of courses per se to be offered, various departments would provide some at third and fourth-year

⁴⁸ Sir George Williams has offered an extensive program in fine arts and enjoys a considerable reputation. Early in the decade there were five full-time faculty and twenty-seven courses.

⁴⁹ McGill University, Calendar, op. cit., 1964, p. 60.

level and, thus, a General or Honours degree could be taken in French Canada Studies. The pivotal disciplines were history and political science, with the option to take acceptable courses from anthropology, economics, geography and, of course, French.

Initially, in 1963, sixteen courses offered at McGill were considered appropriate for inclusion as credit courses in French Canada Studies. Five of these dealt solely with French Canada, the other eleven only partially. As new courses became available, for example in art and history, the options were more numerous. In 1965, McGill instituted also a North American Studies Program. The latter envisaged roughly the same format as the French Canada Program, and adequate consideration was devoted to both Canada, in general, and French Canada, in particular. Most recently, in 1970, McGill is attempting to establish an United States Studies Program, which has important implications for Canadians.

Concurrent with the period in which McGill was devising its French Canada Program, Sir George Williams was working on its concept of a Canadian Studies Program. The resultant Report of the committee of Faculty Council included important philosophical overtones for Canadians:

. . . the current concern for Canada's future as a nation has sparked a widespread interest in Canadian studies not only within our borders but also abroad. The Committee is concerned in its activities to steer a course between the Scylla

of indifference and the Charybdis of narrow nationalism. It will favour projects which deal with facts of Canadian existence past and present and those which reveal the themes and patterns of Canadian experience. . . .

The purpose will be to provide a student with a meaningful pattern of courses centered on Canada. Such a major might be a suitable choice for those planning careers as teachers, lawyers, journalists, or in the Civil or Foreign Service, as well as for those wishing to find a general, liberal education program geared to their interests and needs as Canadians.⁵⁰

The program, as structured, had several innovative features. First, like McGill's, it was interdisciplinary, combining options in the humanities with the social sciences. Second, a Canadian Studies major could be combined with a keen interest in another specific discipline. This would have great advantage for the student who wished to continue in graduate work and needed strong background in a particular discipline. There were also to be interdisciplinary seminars involving faculty, students and guest lecturers. Third, there was to be a language requirement so that students could benefit from French-Canadian journals and works " . . . in order to keep themselves objectively informed of the bicultural aspects of Canada's development."⁵¹ Required courses included English-Canadian literature, French, History of Canada, Geography of Canada, three full courses on Canada from a variety of disciplines, two full courses with Canadian content, chosen in consultation with the program coordinator, and the fourth year advanced Canadian Studies

⁵⁰ Sir George Williams University, Faculty Newsletter (Montreal, March, 1964), pp. 17-8.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 18.

seminar.⁵² This allotment represented exactly one-half of the total undergraduate course load and was more than consistent with normal majors' packages. The program was inaugurated in 1964 with a series of lectures to which the general public was invited.

Two other liaisons demonstrated Sir George Williams' willingness to pursue academic work in Canadianism in the bilingual milieu. In 1967, in conjunction with the Ecole Hautes Etudes Commerciales, French Canada's prestige 'business' institution, was established the Centre de Recherche en Histoire Economique du Canada Français and the Centre d'Etude du Québec en Histoire Politique. These centers served as resource and documentation clearing houses for the ongoing research of interested students and professionals.

Evaluation of Curricula:

It has been documented how the universities moved to provide substantially more Canadian content courses at the departmental level by 1970 than had been the case in 1960. A more important indicator, however, would be the manner in which they were able to reach the undergraduates which they serviced.

Success could be considered reasonable. The universities demonstrated

⁵²Ibid., Announcement (Montreal, 1964), p. 103; p. 162.

enough similarity of intent to suggest a definite trend. Many courses stressed Canadian content directly. Perhaps more important, in general courses the intention has been to blend the anational and/or theoretical approaches with Canadian examples when possible. This method of presentation allowed a suitable amount of Canadian content to be disseminated to most students. Canadian content courses, which were elective, would of course have added to that amount.

It was the feeling of many department Chairmen that fully twenty-five percent of total department offerings concerned Canadian content. This percentage was considered ample in view of the relative importance of Canadian content to international knowledge. Moreover, Canadian courses have compared favourably in terms of total university or departmental course unit registrations.⁵³ At Bishop's, for example, fully ten percent of total university course unit registrations have come in history, and it has been noted that history students always took some Canadian courses. Many students who do not major in history take at least the first-year Canadian course. McGill's history enrolments have been high. Although there are ten first-year options, numbers approximating two hundred and fifty have been enrolling in the Canadian course. High enrolment has, in fact, applied to all Canadian courses at McGill. Sir George Williams reported saturation registration (i.e., fifty) for all Canadian courses over the past four years. Student

⁵³In this instance the reference is to courses in the applicable social sciences, many of which were elective. The enrolments in English and French have been largely compulsory in the first years, and also could not adhere to any percentage of Canadian content.

interest has been nurtured by some young, active professors, some of whom were raised in Quebec, who have a strong interest in the development of Canada. There have been far more Honours students in Canadian history than in any other area at Sir George Williams.⁵⁴ The latter plans to add two historians who specialize in Canadian history among its next four appointments.⁵⁵

The Chairman of the Bishop's Economics Department indicated that a healthy percentage of content was Canadian. Both McGill and Sir George Williams maintained at least twenty-five percent in that discipline also.⁵⁶ At Sir George Williams, the introductory course in economics enrolled sixteen hundred annually, and a definite attempt was made to have Canadians teach it. Many part-time teachers who know the Canadian milieu facilitate this process. A French-Canadian teaches the course on French-Canada. If foreigners teach this course, the Department has insisted on a comparative approach. McGill, too, has taught the introductory course in terms of Canada, both because of a consciousness of Canada and because it presented the handiest source for examples. Thus, it can be seen that although students in economics (roughly annually one hundred and seventy-five Majors and twenty-five Honours at McGill and Sir George Williams each) have been able to choose options according to interests, all receive fair and reasonable grounding in basic Canadian material.

In political science, as well, although it is a discipline which

⁵⁴It was acknowledged that high school graduates were receiving an improved grounding in Canadian history, and thus an informed student body has demanded more attention be given Canadian content.

⁵⁵Data for this section came from Interviews. See Appendix A, pp. 189-90.

⁵⁶Notwithstanding a departmental orientation towards international economics, and a twenty percent foreign enrolment at McGill University.

lends itself more to theory, the universities have been devoting twenty-five percent to Canadian content. This, despite the fact that Canada has to be considered a minor contributor in the context of what it has originated in the field of political theory.⁵⁷ McGill presently offers four full courses on Canada, all taught by Canadians, and two full graduate courses. A full twenty-five percent of fifty Honours students are concentrating on Canada. Most of the Majors (one hundred and fifty) in political science take at least the advanced Canadian course.

Even in geography, with its emphasis on a systematic search for principles rather than a reliance on regional studies, Canada serves as a basic tool in undergraduate courses. Admittedly this results partially because the students know the region better than any other; but it is also available for the necessary field study. It was for these reasons that the major required course at McGill was switched from 'North America' to 'Canada'. Nevertheless, departmental content is still held at about twenty-five percent Canadian content, not out of line with other disciplines.⁵⁸ In a subject which has limited enrolments in the total university context, some fifty students regularly take the Canadian courses at McGill and Sir George Williams, despite the fact that only small numbers major in the field.

In light of the foregoing, it is both significant and discouraging that the special programs in Canadian Studies have not achieved similar

⁵⁷Dr. Harold Waller, Chairman, Department of Political Science, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 21, 1970.

⁵⁸The more than fifty percent American content suggests that Canadian material is not overly represented, however.

standing. The programs at both McGill and Sir George Williams so far appear to have been little more than window-dressing. McGill's program seems to have been used to soothe the consciences of the Anglophones, with the French Director, Laurier Lapierre, being utilized to explain French-Canada to the English.⁵⁹ Jean-Louis Roy, the Acting Director, believed strongly that little progress has been made in really establishing a comprehensive course of study in this area. In actuality, the only products have been some research of an individual nature, and a few lecture series. Reliance for course offerings has rested with departmental cooperation. This has been a questionable process at best because each department has usually reacted in a defensive manner to the requests of the French Canada Studies Program, arguing that their own priorities precluded any action. In short, the reception accorded to the Program has not been encouraging.⁶⁰

Only time can reveal whether or not the McGill Program will become more than a resource center. Some improvement seems to be scheduled for the 1970-71 academic year. Up to 1970, there had been a Director and no staff; in 1970 there has been no Director, but enough staff of its own to mount a series of courses on French-Canada, independently of other departments. In 1969-70 approximately one hundred and fifty students took courses for credit in French Canada Studies, and ten majored. In 1970-71 the advance registration looked to two hundred and fifty students, and more majors than the ten of 1969. This registration splits roughly between Anglophones and Francophones.

⁵⁹ Professor Jean-Louis Roy, Acting Director, French Canada Studies Program, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 8, 1970.

⁶⁰ Dr. Donald Theall. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 8, 1970.

It is to be hoped that such encouraging developments will allow the Program to prove its real worth during the decade of the 1970's.⁶¹

The Sir George Williams Program has been similarly discouraging. Despite the altruistic and optimistic beginnings, only eight students enrolled in 1964. Enrolment thereupon fell to the point where only four or five students have been majoring annually. The reasons for this development are important. Although it is inconceivable in a Francophone Province, the French fluency requirement has scared off many potential applicants. As was the case with the McGill Program, there has been widespread apathy on the part of departments and, in some cases, overt opposition. It is true that the departments have serviced the program but such service meant simply to offer their regular courses for credit in the Program. They have never tried to participate in its development. Another drawback which had become obvious was the fact that its interdisciplinary composition and non-Honours degree status have made it difficult for students wishing graduate school admission. Many have thus opted for the security of the specialized mandarin system. Finally, the students just have not demanded such a program, in large part because, like all Canadians, they have been locked into the American system through economic reliance and the mass media. Invariably, on graduation, they opt to join that system. In short, without considerable financial muscle and more philosophical emphasis from an aroused university and general public, there appears little chance for Canadian Studies to become

⁶¹Ironically, McGill announced in the Spring of 1971 that, in fact, financial problems would probably force curtailment of the entire Program.

functionally successful.⁶²

In conclusion, it can be seen that the universities have been providing opportunity for study concerning Canada, albeit mostly through electives. Such offerings have been reasonably well attended by students, primarily because they did not interfere with the necessary expertise needed in a specific discipline. There appears, however, a reluctance among both students and faculty to commit themselves to the fuller programs in Canadian Studies. The attitudes of the departments have not helped the special programs to establish credibility. It would appear that primary faculty loyalty, as has been the case in the United States, now rests with the discipline. As a direct result, specialization has been a fundamental part of the undergraduate's program often, of course, to the detriment of Canadian content.

Faculty have been the primary movers for curriculum matters. This fact affects Quebec in the same way as any other area. But it has been suggested that the predominance of foreigners (Americans) as members of faculty in Canada, generally, has affected the philosophical direction of Canadian universities.⁶³ Before embarking upon an analysis of contemporary faculty attitudes regarding curricula direction for the 1970's, it is important to examine trends in faculty characteristics at the universities

⁶²Dr. Michael Gnarowski, Professor of English and Chairman, Canadian Studies Program, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 13, 1970.

⁶³See The Struggle for Canadian Universities, Robin Mathews and James Steele, eds. (Toronto, 1969).

during the period 1960-1970. Such an examination is important in Quebec especially, because Quebec clearly is unlike any other Canadian province.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF FACULTY AND THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Despite the financial shortcoming of Quebec and the urgent need to build up the Francophone system, during the 1960's the Anglophone universities received enough support to enable them to add considerably to their physical plants. This growth naturally was supplemented by parallel increases in student enrolments and faculty appointments. It is to be remembered that a premise of this study has been that faculty exert major influence in curriculum making. Thus, this chapter focuses essentially on the collective characteristics of the faculty who held appointments at the universities during the decade. Specifically, there follows first a brief discussion of the expansion itself. Following that, the general ethnic origins of faculty are sketched. Then, in turn, the situations regarding the actual employment of French-Canadians and of English-Canadians are examined. Finally, implications regarding future faculty trends at Quebec's Anglophone universities are discussed.

Expansion During the 1960's

Some general comparative figures indicate that the universities underwent a steady growth in terms of numbers. Bishop's employed a total

faculty of thirty in 1960, which serviced about four hundred students. By 1969, there were eighty-eight full-time faculty, (fifty-nine being in Arts), and approximately eleven hundred students. Sir George Williams had a total faculty of one hundred and ninety-five in 1963, of which some seventy were in Arts. In 1969 there were one hundred and seventy-five in Arts alone. Enrolment had leapt dramatically from a total of roughly six thousand in evening and day in 1960, to seven thousand full-time day students and another twelve thousand in the evening. McGill had risen from two thousand six hundred and sixty-five Arts students in the 1950's to close to seven thousand in 1968. The latter were serviced by a faculty of close to three hundred.

The explanation for such expansion can be attributed primarily to the thrust of the Quiet Revolution itself. Towards the end of the Duplessis régime in 1959, the Quebec universities had begun to receive the benefits of Provincial Government grants to defray both capital and operating expenditures. Shortly thereafter, too, the universities were able to reap some return from the Federal monies which had been held in trust because the Quebec Government had hitherto refused to participate in shared financing for educational purposes.¹

Until 1959 any expansion had to be carried out with private monies. Bishop's University had possessed some endowment but had never been able to afford the luxury of offering courses in many departments. In 1960, with

¹For a full explanation of Federal involvement in funding, see McGill University, Annual Report (Montreal, 1960), pp. 11-12, and also 1961, Ibid., pp. 11-13.

only twelve faculty in Arts, of which two were in English, two in history, and two in the fledgling Business Administration Department, a mere six were left to spread over the remaining disciplines of the humanities and the social sciences. Each year of the new decade, faculty allocations were increased so that not only could basic disciplines such as English and modern languages gain personnel, but also new departments could be built. Psychology came in 1961, political science and geography in 1962, and sociology in 1966. It was only in 1964 that Bishop's listed its faculty in the Calendar by departments rather than in one alphabetical presentation. Were it not for the well-entrenched Theological Faculty maintaining at least four faculty members, and usually six, the Arts departments might have been shored up even further.²

Sir George Williams University has never had an endowment. Any expansion has been dependent on massive capital fund-raising or whim of Government. Most disciplines were represented in the curriculum in 1960, but more often than not offerings were restricted to the capabilities of a few men. With the infusion of Quebec money in the 1960's, considerable expansion was realized. Honours programs, which require specialized curricula, were begun in Science in 1962, and in Arts the following year. Graduate programs were initiated in 1965. By 1969 Doctoral programs were supported in several Arts disciplines and in the Sciences. Full programs were mounted

²A variety of reasons slowed expansion towards the end of the decade: lack of money from the Province, (the 1970 operating budget asked for allotment for 1,300 students, but the Government allowed enough for only 1,000); existing endowment was used to pay off existing debts, and without Government help could not be used to begin new projects; and applications levelled off.

in such undergraduate majors as International Studies, Judaic Studies, theatre, drama and religion. Clearly, large infusions of new faculty were needed to support this.

McGill University, largely because of its impressive endowment, already possessed a comprehensive Arts Faculty in 1960. Thus, as far as faculty increase was concerned, the problem became more one of filling in gaps in specific disciplines and of providing for the cross-disciplinary courses of study which continued to be spawned. Among the most notable innovations in this regard were the centers for East Asian Studies, African Studies, Industrial Relations Studies, and Jewish Studies. All these required specialized courses and faculty.³

Ethnic Origins of Faculty⁴

French-Canadian representation on university faculty has never been more than sparse. There were few on staff in 1960; it is apparent that the substantial faculty increases of 1960-1970, and the developing trends of the Quiet Revolution, did not noticeably alter that situation.

³Like Bishop's, expansion has been curtailed. Both McGill and Sir George Williams have complained publicly about the inadequacy of Governmental allocations in relation to amounts requested. So has Université de Montréal.

⁴Two processes were utilized to gather data regarding faculty origins. One consisted simply of matching names (Christian and surname) against the universities from which academic degrees had been received. Particular emphasis was paid first degrees because many, Canadians especially, do graduate work in different countries. In the case of foreigners, it was assumed that if all academic degrees had been awarded in one country, then the recipient was a native of that country. The other process was to question department chairmen during interview sessions.

Although Sir George Williams had engaged two French-Canadians in Science in 1960, in Arts there appeared to be no more than a solitary lecturer in modern languages. During the following two years, only one lecturer was added, in sociology.⁵ At McGill, in 1960, there were several French-Canadian faculty in the 'non-personal' Faculties of Law and Medicine, but none was apparent in the Faculty of Arts. Yet there were seven Francophone Europeans in the Romance Languages Department, including the Chairman. The following years' faculty lists indicated many Europeans, but few French-Canadians. For example, the year 1962 revealed only one lecturer in romance languages, as well as one in physics. Bishop's had none at this time.

By 1963, French-Canadians were slightly more in evidence on the Anglophone campuses. McGill appointed Laurier Lapierre, later to be a national television commentator, as Sessional Lecturer in History; soon thereafter he became Executive Director of the fledgling French Canada Studies Program. The next year brought an Assistant Professor of French from Laval University. Several appointments were made in Science to people who invariably had done graduate work in the United States. Sir George Williams appointed two lecturers in French and an Assistant Professor in sociology. Also, Bishop's appointed its first French-Canadian, a lecturer in both history and political science.

It is true that during the second half of the decade French-Canadians

⁵In fairness to Sir George Williams, many French-Canadians were utilized part-time, mainly to staff the large evening division.

assumed positions with some frequency at the Anglophone institutions. Bishop's had increased its contingent to six by 1966. Sir George Williams, by 1967, had engaged fourteen full-time in Arts. McGill added fifteen in such varied disciplines as classics, psychology, philosophy, history, sociology, mathematics and French in 1966 and 1967 alone. The three appointments in French were particularly significant in that they marked the first break from the practice of seeking Europeans.

Superficially, this flurry of appointments appears impressive in terms of Anglophone attempts to foster the French side of the Canadian duality. When viewed in the context of total Arts faculty, however, French-Canadian representation remained negligible. Their representation was largely in the discipline of French itself. This state of affairs is unfortunate as McGill and Sir George Williams especially were experiencing increased enrolment from the Francophone population. Certainly, too, the Anglophones could have profited greatly in a cultural sense by contact with French-Canadian professors. Bishop's had the highest per capita percentage of French-Canadian faculty in Arts of the three universities. Yet at no time during the decade did Bishop's have more than six French-Canadian faculty, and usually it was less than that. It is worth noting that with one exception appointments were no higher than the rank of Assistant Professor. McGill and Sir George Williams fared somewhat worse in terms of percentage of faculty who were French-Canadian, although they were flexible in granting advanced professorial rank. Few of those who were appointed were products solely of Canadian universities.

Canadian graduate schools, both Anglophone and Francophone, have not provided the scope of those in Europe and the United States. Canadians with scholarly advanced degrees, and especially those educated solely at home, have not been plentiful. Although there is much more to this question, the percentage of Canadians on the universities' faculty has not increased over the decade, be they French-Canadians or English-Canadians. Mathews and Steele have revealed, in fact, that an over-abundance of foreigners, predominantly British and Americans, were joining the faculties of Canadian universities.⁶ The Quebec Anglophone universities have been no exception. Many of the new appointments which accompanied the expansion of the 1960's were drawn from ethnic groups other than Canadians.⁷ At Bishop's, at the beginning of the decade, the faculty was made up mostly of Canadians and some British. By 1968 one-third of the total were either from the United States or Britain. Several more had recently emigrated from Europe. McGill and Sir George Williams have demonstrated similar trends. As one example, the Sir George Williams History Department in 1969-70 employed eleven Americans out of nineteen faculty. This 'problem' has developed into a national 'cause célèbre', and considerable time has been spent debating the issue.⁸

Staffing problems have always been a matter of concern for the Canadian universities. Some departments have worked consciously to improve

⁶The Struggle for Canadian Universities, Robin Mathews and James Steele, eds. (Toronto, 1969) passim.

⁷See Chapter VI, pp. 134-64.

⁸See for example, Montreal Star, Editorial, "Canadian Content on Campus", June 13, 1970.

the foreign-Canadian ratio. McGill's English Department, for example, has gone from thirty percent Canadian and fifty percent American representation in a fifty member department in 1965, to fifty-five percent Canadian and only twenty-two American in 1969.⁹ The foreign 'invasion' has not played as large a part in the development of the Anglophone universities of Quebec as it has in other parts of Canada. This is partly because the French issue has tended to overshadow it, and partly because the faculty themselves have not seen it as an issue in terms of the overriding academic excellence. There are signs that the issue could become more directly important to the future of the Anglophone universities in Quebec, and for Canada as a whole. In this connection, it will be seen that the Quiet Revolution has had a distinct impact.

French-Canadian Faculty

The paucity of French-Canadians on faculty appears to be a relatively permanent state. Usually the ones who do come either teach French itself, or are engaged to teach in entirely French-Canadian areas, as in history and political science. For example, beginning in the Fall of 1970, McGill's Political Science Department will 'sponsor' a lecturer to teach three courses on Quebec for the French Canada Studies Program.¹⁰

⁹Dr. Donald Theall, Chairman, Department of English, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 8, 1970.

¹⁰Dr. Harold Waller, Chairman, Department of Political Science, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 21, 1970.

Why is this the case? Language certainly is not the barrier. The Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism indicated throughout that many French could operate with ease in English, even though the reverse was not true.¹¹ Were the French not wanted in the English universities? Were there not enough trained Francophones to staff their own growing system? Or did the French simply not wish to teach in English universities for cultural, linguistic or other reasons?

It is partly true that with the French trying to develop an extensive university system, they have been hard pressed to staff the Francophone ones. The new Université de Québec is rapidly becoming the largest in the Province. They could not afford to 'lose' staff to the existing English ones. The French universities need all the faculty they can get, and in fact have hired many English-Canadians and Americans who can lecture in French, in order to meet their faculty requirements.¹²

More important, for this study at least, there appears to be little evidence to suggest that the English universities either have been discriminating against French candidates or have not desired them as colleagues. The earlier concept that French was not 'pure' unless it came from France has disappeared as a pivotal factor. Today there are eight French-Canadians in the McGill French Department alone. Even the English Department at McGill has brought in a French-Canadian for 1970; a specialist

¹¹Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa, 1967) passim.

¹²Professor J.H. Whitelaw, Coordinator of Academic Planning, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 8, 1970.

in African Literature, who will help also with the French Canada Studies Program.¹³ Only geography, of all the disciplines, reported any hesitation to hire French-Canadians. The rationale in this case was that there were two schools of geography, the scientific and the descriptive. The latter school was centered in Paris and naturally French-Canadians generally followed that course. McGill and Sir George Williams preferred the scientific approach.¹⁴

Ethnic considerations have had nothing to do with hiring practices. If anything, the reverse seems to have been the case. There has been a definite attempt to hire French-Canadians if and when possible. The essential crux of the matter seems to be that French-Canadians do not wish academic appointments at English universities. McGill, with its large facilities for graduate study and research, has not fared as badly in that it has attracted some prominent French-Canadians. The other two have had trouble attracting French-Canadian faculty. The Chairman of English at Bishop's reported he was ready to hire a French-Canadian, but that the candidate backed off. The Dean of Arts stated that both the French and Psychology Departments had advertised in academic journals in French, as well as at specific Francophone universities, and had received no replies whatsoever.¹⁵ The central theme of this matter was repeated frequently in the course of interviewing on all three campuses.

¹³Dr. Donald Theall, Chairman, Department of English, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 8, 1970.

¹⁴Dr. J. Gilmour, Department of Geography, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 10, 1970; Professor J. Young, Acting Chairman, Department of Geography, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 6, 1970.

¹⁵Dr. David Smith, Dean of Arts, Bishop's University. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 8, 1970; Dr. James Gray, Chairman, Department of English, Bishop's University. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 9, 1970.

Why do French-Canadians feel this way concerning teaching at established Anglophone universities? Claude Thibault, a French-Canadian and Chairman of the History Department at Bishop's University, believed that the French fear intimate contact with the English on the latter's home ground. By the same line of reasoning, the French-Canadian views English-Canadian faculty at Francophone universities as a threat.¹⁶ Americans, who are teaching English as a second language on Francophone campuses and using solely American materials, are allowed to do so simply because the French-Canadian sees Americans as less of a threat than English-Canadians.¹⁷ Dean Smith put this point in another perspective. Although many seemingly enlightened Anglophones have felt that a blend of English and French students on the same campus would aid Canada in finding identity and unity, the Francophones have reacted to this concept with a definite resistance. They believe they would ultimately be assimilated on the English campus, and that the English would eventually take over **and** submerge the French-Canadian culture on the Francophone campus.¹⁸

The reticence of French university faculty to intermingle on the campuses of the opposite tongue documents the major problem of

¹⁶Professor Claude Thibault, Chairman, Department of History, Bishop's University. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 10, 1970.

¹⁷Professor Lila Stonehewer, Department of English, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 7, 1970. Ironically, French-Canadians feel the same way about faculty from France as they do about English-Canadians, if for slightly other reasons.

¹⁸Dr. David Smith. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 8, 1970.

French-Canadian history since the British Conquest, namely the struggle for cultural survival. Because of the general feeling of uncertainty in the English milieu, and a corresponding sense of security in his own, a natural corollary has emerged. The French-Canadian tends to be a captive of a regional market in terms of potential faculty appointments.¹⁹

French-Canadians, therefore, will not add substantially to the Anglophone faculties in the foreseeable future, even though Francophone institutions begin to produce Ph.D's.

There is one more irony to consider. It has been noted that the scarcity of French-Canadians at Anglophone universities by no means reflects the number who could operate successfully in the Anglophone universities. It is unfortunate, however, that any French-Canadian who does elect to join the faculty of an Anglophone university must always accept the stigma that he is opting out of the French struggle for survival, even though he might well be furthering the cause of Canada itself.

English-Canadian Faculty

A phenomenon related to the Quiet Revolution has emerged in Anglophone circles. Potential English faculty have been staying away from the uncertainties of Quebec. Many department chairmen alluded to this, indicating that recent recruiting had suffered because of Quebec's political instability.

¹⁹Professor Claude Thibault. Interview with Robert Gordon, June 9, 1970.

Chairmen have had some difficulty attracting suitable Anglophone Canadians. For example, Dr. Vogel at McGill tried unsuccessfully to secure a Canadian historian at senior level and, as a result, had to use a commuting professor from Ottawa for a graduate seminar.²⁰ At Sir George Williams, the Geography Department reported one case involving a candidate who outlined what he expected in the way of salary, clearly including \$1,000. as political compensation for coming to Quebec.²¹

There is an accompanying aspect to this point. Few applications in the last five years have been coming from English-Quebeckers.²² Undoubtedly, their knowledge of the Quebec situation a priori had produced some exodus, especially as many left the Province initially for university study anyway. Other negative factors contribute to individuals not returning, and quite possibly to non-Quebeckers not wishing to come. Until recently, McGill has been affected in academic circles because the Sciences seemed to be overly favoured and because Scots had been imported to fill senior administrative and departmental posts. Lately, too, the Government's operating grants to the universities have been committed so late, (in 1970, in June) that many faculty and potential faculty have been forced to make other plans. Lower salaries than elsewhere in Canada have not helped the malaise. The exact loss through such various factors can never be calculated.

²⁰Dr. Robert Vogel, Chairman, Department of History, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 10, 1970. It should be noted that younger Ph.D's are becoming more plentiful at least in terms of numbers. Experienced scholars are hard to come by.

²¹Interview with Professor J. Young, July 6, 1970.

²²Interview with Dr. David Smith, June 8, 1970.

On the other hand, there has been little significant indication that standing faculty have been leaving Quebec because of the political climate. Chairmen generally denied losses on those grounds.²³ Some young faculty had left, but usually this was from a first job, a common practice in the academic world. Essentially, a political 'brain drain' has not been a serious factor to date. In fact, most chairmen felt that it had been overplayed by the press and general public.²⁴

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, contrary to allegations made by other researchers, no apparent bias aimed against Canadian faculty has been detected.²⁵ It is true that most chairmen believed they could not consciously favour Canadian candidates if academic excellence and scholarship were to be the chief criteria. It was also acknowledged that if all things were equal, the Canadian candidate would get the job. Nationality per se has not been any real factor in hiring. In short, in the words of McGill's Dr. Solomon, "If the guy is no good, he's no good, regardless of nationality."²⁶

²³ Sir George Williams University admitted that some left from sociology, and the Economics Department admitted some might have liked to, but were restricted in mobility.

²⁴ For example, Professor Claude Thibault, of Bishop's, and Dr. John Hill, Chairman, Department of History, Sir George Williams University.

²⁵ See Close the 49th Parallel, etc.: The Americanization of Canada, Ian Lumsden, ed. (Toronto, 1970), pp. 169-179.

²⁶ Dr. David Solomon, Chairman, Department of Sociology, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 13, 1970.

Recently, the glut of Ph.D's in a variety of fields has provided more than enough candidates.²⁷ Many have been from foreign applicants, although increasingly there are more Canadian candidates as well.²⁸ Nevertheless, the facts suggest two basic problems for Canadians. One, if the job vacancy has been in an esoteric field, Canadian candidates often have not been available. Two, if the candidates were available, frequently they have not been viewed as being as good as the foreign applications. As a result, Canadians frequently have not attained faculty appointments at their own universities.

It has been true that amongst the Ph.D's produced in Canada there have not been enough specialists in some of the esoteric fields that the universities wished to develop. For example, Dr. John Hill, who claimed that the History Department at Sir George Williams is sensitive to this problem, pointed out that unfortunately many Canadian holders of Ph.D's have been in Canadian History itself. All too few Canadian universities have offered Doctoral programs outside the Canadian field. Thus, a cycle has evolved. Knowledgeable graduate students have enrolled abroad in order to get the program they wish. In order to produce a well-rounded faculty in Canada, foreigners have had to be recruited. In this way, Sir George Williams was 'forced' to hire eleven of its nineteen historians from the United States.²⁹

²⁷Dr. Harper, of Bishop's University, stated that seventy applications had been received in the Fall of 1970 in English, even though no job was listed as open.

²⁸This factor fluctuated with specific disciplines. For example, of seventy applications for jobs in sociology at McGill, only three were from Canadians. The answer here is that few Ph.D's have been produced in sociology in Canada.

²⁹Dr. John Hill, Chairman, Department of History, Sir George Williams University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 3, 1970.

The question of quality continues to be a fundamental and contentious issue. Geographers reported that only the University of Toronto was producing 'quality' Ph.D's in Canada and, as a result, most of the geography faculty at McGill and Sir George Williams have been, and are, British.³⁰ In terms of the quality considered necessary, the Sociology Department at McGill did not believe suitable candidates could be found in Canada.³¹

Clearly, some alternative procedures for gaining academic appointments for Canadians are called for. Yet, what can be done to improve such a situation? It can, of course, be hoped that foreigners will begin to teach, to live and to research in Canada in an unbiased fashion and, thus, in time to become de facto Canadians. In that respect, it should be appreciated that Canada is receiving an expensively trained intellectual elite free of charge. Most chairmen admitted they would like more Canadians on staff, however, if they could only get them.

Altering established procedures is not an easy matter. In-breeding, which has operated to some extent at McGill by adding recent graduates to faculty, is frowned upon, with good reason. Yet McGill, being one of Canada's primary producers of Ph.D's, loses its crop annually and has difficulty in replacing it from other Canadian institutions. Ethical considerations preclude 'raiding' other (Canadian) institutions, just as the shortage of qualified

³⁰Dr. J. Gilmour, Department of Geography, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 10, 1970.

³¹Dr. David Solomon, Chairman, Department of Sociology, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 13, 1970.

Black professors has produced a similar problem in the United States. The personal contact method seems to be the most viable way to secure appointees. It is generally acknowledged that there is minimal traffic through the annual 'slave-markets'. Therein lies another problem for Canadians. They often have not been 'found' because existing contacts have lead to Europe or the United States.³² The cycle is vicious. As the contacts build, Canadians continue to be left out. Therefore, even when actively seeking Canadians, success has been far from the norm. Another problem has been that the best Honours graduates of the universities go to the United States or Britain for graduate school, often never to return. Many, of course, are holders of lucrative scholarships neither tenable or available at Canadian universities. 'Operation Retrieval', designed to combat this loss, has turned out to be, in fact, another Government plan lost in the bureaucratic shuffle.³³

For those Canadians undertaking graduate work at home, there have been further factors contributing to the inability of the universities to supplement their quota of Canadian faculty. With little funding for graduate students available, many have had to 'moonlight'. Others go to work in community colleges and high schools on completing the preliminary comprehensives, never to complete their dissertations. Another problem has been that the best junior Ph.D's prefer the stimulation of big departments, and

³² Dominion Bureau of Statistics reveal that candidates who are qualified do exist. See Post-Secondary Population Survey 1968-69 (Ottawa, 1970).

³³ Operation Retrieval was a plan whereby all Canadians pursuing graduate work abroad would receive details as to employment openings in Canada. It was begun in the mid-1960's, but has had very limited success, mostly because of lack of communication with the graduate students. See The Struggle for Canadian Universities, op. cit., p. 70.

few Canadian universities could mount large programs and sufficient research possibilities to attract them. In this respect McGill has suffered less than the other two universities, and less than many other universities in Canada. But McGill relies heavily on the Quebec Government for operating monies and they are presently most tight.³⁴

Supply and Demand Factors

It is thus seen that the complexities which affect faculty appointments do not allow an easy solution to this issue. It continues to elicit strong but mixed feelings from Canadians. The fact that Canadian universities have not been producing enough doctorates in some fields is now being overcome. Graduate schools have grown enormously since 1960. Scholars in many fields are beginning to enter the job market. The more subtle suggestion that Canadian graduate schools have not been producing capable scholars, and thus, first-rank faculty, remains a matter of debate. Whether or not such an allegation is true is not for this study to determine. It can be assumed that enough qualified Canadians are becoming available. Two important questions need answering in this regard. One, will the new 'quality' graduates of the Canadian universities be willing to work in the Quebec of the 1970's? And two, even if they are willing, in the context of the slowdown in university growth and the abundant numbers of tenured faculty already on campus, will there in fact be any jobs for them in the universities of Quebec?

³⁴ McGill will run a \$6. million deficit in 1969-70. See Montreal Star, November 28, 1970.

At the same time, it must be remembered that there will continue to be an abundance of Americans, facing a glut of Doctorates and other problems at home, who will be willing to come to Quebec (and Canada). The reasons for Americans coming to Canada are clearly different from those which 'pull' scholars from other lands to the United States. Yet one can see why so many Americans have been attracted to Canada. The jobs have been there for one thing, two years have been tax free, and with the academic year being shorter than at home, the summers have allowed more time for personal pursuits. Notwithstanding the dearth of appointments in the United States, Canada's relative virginity and calm appeared more promising than an America fraught with the draft and the Viet Nam War, racial tension and unchecked environmental abuse. Foreigners generally have not viewed Quebec in such tense terms as have many Canadians, both because of ignorance and the tameness beside their own situations.³⁵ Moreover, being fairly mobile for the most part, they have not seen reason to worry as have those English-Quebeckers with roots.

It is also possible that foreigners come prepared to cope with the bilingual and bicultural situation. Americans, especially, see Montreal as cosmopolitan. They are able to fulfill the dream of participating in an exciting 'foreign' adventure without sacrificing the normal amenities to which they have become accustomed. This factor becomes significant when viewed beside the fact that English-Canadians have hesitated to locate in

³⁵ Interview with Dr. John Hill, July 3, 1970; Interview with Dr. J. Gilmour, July 10, 1970.

the Province. When they have done so, the tendency has been to 'ghettoize' themselves in the well-known Anglophone districts. Two phenomena should thus be noted. One, English-Canadians feel threatened in Quebec for virtually the same reasons that many of the French do in the context of Canada. Two, being unconcerned about the French nationalism, foreigners have not been as worried as Canadians.³⁶

Whatever the rationale which either attracts or repels faculty, regarding the English universities of Quebec, two things are revealed by the research. One, the nature of Quebec's indigenous population, and the constant tension which the Province provides for Canadians in general, has not allowed the normal flow of recruitment and appointment to operate. There is the possibility of a subtle take over by foreigners, albeit an unconscious one, by default; admittedly that is an extreme position. Two, certain adjustments in personnel policies are necessary if the Anglophone universities of Quebec are to acquire and to maintain an adequate and representative percentage of Canadian faculty, both French and English. Stated differently, there are

³⁶Dr. Michael Oliver, Vice-Principal, Academic, McGill University. Interview with Robert Gordon, July 15, 1970. It is also interesting that many Americans cannot understand what all the dialogue is about. Many view the criticism of their presence in Canada as a selfish reaction on the part of Canadians who cannot compete successfully in the academic marketplace. On the other hand, in answering that view, some Canadians will not acknowledge that Americans are, in fact, first rate, claiming that if they were, they would gain appointments at home. Also, they claim that Americans invariably use Canada as a stepping stone for better situations at home when they arise. Dr. Klaus Herrmann and Dr. Michael Gnarowski, the latter a Canadian, the former an American, offered interesting comments on this theme.

serious, inherent implications for Canadianism regarding the curriculum direction which could follow from present trends.³⁷ In that connection, it was both important and interesting to examine contemporary faculty perceptions of curricula direction involving Canadianism and Canadian content.

³⁷ For example, instead of studying such problems as French-English relations, the Indians, the Eskimos, the Metis and the like, sociology could feature 'our colour question' as has been the case. See Close the 49th Parallel, etc.: The Americanization of Canada, op. cit., pp. 174-5.

CHAPTER VI

CONTEMPORARY FACULTY ATTITUDES REGARDING CANADIANISM

The essential purpose underlying the investigation of faculty attitudes regarding Canadianism within the Faculties of Arts was to enable some prediction as to future curriculum direction. A mailed questionnaire was considered the most feasible technique for gathering data which could broadly indicate such faculty attitudes.¹ Of four hundred and ninety-five possible respondents who were currently engaged full time in Arts at the three universities, exactly eighty percent, or three hundred and ninety-six, returned completed questionnaires. The numerical breakdown of returned questionnaires by universities is documented in the table which follows:

TABLE 1
FACULTY RESPONSES BY UNIVERSITIES

University	Questionnaires Sent	Questionnaires Returned	Percent Returned
Bishop's	53	44	83
Sir George Williams	184	142	77
McGill	258	210	80
Total	495	396	80

¹For a complete resumé of methodology regarding the questionnaire, see Appendix D, pp. 199-206.

The most dramatic conclusion to be arrived at from an examination of the respondents' replies was that the subject matter of the questionnaire evoked emotion and/or controversy. Many comments, written in addition to responding to scaled items, reflected a sensitivity to nationalism per se, one way or another, and to Canadian content in curricula.² In this connection, it should be noted that the questionnaire was first mailed during a time of intense tension in Canada. Specifically, five days after the mailing, on October 19, 1970, Quebec's Minister of Labour, Pierre Laporte, was assassinated following his kidnapping, a fact which can only have heightened individual feelings regarding such subjects as 'Canadian culture and nationalism'. In the light of the reactions of those who did respond, it would be interesting to know both the reactions of those who did not respond, and why they did not respond.

Specifically, it was hoped that the questionnaire would provide data concerning four factors. Certain conjectures in that connection had been predicated on the basis of patterns which had emerged from the preliminary research regarding the universities up to 1970. The conjectures could be enunciated as follows:

1. that faculty would generally see a need to stress Canadianism;
2. that faculty would consider that an effective function had not been performed in preparing students for life in the bilingual society;

²See Appendix F for some of the interesting comments.

3. that faculty would feel that compulsory courses with essentially Canadian content, and a French-language competency, should not be required;
4. that in the disciplines which most naturally focused on Canadian content, the faculty would feel that about twenty-five percent of the curricula total in their discipline should be allocated to Canadian content.

In light of the foregoing conjectures, the questionnaire data were interpreted with the following questions in mind:

1. To what extent would the faculty see a need to stress Canadianism? (Items 9, 10).
2. In the faculty view, how effectively had the universities been performing in preparing students for life in the bilingual society? (Item 13).
3. To what extent would the faculty see the desirability of establishing compulsory courses containing Canadian content and, similarly, of establishing a French-language competency requirement? (Items 11 and 14).
4. In their discipline, (i.e., those focusing most naturally on Canadian content), what percentage of total curriculum allocation would faculty feel should be devoted to Canadian content? (Item 12).

Need for Canadianism

The rationale for seeking data regarding the stressing of Canadianism had been founded on two considerations. One was the traditional university function of transmitting culture, and the other the emergence of the general movement searching for a Canadian culture and identity. It should be pointed out that the two items utilized for this purpose in no way concerned themselves with what other influences shaped the universities' cultural tone as, for example, the historical British liaison, but merely whether or not a specifically Canadian culture should be fostered. One item was concerned with the transmission of a national identity, the second with the specific role to be performed in preparing students for the bilingual culture of the area in which the universities were located.

The data generally appeared to indicate that the faculty did see a need to stress Canadianism. It can be stated that a majority of the population believed that the transmission of national identity is a function to be performed.

TABLE 2
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
IMPORTANCE OF TRANSMITTING NATIONAL IDENTITY

Vitally Important	68	17.9%
Very Important	89	23.6%
Moderately Important	144	38.2%
Not Important	29	7.6%
Irrelevant	48	12.7%
Total	378	100.0%

It can also be stated that this item aroused considerable emotional comment. Although seventy-nine percent of the population believed that at least a moderate role should be played by the universities (and forty-one percent a very or most important role), it was frequently pointed out that any national identity was a parochial and/or dangerous doctrine to be preaching in the shrinking contemporary world.³

An examination of the relationships with other variables revealed other interesting data. No differences among age groupings appeared regarding the importance of the transmission of national identity. In the categories of birthplace and citizenship, despite the fact that Canada had not been mentioned specifically as the country, twenty-four percent of the Canadian-born respondents viewed transmitting a national identity as vital, another twenty-six percent viewed it as very important, and another thirty-four percent viewed it as moderately important. In contrast, only ten percent of the American-born respondents viewed this function as vital, with a further nineteen percent viewing it as very important. Again, only four percent of British-born respondents viewed it as vital, with another twenty-two percent viewing it as very important. In the sense that the American and British ways of life have been implanted strongly, both at home and abroad, and Canada struggles to establish herself securely, these data can be viewed as natural attitudes.

³ Ibid., See Appendix F.

TABLE 3
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY IN
TRANSMISSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

AGE

	-30	30-39	40-49	50-59	60*	Total
Vitally Important	7	31	10	12	8	68
Very Important	11	34	25	13	6	89
Moderately Important	20	70	32	17	5	144
Not Important	6	10	9	0	4	29
Irrelevant	8	22	9	8	1	48
Total	52	167	85	50	24	378

TABLE 4
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY IN
TRANSMISSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

BIRTHPLACE

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
Vitally Important	36	8	2	14	7	67
Very Important	39	15	10	16	9	89
Moderately Important	51	35	24	22	12	144
Not Important	10	7	3	6	3	29
Irrelevant	14	13	6	8	5	46
Total	150	78	45	66	36	375

TABLE 5
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY IN
TRANSMISSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

CITIZENSHIP

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
Vitally Important	49	7	3	6	3	68
Very Important	59	14	7	6	3	89
Moderately Important	72	37	18	12	5	144
Not Important	23	13	5	3	2	46
Irrelevant	14	7	3	4	1	29
Total	217	78	36	31	14	376

So, too, can be the data regarding European-born respondents. It would be axiomatic to state that nationalism has played an enduring and fundamental role in European history. It is thus significant that a full forty-five percent of this group viewed transmission of identity as vitally important. The data also revealed that of the sixty-eight who viewed the function as vital, nineteen percent had been non-Canadian born but had taken out Canadian citizenship. Similarly, had twenty-nine percent of those in the 'very' important category.

An analysis of the responses by disciplines clearly indicated that faculty teaching the 'Canadian' subjects viewed the transmission of a national identity as more important than did those teaching psychology and other disciplines. About one-third of the faculty in French, history and political science viewed this aspect as vital; the mean for all Canadian disciplines was between 'moderately' and 'very' important. The responses to compulsory courses regarding Canadian content reflected to some extent a positive correlation with attitudes towards transmission of national identity. Seventy percent of those who had selected 'vital' wished a minimum of three courses on Canada, and fifty-four percent of those selecting 'very' wished a minimum of three. At the same time, only thirty percent of those selecting 'moderately' wished a minimum of three courses.

TABLE 6
 FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY IN
 TRANSMISSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY
 DISCIPLINE

	Econ.	Eng.	Fr.	Hist.	Pol.Sc.	Soc.	Anthro.	Geog.	Psych.	Other	Total
Vitally Important	4	8	9	11	7	3	1	3	3	20	69
Very Important	4	15	5	8	4	6	4	5	6	32	89
Moderately Important	14	20	13	16	8	13	0	10	19	32	145
Not Important	2	2	2	0	2	1	0	2	10	8	29
Irrelevant	4	5	1	3	2	0	2	0	13	19	49
Total	28	50	30	38	23	23	7	20	51	111	381

TABLE 7
 FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY IN
 TRANSMISSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY
 COMPULSORY COURSES

	0	1 - 2	3	4 - 5	5 ⁺	Total
Vitally Important	13	6	8	19	17	68
Very Important	17	20	19	17	9	82
Moderately Important	60	33	19	16	6	134
Not Important	20	2	2	2	1	27
Irrelevant	39	7	0	0	0	46
Total	149	68	48	54	33	352

As might be expected, a positive correlation was apparent between responses to the role the faculty believed the universities should perform in transmitting a national identity, and the role they felt the English-language universities should be playing in the preparation of students for life in a bilingual culture.

TABLE 8
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF UNIVERSITY IN
TRANSMISSION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

ROLE OF UNIVERSITY IN BILINGUAL CULTURE

	Vital	Very	Moder.	Not	Irrel.	Total
Vitally Important	42	18	4	0	0	64
Very Important	21	57	10	0	0	88
Moderately Important	32	60	50	0	0	142
Not Important	4	11	8	2	2	27
Irrelevant	11	8	11	3	14	47
Total	110	154	83	5	16	368

The further statement can be made that the faculty of the universities generally viewed the transmission of a bilingual culture as a more important function than transmitting a specific national identity.⁴ Only six percent of the population viewed this role as not important or irrelevant. In fact, seventy-one percent viewed this function either as very or vitally important.

⁴Ibid., See Appendix F.

TABLE 9

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN PREPARING STUDENTS
FOR BILINGUAL CULTURE

Vitally Important	115	30.3%
Very Important	155	40.9%
Moderately Important	86	22.7%
Not Important	6	1.6%
Irrelevant	17	4.5%
Total	379	100.0%

Beyond the global recognition of the bilingual culture, the biographical variables did not reveal more significant data. Approximately the same percentage of each age group saw the universities' role as either vitally, very, or moderately important. There was similar distribution regarding responses to birthplace and citizenship, although Canadians had appeared more sensitive to the national identity factor. Canadians viewed this function of the universities in roughly the same perspective as did those of other nationalities.

TABLE 10

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
ROLE FOR UNIVERSITIES IN PREPARING STUDENTS
FOR BILINGUAL CULTURE

AGE

	-30	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 ⁺	Total
Vitally Important	15	51	26	16	7	115
Very Important	19	62	36	24	14	155
Moderately Important	15	43	17	8	3	86
Not Important	1	3	1	1	0	6
Irrelevant	2	9	4	2	0	17
Total	52	168	84	51	24	379

TABLE 11

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
ROLE FOR UNIVERSITIES IN PREPARING STUDENTS
FOR BILINGUAL CULTURE

BIRTHPLACE

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
Vitally Important	45	28	14	17	10	114
Very Important	61	31	15	30	17	154
Moderately Important	38	11	13	18	6	86
Not Important	2	1	1	1	1	6
Irrelevant	1	8	1	3	3	16
Total	147	79	44	69	37	376

TABLE 12

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
ROLE FOR UNIVERSITIES IN PREPARING STUDENTS
FOR BILINGUAL CULTURE

CITIZENSHIP

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
Vitally Important	63	27	14	8	3	115
Very Important	93	31	8	15	7	154
Moderately Important	51	13	12	8	2	86
Not Important	3	1	1	1	0	6
Irrelevant	5	7	1	1	2	16
Total	215	79	36	33	14	377

A strong correlation was evidenced between the role of the universities in the bilingual culture and the compulsory courses regarding Canada. Fifty-nine percent of the one hundred and seven faculty who viewed the function of stressing bilingual culture as vital wished at least one compulsory course, and forty-nine percent wished three or more. Conversely, of the eighty who viewed the function as moderately important, only forty-six percent wished one or more compulsory courses, and only twenty-eight percent three or more. Regarding the French competency requirement, negative responses increased proportionately with the lessening of importance attached to the role foreseen for the universities in preparing for life in a bilingual culture.

TABLE 13

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
ROLE OF UNIVERSITY IN PREPARING STUDENTS
FOR BILINGUAL CULTURE

COMPULSORY COURSES FOR GRADUATION

	0	1 - 2	3	4 - 5	5 ⁺	Total
Vitally Important	43	11	14	23	16	107
Very Important	46	40	25	21	11	143
Moderately Important	43	14	9	9	5	80
Not Important	3	1	0	0	0	4
Irrelevant	12	3	0	0	1	16
Total	147	69	48	53	33	350

TABLE 14

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
 ROLE OF UNIVERSITY IN PREPARING STUDENTS
 FOR BILINGUAL CULTURE

FRENCH COMPETENCY FOR GRADUATION

	Yes	No	Total
Vitally Important	99	16	115
Very Important	119	35	154
Moderately Important	55	31	86
Not Important	3	2	5
Irrelevant	7	10	17
Total	283	94	377

It is to be remembered that it was predominantly the faculty of the 'Canadian' disciplines who believed national identity should be stressed. For the item concerning the bilingual culture, however, categorization by discipline indicated that all departments thought that the universities had an important role to play. Thus, whereas forty-one percent of the population had seen transmitting national identity as a vital or very important function, with only sixteen percent coming from psychology and 'other' disciplines, seventy percent of the sample believed that preparing students for life in a bilingual culture was either vitally or very important, with forty-two percent coming from psychology and 'other' disciplines. It is to be noted also that the percentage of faculty in each 'Canadian' discipline was substantially increased as opposed to the percentage regarding the transmission of national identity, especially in French and history.

TABLE 15
 FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF THE
 ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN PREPARING STUDENTS
 FOR BILINGUAL CULTURE

DISCIPLINE

	Econ.	Eng.	Fr.	Hist.	Pol.Sc.	Soc.	Anthro.	Geog.	Psych.	Other	Total
Vitally Important	5	17	12	14	6	7	1	4	9	41	116
Very Important	8	24	13	15	8	12	2	7	24	42	155
Moderately Important	10	9	4	3	8	5	2	9	14	23	87
Not Important	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	6
Irrelevant	3	0	1	2	1	2	2	0	4	3	18
Total	26	51	30	34	23	26	7	20	52	113	382

Effectiveness in Preparing Students

It was felt that to determine contemporary faculty perceptions regarding the effectiveness of the universities in their preparation of students for life in Quebec would complement the curricula data. Clearly, it is apparent that the faculties have not viewed the universities' performance as overly effective. Although forty-nine percent of the population saw it as moderately effective, thirty-one percent saw it as not effective. Furthermore, only three percent viewed the performance as most effective, and only another six percent as very effective. These responses correlated well with responses to the items concerning national identity and bilingual culture.

TABLE 16

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF EFFECTIVENESS OF UNIVERSITIES
IN PREPARING STUDENTS FOR LIFE IN QUEBEC

Most Effective	13	3.6%
Very Effective	27	7.6%
Moderately Effective	178	49.6%
Not Effective	112	31.2%
Irrelevant	28	7.8%
Total	358	100.0%

While the data were by no means conclusive, there was slight indication that older faculty viewed the universities' performance as more effective than did the younger faculty. This would be a realistic assumption to make in view of recent Canadian developments, which have made Anglophones aware of Canada's major problem.

TABLE 17

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF EFFECTIVENESS OF UNIVERSITIES
IN PREPARING STUDENTS FOR LIFE IN QUEBEC

AGE

	-30	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 ⁺	Total
Most Effective	3	2	3	3	2	13
Very Effective	1	11	8	3	4	27
Moderately Effective	23	73	41	25	16	178
Not Effective	17	55	27	12	1	112
Irrelevant	6	12	5	4	1	28
Total	50	153	84	47	24	358

In the total context of effectiveness, no trends of significance were revealed by an examination of birthplace, citizenship, bachelor's degree and graduate work. Those who planned to stay in Quebec were slightly more favourable to an effective job than those who planned to leave, an interesting fact but of dubious significance. As might be expected, those who desired the most compulsory courses were not impressed with the effectiveness of performance. Finally, responses to this item for 'Canadian' disciplines ranged primarily from 'moderately' to 'not' effective. For example, half the historians thought a 'not' effective function was being performed, as did fourteen of twenty-six responding sociologists. There was a positive correlation between the 'most' important role generally envisioned for the preparation of students in the bilingual culture, and the non-effectiveness of the past pattern.

TABLE 18
 FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF EFFECTIVENESS OF UNIVERSITIES
 IN PREPARING STUDENTS FOR LIFE IN QUEBEC

DISCIPLINE

	Econ.	Eng.	Fr.	Hist.	Pol.Sc.	Soc.	Anthro.	Geog.	Psych.	Others	Total
Most Effective	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	7	13
Very Effective	1	1	5	0	0	2	0	4	4	10	27
Moderately Effective	17	22	15	12	13	6	2	10	20	63	180
Not Effective	4	21	7	17	9	14	1	3	15	21	112
Irrelevant	3	1	2	5	0	2	0	1	8	7	29
Total	25	46	29	35	22	26	5	18	47	108	361

Compulsory Courses and French Competency

The third question had been posed largely in the light of evidence which had shown that specific Canadian content had never been required for the Bachelor of Arts degree. It is to be remembered too that the study of the French language had not been mandatory for the most part, although pragmatically there had been reason for its being the chosen required (modern) language. On the basis of the data shown in Table 19, there is reason to conclude that the faculty would agree to accepting at least one compulsory Canadian content course. It is true that forty-two percent of the population felt that no compulsory courses (out of a total of fifteen) were plausible; but thirty-eight percent agreed to a minimum of three, and close to ten percent felt at least one-third of the total undergraduate curricula should focus on Canada.

TABLE 19

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN COMPULSORY
COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

None	154	42.5%
One to Less than Three	70	19.3%
Three	49	13.5%
Three to Five	55	15.3%
More than Five	34	9.4%
Total	362	100.0%

Comparing responses to the item regarding compulsory Canadian courses with those to other items produced some interesting insights. For example, sixty percent of those born in Canada felt that Canadian courses should be required, with forty-six percent wishing three or more. At the same time, only twenty-three percent of Americans saw three or more courses as necessary, and thirty percent of British-born faculty. Quite understandably, many of those who had taken out Canadian citizenship saw Canadian content courses as desirable. Sixty percent of those who took bachelor's degrees in Canada believed Canadian content courses necessary, and forty-four percent wished three or more. Fifty-nine percent of those who took primary graduate work in Canada felt at least one course was desirable, while all other countries had much lower percentages. The breakdown of responses concerning compulsory courses by disciplines generally approximated the global totals.

There were some individually significant data, however. Seventy-six percent of the French department saw the need for at least one compulsory course, with forty-four percent wishing more than three courses. Again, although twenty-six percent of the historians wanted no compulsory courses, seventy-four percent did, with forty-one percent wishing three or more. Similar percentages can be traced for other 'Canadian' disciplines, whereas psychology and 'other' disciplines reveal lower norms.

TABLE 20
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN COMPULSORY
COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

BIRTHPLACE

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
None	53	42	24	25	8	152
1 or 2	22	15	6	15	12	70
3	21	7	4	9	8	49
4 or 5	25	6	7	8	9	55
5+	19	4	2	8	0	33
Total	140	74	43	65	37	359

TABLE 21
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN COMPULSORY
COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

BACHELOR'S DEGREE

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
None	65	43	26	13	3	150
1 or 2	27	17	8	12	6	70
3	25	7	3	9	5	49
4 or 5	31	5	7	7	4	54
5+	16	8	2	8	0	34
Total	164	80	46	49	18	357

TABLE 22
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN COMPULSORY
COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

GRADUATE WORK

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
None	54	68	15	13	2	152
1 or 2	22	29	7	11	1	70
3	19	18	3	7	2	49
4 or 5	25	16	4	5	3	53
5+	14	11	2	7	0	34
Total	134	142	31	43	8	358

TABLE 23
 FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN COMPULSORY
 COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

DISCIPLINE

	Econ.	Eng.	Fr.	Hist.	Pol.Sc.	Soc.	Anth.	Geog.	Psych.	Other	Total
None	12	24	7	9	9	7	1	5	31	50	155
1 or 2	4	6	4	11	5	5	2	4	11	19	71
3	4	6	5	7	2	3	0	3	3	17	50
4 or 5	4	9	6	3	3	4	1	6	2	18	56
5 ⁺	2	4	7	4	1	3	1	2	2	8	34
Total	26	49	29	34	20	22	5	20	49	112	366

Finally, two other pieces of data are worth mentioning. First, a full two-thirds of those who did not wish a French competency requirement did not wish any compulsory courses. As the number of courses increased, the percentage of 'no' responses regarding French competency decreased proportionately. For example, only one of thirty-three respondents wishing five or more compulsory courses did not also wish a French competency requirement, whereas fifty-two percent of those wishing no compulsory courses did not wish French competency. Second, fifty-eight percent of those not wishing any compulsory courses thought the universities were presently doing a 'moderate' to 'most' effective job in preparing students for life in a bilingual culture. Conversely, sixty-three percent of those who felt the universities were not effective wished some compulsory courses, as did sixty-four percent of those who believed the universities were carrying out a 'moderately' effective function.

TABLE 24

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN COMPULSORY
COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

EFFECTIVENESS OF UNIVERSITY IN PREPARING
STUDENTS FOR LIFE IN QUEBEC

	Most	Very	Moder.	Not	Irrel.	Total
None	7	11	60	37	18	133
1 or 2	2	7	37	16	2	64
3	1	3	30	12	1	47
4 or 5	0	3	28	21	2	54
More Than 5	2	2	13	14	3	34
Total	12	26	168	100	26	332

TABLE 25
 FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF CANADIAN COMPULSORY
 COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION
 FRENCH COMPETENCY REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

	Yes	No	Total
None	101	53	154
1 or 2	55	14	69
3	39	10	49
4 or 5	45	10	55
More Than 5	32	1	33
Total	272	88	360

There is clear statistical evidence to suggest that a French competency requirement would be feasible. Three of every four respondents were receptive to this. It should be pointed out, however, that although most respondents viewed French competence as necessary, many of those did not believe that the production of such competence should be the duty of the university. Many faculty believed the function should be complete before entering university; the language would merely be maintained through the university years.⁵ Further evidence of this can be seen in that sixty-five percent of those not wishing compulsory courses had responded yes to French competency (Table 25), although it is to be noted that French competency need not entail compulsory courses, merely a test and remedial work if needed. Data concerning compulsory French competency should be viewed in light of the foregoing.

The comparison of responses regarding French competency with biographical data exhibited few significant trends, but some interesting

⁵This factor was mentioned frequently in written-in comments.

phenomena. The percentage of 'yes' to 'no' responses (3 to 1) was stable among age groups. While twenty percent of those born in countries other than Canada thought French competency should not be a requirement, thirty percent of those born in Canada thought similarly. Eighty-six percent of those who had taught at their present university less than two years believed French competency should be required; as length of service increased, the percentage of negative responses increased. Only sixty-seven percent of those ten years and over thought competency should be required. In the breakdown by disciplines, fifty-three percent of the negative responses came from the 'Canadian' disciplines (the faculty of which comprised fifty-eight percent of the population), and forty-seven percent from psychology and 'others'. French and history which, for purposes of this study, consistently have appeared to favour Canadianism, responded ninety-three percent and eighty-nine percent, respectively, in the affirmative. Forty-four percent of economics respondents and thirty-five percent of geography responded in the negative, with other 'Canadian' disciplines showing a lower negative percentage. Although the latter statistics are not really influential in the curricula context, they are perhaps interesting enough to record.

TABLE 26
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF FRENCH COMPETENCY
REQUIREMENT FOR GRADUATION

AGE

	-30	30-39	40-49	50-59	Over 60	Total
Yes	43	132	66	35	19	295
No	11	41	21	16	5	94
Total	54	173	87	51	24	389

TABLE 27

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF FRENCH COMPETENCY
REQUIREMENT FOR GRADUATION

BIRTHPLACE

	Can.	U.S.	G.B.	Eur.	Other	Total
Yes	105	69	30	58	29	291
No	46	14	15	11	8	94
Total	151	83	45	69	37	385

TABLE 28

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF FRENCH COMPETENCY
REQUIREMENT FOR GRADUATION

NUMBER YEARS TEACHING PRESENT UNIVERSITY

	-2	2-5	5-10	10+	Total
Yes	66	95	76	58	295
No	10	25	31	28	94
Total	76	120	107	86	389

TABLE 29

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF FRENCH COMPETENCY REQUIREMENT FOR GRADUATION

DISCIPLINE

	Econ.	Eng.	Fr.	Hist.	Pol.Sc.	Soc.	Anthro.	Geog.	Psych.	Other	Total
Yes	16	43	28	33	18	20	4	13	33	90	298
No	13	10	2	4	5	7	2	7	19	25	94
Total	29	53	30	37	23	27	6	20	52	115	392

Curricula Allocation in Canadian Content

The fourth question had been posed in full knowledge of two factors. The first was the fact there had been virtually no Canadian content whatsoever up to 1960, and that there had been steady but limited growth of Canadian content during the years of the Quiet Revolution. The second was that Canadian material had not played a primary role in the development of the world's knowledge, a fact stressed by the contemporary chairmen. Respondents' data appeared to support the conjecture that in the pivotal disciplines of economics, English, French, history, political science, sociology (anthropology) and geography, about twenty-five percent of curricula allocation would be devoted to Canadian content. For example, eighty-four percent of economics faculty believed more than eleven percent of economics' subject matter should be Canadian content; sixty-one percent believed more than twenty percent; and thirty-eight percent more than thirty percent. Specifically, in other disciplines, fifty percent of English, eighty-seven percent of French, seventy-seven percent of history, ninety-five percent of political science, sixty-seven percent of sociology, and fifty-nine percent of geography believed that over eleven percent of Canadian material was desirable. As further examples, forty-one percent of French faculty believed more than thirty percent Canadian content desirable, with thirty-three percent of political science believing likewise (sixty-one percent wishing over twenty percent); forty-five percent of historians, and forty-four percent of sociologists called for more than twenty percent Canadian content. Only six percent of the faculty in 'Canadian' disciplines felt that no Canadian content

was necessary in their department. The assumption can thus be made that a mean of about twenty-five percent Canadian content could be a reasonable expectation for the departments of economics, French, history, political science and sociology which lend themselves more closely to Canadian content. The geography and English departments seemed willing to include Canadian content but, as might be reasonable to expect due to the esoteric constitution of much of their subject matter, at a lower percentage than the others.

As would be expected, there appeared a positive correlation between those who believed the transmission of a national identity to be important and those who wished a strong percentage of Canadian content in departmental offerings. There appeared similar correlations regarding those who indicated the importance of the universities' role in the bilingual culture, and regarding those favouring the French competency requirement.

Finally, of those who believed that the universities were performing only a 'moderately' or 'not' effective role, (in fact, about two-thirds of the total population), fifty-three percent believed at least eleven percent Canadian content to be desirable, and thirty percent called for over twenty percent. The latter percentages included all disciplines; 'Canadian' disciplines reflected higher percentages. In short, there is reason to assume that, according to contemporary faculty attitudes, Canadian content will attain a reasonable share of curricula content.

TABLE 30
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF PERCENTAGE CANADIAN CONTENT BY DEPARTMENTS
DISCIPLINE

	Econ.	Eng.	Fr.	Hist.	Pol.Sc.	Soc.	Anthro.	Geog.	Psych.	Other	Total
0	0	2	1	2	0	5	0	2	31	52	95
1-10	4	21	2	5	1	2	2	5	12	33	87
11-20	6	17	9	10	7	5	1	4	6	10	75
21-30	6	4	2	10	6	3	3	2	0	4	40
Over 30	10	2	10	4	7	6	0	4	1	11	55
Total	26	46	24	31	21	21	6	17	50	110	352

TABLE 31

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF PERCENTAGE
OF CANADIAN CONTENT BY DEPARTMENTS
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF IMPORTANCE
OF TRANSMITTING NATIONAL IDENTITY

	Vital	Very	Mod.	Not	Irrrel.	Total
0	10	13	33	11	23	90
1-10	9	24	34	7	11	85
11-20	11	24	29	4	6	74
21-30	10	6	18	3	3	40
Over 30	21	14	15	1	1	52
Total	61	81	129	26	44	341

TABLE 32

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF PERCENTAGE
OF CANADIAN CONTENT BY DEPARTMENT
FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF IMPORTANCE
OF ROLE OF UNIVERSITY IN PREPARING
STUDENTS IN BILINGUAL CULTURE

	Vital	Very	Mod.	Not	Irrrel.	Total
0	24	32	27	3	7	93
1-10	25	35	18	2	3	83
11-20	15	41	17	0	1	74
21-30	14	14	8	0	3	39
Over 30	23	17	10	0	1	51
Total	101	139	80	5	15	340

TABLE 33

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF PERCENTAGE
OF CANADIAN CONTENT BY DEPARTMENTS

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF FRENCH
COMPETENCY REQUIREMENT FOR GRADUATION

	Yes	No	Total
0	65	29	94
1-10	70	17	87
11-20	56	18	74
21-30	30	10	40
Over 30	44	9	53
Total	265	83	348

TABLE 34

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF PERCENTAGE
OF CANADIAN CONTENT BY DEPARTMENTS

FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF EFFECTIVENESS OF UNIVERSITIES
PREPARING STUDENTS FOR LIFE IN QUEBEC

	Most	Very	Mod.	Not	Irrel.	Total
0	6	9	35	18	14	82
1-10	3	4	49	18	5	79
11-20	0	6	40	19	3	68
21-30	1	2	15	15	3	36
Over 30	2	2	25	22	2	53
Total	12	23	164	92	27	318

Summary

In summation, four major findings have emerged from the data. First, the faculty generally believed that the transmission of national identity is a role for the universities to perform, moderately and objectively. Canadians saw this as more important than others. The faculty viewed the role of the universities in preparing students for life in the bilingual culture as more important than the transmission of identity. Second, the faculty generally agreed that the function of preparing students for life in the bilingual culture has not been performed very effectively. Thus, the assumption can be made that the faculty will adapt to suggested change in order to improve the transmission of the bilingual culture. Third, in related context to that assumption, it would appear that at the least one full compulsory course on Canada would be acceptable. And fourth, it can be expected that the 'Canadian' disciplines will offer about twenty-five percent of total curricula content on Canadian material.

The foregoing generalizations elicited from the questionnaire can be helpful in considering future curricula developments. In the light of the Federal Government's drive to attain bilingualism and biculturalism it would appear that any positive change at the universities in this regard is to be desired. It would also appear, from the broad trends indicating faculty attitudes, that such change would be generally welcomed. Change is not

something which evolves easily, however. Many problems and obstacles lie in the way. This study would be incomplete without attempting to analyze those problems, just as it would be incomplete without recommending some viable possibilities for change. A discussion of problems and recommendations will therefore be the subject of the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is apparent that there was considerable expansion of Canadian content offerings at the universities throughout the 1960's. Similarly, faculty attitudes generally seemed to be positive in supporting Canadianism. Nevertheless, several fundamental considerations have hampered the specific development of Canadianism. Some of these considerations were concerned with other curricula emphases. Most involved the various practical realities which had to be faced during the decade. These realities pertained, in some cases, to the particular university or department, but usually to the nuances of Quebec and Canada. Any recommendations to be accepted as plausible could be formulated only in full recognition of existing problems and limitations. It is thus important to enunciate delimiting problems before presenting any recommendations.

Delimiting Problems

It is axiomatic that some of the disciplines must, by nature, develop around the formulation of universal concepts. Economics, political science and geography are all cases in point. It is clearly important to establish

a systematic and scientific conceptual base from which general principles can then be applied. In short, courses that are primarily theoretical cannot be geared to stressing Canada or Quebec. It would be fair to state also that there is some opposition to guiding emphases to Canada. Dr. Solomon, of McGill's Sociology Department, for example, expressed the view that even twenty-five percent Canadian content would be an overemphasis, and that more would distort the teaching of 'pure' sociology.¹ Chairmen, when interviewed, frequently pointed out that while it was generally desirable to utilize Canadian examples where possible, many courses could not realistically draw upon solely Canadian sources. The rationale underlying the latter position can be attributed to two factors. One is that the historical borrowing from Britain and America has exerted a distinct influence on most phases of Anglophone Canadian development. The other is the limited development of Canada within the total scope of certain disciplines such as economics, political science, sociology, English and French.² Further, some disciplines, such as geography, could not feasibly study only Canada. Although possessing a varied sampling of geographical forms, Canada per se does not encompass all necessary topical areas for study in that discipline. The same could be said for other disciplines as, for example, international economics.

Another deterrent to the emphasis of Canadianism has been the scarcity of publications and materials concerning Canada per se. Such a dearth has

¹Interview with Dr. David Solomon, July 13, 1970.

²For example, a course in Industrial Organizations could not realistically deal only, or even primarily, with Canadian developments.

not allowed course concepts and aims to be discussed in terms of Canada, even if the desire has been there. In many Canadian fields, little basic research has been produced, let alone the preparation of suitable teaching resources. In many cases, Canada as a regional study has been downgraded by the universities. Research carried out on Canada has been done mainly because Canada was the laboratory available (as in geography), not for any inherent interest in Canada.³ Sociology, a relatively new discipline for the Canadian universities, has suffered especially from a deficiency of Canadian materials, and thus has been forced to rely mainly on 'foreign' studies for resource materials. As a result, in this and in many of the other disciplines, the references utilized have more often than not failed to parallel Canadian experiences. The curricula have tended to reflect British or American material, a situation which has affected the tone of many courses which might normally have presented theoretical concepts through Canadian examples. This situation has contributed to the perpetuation of a lack of knowledge about Canada.

The nature of the Province of Quebec has restricted practical experience as well. Language and cultural differences have precluded much in-depth analysis of Quebec. Political scientists have made virtually no in-roads into the Francophone civil service of Quebec. Sociological studies encounter obvious problems. Fortunately faculty (and hence student) interest in (French) Canada as a new fertile field for research is beginning to alleviate this deficiency. As one example, economists at McGill and Sir

³Interview with Dr. J. Gilmour, July 10, 1970.

George Williams are beginning to carry out research in Quebec, which will ultimately benefit Canada in general, and the universities in particular. Graduate theses in several disciplines are now actively researching Canadian (and Quebec) topics. The Government agencies, too, are beginning to produce substantial in-depth studies on all phases of Canadian life. Yet this deficiency remains a priority for improvement.

In 1970, the shortage of funding for higher education has begun to be felt severely at the universities. Expansion has been curtailed and graduate work and research projects restricted. Virtually every chairman interviewed would have liked to expand curricula offerings to include more new Canadian courses but, under contemporary budgetary conditions, it is impossible.⁴ This situation hurts such a discipline as sociology, which recently has begun to enrol large numbers; McGill, in fact, about 2,800 annually, and Sir George Williams, not far behind. Although the demand has begun to be consistent, adequate Canadian courses cannot be provided.

It might be asked why a more complete representation of Canadian courses was not established during the expansion years. The answer lies in the fact that disciplines could not afford to be insular and provincial in their offerings. A strong semblance of internationalism had to be maintained for any university department to be viable and cosmopolitan. Thus, specific and esoteric courses featuring Canada could come only after a well-rounded departmental program had been developed. For many, if not most, departments at the universities in the 1960's, development was required in many areas,

⁴For example, at Sir George Williams, economics wished more economic policy in Canada; at Sir George Williams and at McGill, political science wished more public administration and urban politics.

not just Canadian. In history, for example, besides supplementing the existing areas of Europe, Great Britain and the Commonwealth, and North America, the departments strained to maintain area studies of Africa, Latin America, and Asia. In most departments, Canadian content could not have hoped to be a singular priority.

The complexity and dynamism of world patterns of activity since the Second World War have heightened interest in a global approach. This can only have contributed to a proportionate deflation of interest in things Canadian. Quebec's Anglophone university students generally have been more politicized regarding the global struggle for the balance of power than they have with Canada's not inconsequential internal problems.⁵ The sophistication and availability of the (American) mass media have facilitated this trend. Although undoubtedly the Quiet Revolution has had some effect in making students more aware of the vital issues of Canadian development, they have not been motivated to Canadianism per se.⁶ Widespread demand by students for Canadian content just has not materialized.⁷ The many American graduate students have not helped in this regard. In several graduate departments, they have been dominant.⁸ As teaching assistants, they have been able to influence both faculty and students. In terms of curricula emphases, the

⁵ Interview with Dr. Robert Vogel, July 10, 1970.

⁶ Interview with Professor Claude Thibault, June 9, 1970.

⁷ Canadian Literature at McGill has enjoyed large enrollments, but this has been due more to the reputation of the Professor, Novelist Hugh MacLennan, than to demand.

⁸ At McGill, in sociology for example, American undergraduate quality has been considered superior and, hence, Americans have been accepted into graduate school.

world has prevailed, often at the expense of, rather than in conjunction with, Canada. As one result of this primary interest in world developments, Canadian courses of some departments have become susceptible to falling enrolments.⁹

Moreover, the global approach has tended to spread some departments too thinly. The requests for a variety of special area study centers have placed overwhelming demands on many departments. There have been subtle pressures to hire or to 'lend' faculty for esoteric fields of study such as South East Asian or Jewish Studies. Most such programmes strain existing teaching and library resources. They also do not enrol their share of students. In short, they affect expansion of Canadian courses and materials.

At the same time, it should be noted that the world view has initiated a trend to eliminate traditional chronological and/or area studies. There are indications that interdisciplinary and thematic studies will present a viable format for the future. Courses would shift emphasis from a specific time and place to a general theme. For example, the history of science, of technology or of war could replace a combination of traditional offerings; "Montreal" per se would not be studied, rather, "Cities of the World"; and the "Government of Quebec" could be included in a course focusing on regional governments within a larger federal structure. Such a development would not necessarily hurt Canada. It is to be hoped Canada would be viewed as an integral part of any thematic studies.

⁹ McGill's History Department is one example of this. Interview with Dr. Robert Vogel, July 10, 1970.

Such a development would by no means be guaranteed, however. There has existed a definite inferiority complex and/or apologetic attitude concerning the teaching of Canadian content. This situation has existed especially in the field of English, (Canadian Literature has been an also-ran beside British and American), and French, but also has surfaced in other disciplines. Professors have tended to downgrade Canadian content as being unimportant in the larger context of other available works. For English professors, this attitude has been the extension of a feeling that Canada's past has been short and uneventful; that Canada's history has contained few cataclysmic events to produce a feverish era of creativity (in literature) and, hence, few writer of depth. English departments have been willing to offer any 'good' Canadian Literature, but such a standard has not been readily available.¹⁰ This reaction towards things Canadian has pervaded many phases of university curricula.

Canadianism has suffered also because of the perennial Anglophone reluctance to contend with French as the working language of Quebec.¹¹ Psychologically, Anglophone students have been apathetic towards the learning of French. Quite simply, they have been able to live easily without it. Many students have taken university French solely to hurdle the language requirements. To take French was easier than to launch into a totally new language. Because this was well known, standards have not been as rigidly

¹⁰ Interview with Dr. James Gray, June 9, 1970.

¹¹ Legislation to this effect is presently a major item. See Montreal Star, February 20, 1971.

applied as if students were seriously interested in the language.¹² Despite high enrolments at the first-year level, there has been minimal carry over to the advanced work in French. Moreover, half of Sir George Williams' French majors have been Francophone to begin with, as have many of McGill's. In short, it would not be possible to conclude that the teaching of French to Anglophones has attained any reasonable success. Canadianism has not been strengthened by this failure to produce bilingual graduates. The French departments have not been the clearing houses, tying Europe and America together, as might be expected and hoped. It has been the opinion of many French Department faculty that their departments have been prohibited from performing this important pivotal function. Instead, they have been, and continue to be, just another language department.¹³

The heavy influx of foreign-born faculty must be considered another potential source for weakening Canadianism. It is acknowledged that Canada has profited by the arrival of many brains trained at foreign expense. Yet frequently a 'Canadian' approach has been lost because foreign faculty were not familiar with such. There has been a direct correlation between the lack of Canadian material in the social science disciplines and the employment of American faculty.¹⁴ Junior faculty, who generally teach the introductory

¹²Moreover, there is overwhelming indication that high school grounding in French has been inadequate.

¹³Interview with Dr. J. Ethier-Blais, July 20, 1970.

¹⁴Ian Lumsden, ed., Close the 49th Parallel, etc., The Americanization of Canada (Toronto, 1970), pp. 169-178.

courses, have been coming increasingly from abroad. Thus, even a course which might normally expect Canadian references has not received appropriate attention. Sometimes no Canadian has been available to teach a specific course. The gap has been filled by a foreigner. In other cases, a particular Canadian content course has had to be dropped. Although McGill's sociology department has listed a course on French-Canada in the Calendar every year since 1961, only twice has the course actually been given.¹⁵ It can only be hoped that time will alleviate the severe limitations placed on 'Canadian' curricula by the disproportionate numbers of foreigners teaching the 'Canadian' disciplines.

Several points should be reiterated before enumerating specific recommendations regarding Canadianism at the universities. First, the universities (and departments within) have always stipulated certain global compulsory requirements. Presumably they can continue to do so. The questionnaire data supported the assumption that the faculty would be agreeable to reasonable options concerning Canadian content. It is to be remembered also that the inception of the Collegial programmes has removed most of the responsibility for imparting the traditionally fundamental disciplines, namely English, humanities, and French. This should provide more flexibility for university curricula. With specialization beginning immediately in the first year of the university programme of the 1970's, however, considerable care must be taken in devising any compulsory requirements.

¹⁵ Interview with Dr. David Solomon, July 13, 1970.

Second, it would seem reasonable to assume that faculty are the single most influential factor in determining curriculum. However, it seems likely that the universities will continue to employ a substantial percentage of non-Canadian faculty, a factor which could pose a restricting threat to the development of Canadianism.

Third, it was a premise of this study that the universities must play a significant role in transmitting the Canadian culture. Generally, this function does not appear to have been performed satisfactorily at lower levels. Without the universities doing more in this respect, there is grave danger that the Canadian culture will be emasculated.¹⁶

What practical alternatives, then, can be presented to preserve the reasonable and fair development of Canadianism at the universities? Viable possibilities would seem to lie within two fundamental areas, namely academic employment practices and curriculum. The high-level expertise of the university faculty and the scope of curricula offerings can and must play a dynamic role in transmitting Canadianism to the influential, intellectual elite who attend university.

¹⁶ Interview with Dr. Michael Gnarowski, July 13, 1970.

Academic Employment Practices:

1. Faculty appointments among Canadians who are sensitive to and understanding of the concepts of bilingualism and biculturalism must be increased. This does not mean that there should be discrimination against foreigners. They have a valuable contribution to make to a cosmopolitan and developing Canada. It does suggest that the faculty orientation has become too non-Canadian. In the past, the reason given for this situation was that not enough qualified Canadians were available. Hopefully, the graduate schools are now producing enough qualified Canadians at the doctoral level to remedy this situation.

The present random activities of individual universities are not adequate. Advertising for any academic vacancy should be done comprehensively, in Canada first. A Central Agency, funded by the Federal Government, and operated by an official organization with vested interest, such as the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, should be established for this purpose. Personnel familiar with academia should be hired to coordinate and to facilitate this

¹⁷The recommendations were formulated with Quebec and its peculiar problems foremost in mind. Hopefully, some could be easily adaptable to other universities in Canada. Nevertheless, the assumption throughout this study was that Quebec is a singularly unique part of the Canadian federation, and that Anglophone Quebecers must play a different role in the development of Canada than non-Quebec Canadians.

process. The Agency should possess enough political muscle, (for example, the withholding of Federal aid), so as to discourage institutions not utilizing the Agency auspices or who look solely abroad for their faculty appointments. Of course, if suitable Canadian candidates cannot be found, the vacancy can be offered to the 'foreign' market. The contemporary surplus of qualified academics among foreigners should guarantee that any time lag will not hamper recruiting.

2. Canadians who leave the country for graduate studies must be actively urged to return.¹⁸ This function has not been carried out effectively in the past. Many transient (American) academics have often gained appointments by default because qualified Canadians were working elsewhere. A Data Bank, to which all universities and colleges in Canada should have access, should be instituted to facilitate this process. Graduate students should be required to register with the Bank prior to leaving Canada. Data to be compiled would include undergraduate course of study, graduate schools and courses, address abroad, references, research projects and the like. Such a bank ideally would contain data on every doctoral student in Canadian schools as well. Once the bank became established, registrants could continue to be monitored and to contribute up-dated data.

¹⁸ Clearly, this implies that (academic) jobs must be available.

3. A declaration of intent regarding adoption of Canadian citizenship should be required of all foreign faculty, after a period of no more than five years, or when accepting conferral of tenure.¹⁹ Also, the two-year tax exemption should be removed so that those who come to Canada would have to have reasons to emigrate other than the tax factor. Five years is long enough to determine whether Canada is desirable as a permanent home. Foreigners owe that much to the society that supports them and their families.

It is recognized that foreigners enrich Canada by their presence. They cannot expect to remain cultural neuters, however. Canada is eager to accept the foreign brains, but foreigners emigrating to Canada should begin to develop a knowledge of Canada, in general, and of the Quebec scene, in particular. Either they sympathize with Canadian ideals or they do not. Taking out citizenship is a declaration of empathy.

4. All faculty working in Quebec, including foreign and non-Quebec Canadians, should become bilingual. Certainly it is mandatory that (senior) administrators, including department chairmen, function easily in French.²⁰ Not only does bilingualism represent the cultural

¹⁹ Mathews and Steele have indicated that ninety percent of American faculty do not intend to become Canadians, nor to research in Canada. See Lumsden, ed., op. cit., pp. 176-77.

²⁰ Administrative appointments should require Canadian citizenship, although it is to be noted that all could be eligible if they took out citizenship.

issue and thrust of Quebec society, but also inter-university liaison and Provincial Government work increasingly require bilingualism. French is the official working language of Quebec, which presumes an obligation for those living there to adapt accordingly. In that connection, staff courses for immersion in French, as well as some in-depth study of the French-Canadian cultural milieu, should be mandatory.

5. If a professor can function best in the French language, courses should be given in that language. This is not to suggest a policy of preferential treatment to Francophones, only that facility in English need not be a criterion for employment in Quebec.²¹ Quality teaching and scholarship should be the primary criteria. Traditionally, academic appointments have been influenced by a trend towards English only. Many valuable opportunities for interchange and sharing with Francophone faculty have been lost. A flexible policy regarding language of instruction would both help French competency among students and expose them to the Francophone side of the Canadian culture.²²

²¹ Experience indicates it is quite unlikely that Francophones could not function easily in English as well.

²² Expensive duplication should not be carried out. Students who cannot understand French, (i.e., those not from Quebec), would take instruction in English. If a course is basic, arrangements could be made for such a student to take that course at another institution. It should be pointed out, too, that at present a student can write term papers and examinations in French if he so wishes.

6. Canadians should teach introductory courses in disciplines which could focus on Canadian content. The largest numbers of students enrol in the pivotal introductory courses.²³ It would be expected that Canadian material would thus be stressed through appropriate references. Although this arrangement would be difficult to effect in some disciplines, due to present staffing patterns, a re-alignment should be attempted. If Canadians do not teach such courses, departments should be charged with ensuring that professors know about Canadian developments in their discipline.
7. Non-Canadian teaching assistants should be utilized only if Canadians are not available. This proposition could serve a double purpose. It would allow Canadians to receive what limited funds are available, and it would ensure in a general way that curricula tone in assistants' sections would preserve a Canadian flavour.

Curricula Emphases:

8. One substantial course featuring Canadian content should be mandatory for all (Arts) students. Such a course should be chosen from a selection of inter-disciplinary core courses, and should represent about one-third of the first year programme. Examples of the type of content envisioned for the core courses would include: "Life in

²³With not enough Canadians on faculty, foreigners have been teaching these courses by default.

Quebec"; "Canadian Cultural Survey"; "Canadian Human Ecology"; "Canadian Society and Environment"; and "Intellectual Thought in Canada". Some alterations to existing courses would thus have to be effected. Also, the hitherto ineffective coordination of departments must be brought to positive fruition. There is hope in this regard as this type of course, if not the content, was suggested by several chairmen.²⁴ Also, the universities have been administering to the needs of such thematic core groups as Jewish, Asian and Islamic Studies. It should not be too difficult a transition to convert to inter-disciplinary courses on Canada.

9. Comparative curricula approaches which include Canada should be utilized whenever possible. Besides the fact that more exposure would be given Canadian content, a comparative approach would be wise for two reasons. One, regional studies in certain disciplines (geography) are no longer in vogue, being considered pedagogically unsound.²⁵ Moreover, to make courses totally Canadian in content appears impractical in consideration of the 'shrinking' and international contemporary world. Two, a great deal can be learned

²⁴ Dr. Theall, of McGill's English Department, for example, wished to abolish the English requirement (even before the institution of the Collegial programme) in favour of inter-disciplinary humanities. Interview with Dr. Donald Theall, July 8, 1970.

²⁵ Exceptions would be specific aspects of history, although even in this discipline comparative approaches have great possibilities.

about Canada by studying other situations. When juxtaposed beside other nations' experiences, those of Canada can be seen in more realistic perspective.²⁶

At the advanced levels, a comparative approach, encompassing about twenty-five percent Canadian content, would be more than fair for Canada. If such would be the case, the introductory core courses would be complemented at the sophisticated, advanced levels. More students would have the expertise to continue graduate studies in Canadian areas. Developments in this vein would help to bolster the inadequacy of graduate programmes concerning Canada. A natural extension to improved Canadian content graduate programmes would be more and better teaching specialists in the field.

10. French fluency for students should be required in order to graduate.

In agreeing with this recommendation, the chairman of French at McGill argued simply that French language is necessary to live in a dualistic society as is Quebec.²⁷ Nevertheless, it would appear to be a great waste of time and labour to institute compulsory courses. Weak students would hinder such a programme, and reluctant ones could disrupt. Instead, the progress begun by the competency of the Diploma of Collegial Studies should be continued by insisting on French

²⁶ McGill's English Department has already initiated comparative approaches to introductory literature, with no section being either too Canadian or too non-Canadian in content. Interview with Dr. Donald Theall, July 8, 1970.

²⁷ Interview with Dr. J. Ethier-Blais, July 20, 1970.

competency for graduation. Capable students could pass a standard test at the beginning of university work, and another in their final year. Weak students would register for a variety of forms of remedial work, only one of which would be formal classes.²⁸ Although such a process would necessitate a monitoring system, a set of procedures could be instituted which would be no more difficult to implement than the existing practice of teaching French to large classes in first year. There should be enough faculty presently employed to carry out this function, especially as it is to be expected that many students would qualify for competency after the initial test.

11. Increased funding must be provided (by government) to produce more and better materials featuring Canadian content than presently exist. Canadian texts, audio-visual resources and reference works should be available when wanted. It must be possible to reflect Canadian viewpoints more than has been the case. To foster positive developments in this connection, more research on Canadian subjects must be forthcoming. More data concerning Quebec and Canada must be compiled and published. Availability of such material is especially a priority in the social sciences which, to date, have often been forced to look elsewhere.

Preference for the awarding of research grants should be given to

²⁸The teaching of courses in other disciplines, in French, would be one example of this variety.

those who propose to study Canadian topics.²⁹ Financial aid must be found for scholarly groups in Canadian Studies. If the Canadian Association for American Studies can be underwritten by many universities, surely a group concerned with Canada can also be supported.³⁰ In summation, the improvement of (teaching) resources of Canada inevitably will have a positive effect on students. It is encouraging that most chairmen claimed that this situation was improving.

12. University catalogues and course listings should clearly describe exact content emphases. Students can then be informed a priori as to the significant subject matter to expect. Too often course descriptions have remained static while professors have come and gone, and emphases have altered unannounced. Students have a right to make their course choices knowingly, whenever possible. They also have the right to suggest (curricula) ways of improving courses.
13. The universities should cancel much of the existing formal course structure in favour of independent and tutorial study. It is a fair assumption that what each student should hope to gain from university is essentially a personalized maturational and intellectual experience. The less courses are formally organized, the more flexibility a

²⁹ Many American faculty, in fairness, have become genuinely interested in Canada as a field of research.

³⁰ Interview with Dr. Michael Gnarowski, July 13, 1970.

student can exercise to motivate his analytical and reflective faculties.³¹ The student should be released more to his own devices and sources, to foster his independent sense of intellectual appreciation. Rather than being educated solely within the 'ivory tower' of a particular university, the student should be allowed to make comprehensive use of the Canadian 'laboratory' outside. In short, supervised independent study is a better method of transmitting Canadianism than a forced feeding through courses. It is by working and studying directly in the indigenous milieu that students can best foster an individual pride in, and understanding of, Quebec and Canada.

Epilogue

It is of course easier to enumerate recommendations than to actualize them. How, then, can change best be effected at the university level? The single, most dynamic factor would seem to be the attitude of the student. The power of organized and motivated student opinion is formidable. Changes requested by students can be brought about within the existing system. This was demonstrated in the instances that student opinion was mobilized during the 1960's at the universities. McGill's French Department began to offer

³¹ See Campus 1980: The Shape of the Future in American Higher Education, Alvin C. Eurich, ed., (New York, 1966), "The Future Undergraduate Curriculum", pp. 200-219.

more French-Canadian literature and civilization in its curricula as a direct result of student demand.³² Beginning in 1966, McGill's survey courses in English shifted emphasis to include a partially Canadian orientation, as a result of student pressure.³³ At Sir George Williams, the political science faculty (mostly American) have faced student pressure to present more Canadian material.³⁴

Such successful instances have been minimal, however. It is difficult to create and to sustain demand. There exists a general student ignorance concerning Canadianism, which has often been the result of poor public school grounding. This ignorance cannot be erased without fresh impetus. Students must know what to demand. In consideration of their unique status in Canada, it is important that Anglophone students in Quebec do not remain isolated from the mainstream of their own society.

How can this situation be rectified? Clearly, there is a large responsibility for the high schools and the post-secondary colleges. It is encouraging that parents, educators and legislators are beginning to insist on adequate Canadian content at those levels. When a demand for Canadianism has been nurtured at lower levels, the universities will have to answer.

³²French nationalists sparked this movement, abetted by a few Anglophones.

³³Interview with Dr. Donald Theall, July 8, 1970.

³⁴Interview with Dr. Klaus Hermann, July 14, 1970.

Specialized Canadian courses and faculty will become a natural outgrowth. The universities retain a significant responsibility in this process. They are primarily responsible for staffing the lower educational systems. The universities must produce graduate teachers who are familiar with, and motivated towards, Canadianism. It is seen that this is a cyclical process. 'Canadianized' teachers, trained at the universities, can strengthen the school knowledge of Canadian content, and those entering university can demand more Canadian content at the university.

One other subtle influence for change can be suggested. The power of the external world of the taxpayer cannot be neglected. This applies in Quebec, especially, where all universities rely on government funding to operate. Employers can insist on adhering to the regulation that work be performed in the French language. They can refuse to hire unilingual people. French or English. Employment for their graduates has become the staple of the universities, despite the fact that they were not designed to be diploma mills. Although faculty have been traditionally conservative regarding curricula change, the laws of supply and demand can force alternative patterns upon the university community. The general public can be heard. If they are positively attuned to the need for Canadianism, there are ways the non-university community can generate action.

Therein lie three fundamental questions needing urgent response from the Canadian people. One, do they wish to sustain Canada as a viable entity? Anglophones across the nation are no more unanimous on this point than are

Francophones. Two, do they truly wish to establish a definitive Canadian identity? All too often this elusive concept has been postulated in terms of what Canada is not, (e.g., American), rather than by suggesting what being Canadian really is. Third, is the struggle for Canadianism worth it?

If the answer to each of these questions is yes, then Canadians must be prepared to pay more than lip-service to the ideal of Canadianism. Despite the official Federal Government policy, attempts to date have not produced significant success, either in Quebec and in the other provinces. If Canadians really want to foster Canadianism, they must be prepared to insist that the universities undertake to carry out significant change to this end.

It has been the thesis of this writer that the development of Canadianism is, in fact, most vital. It is true that modern communications have introduced the perspective of the one-world concept. The international brotherhood of man has become a noble and feasible objective to attain. Yet, modern civilization has produced as well the major problem of mass impersonalization. People generally want something to belong to; they seek some identity. They are not prepared to be swallowed unnoticed into an impersonal sea of humanity.

A bilingual culture can be the lifeblood of Canadians. The French-Canadian has struggled for two centuries to retain his identity. At the same time, the English-Canadian has striven to establish his Anglophone

life in North America without succumbing to Americanization. Basically, all Canadians need each other in order to preserve identity. By respecting the rights and life-style of each major language group, Canada can accomplish two things. One will ensure that the nation will survive the extremist forces at home which seek to break up the Canadian duality. The other will allow Canada to resist any external pressures. Equally as important, the successful functioning of Canadianism, embracing as it would two of the world's primary languages, will allow Canadians to play a full role in the development of the international world of the future.

It is sincerely hoped that the universities of Quebec will stand in the vanguard of the development of Canadianism. They have made considerable progress, but there is much more that could be done. They are in a position to actualize the best functioning prototypes of what Canadian universities could accomplish in this regard. More important, in large measure the future of Canada rests on the effectiveness with which the universities perform in that capacity. It would be interesting to examine their performance ten years hence in the related context of how Canada itself has developed.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

1. June 8, 1970 Dr. David Smith, Dean of Arts, Bishop's University.
2. June 9, 1970 Dr. James Gray, Chairman, Department of English, Bishop's University.
3. June 9, 1970 and June 10, 1970 Professor Claude Thibault, Chairman, Department of History, Bishop's University.
4. June 9, 1970 Laurie Allison, Librarian, Bishop's University
5. June 10, 1970 Dr. William Shearson, Chairman, Curriculum Planning Committee, Bishop's University.
6. July 3, 1970 Dr. John Hill, Chairman, Department of History, Sir George Williams University.
7. July 3, 1970 Dr. Cameron Nish, Professor of History and Chairman, Centre de Recherche en Histoire Economique du Canada Français, Sir George Williams University.
8. July 6, 1970 Professor James Young, Acting Chairman, Department of Geography, Sir George Williams University.
9. July 7, 1970 Professor Lila Stonehewer, Department of English, Sir George Williams University.
10. July 7, 1970 Dr. Gilbert Taggart, Department of French, Sir George Williams University.
11. July 8, 1970 Dr. Donald Theall, Chairman, Department of English, McGill University.
12. July 8, 1970 Professor James Whitelaw, Coordinator of Academic Planning, Sir George Williams University.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INTERVIEWS

13. July 8, 1970 Professor Jean-Louis Roy, Acting Director, French Canada Studies Program, McGill University.
14. July 10, 1970 Dr. Robert Vogel, Chairman, Department of History, McGill University.
15. July 10, 1970 Dr. James Gilmour, Department of Geography, McGill University.
16. July 13, 1970 Dr. David Solomon, Chairman, Department of Sociology, McGill University.
17. July 13, 1970 Dr. Michael Gnarowski, Chairman, Department of Canadian Studies, Sir George Williams University.
18. July 14, 1970 Dr. Graham Smith, Chairman, Department of Economics, McGill University.
19. July 14, 1970 Dr. Klaus Herrmann, Department of Political Science, Sir George Williams University.
20. July 15, 1970 Dr. Michael Oliver, Vice-Principal, Academic, McGill University and Director of Research for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.
21. July 15, 1970 Professor Muriel Armstrong, Acting Chairman, Department of Economics, Sir George Williams University.
22. July 17, 1970 Dr. John Rawin, Department of Sociology, Sir George Williams University.
23. July 20, 1970 Dr. J. Ethier-Blais, Chairman, Department of French, McGill University.
24. July 21, 1970 Dr. Harold Waller, Chairman, Department of Political Science, McGill University.
25. October 3, 1970 Dr. T.A. Judson, Chairman, Department of Economics, Bishop's University.
26. November 18, 1970 Dr. Kathleen Harper, Department of English, Bishop's University.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What are the specific aims of your departmental curricula?
2. Did aims alter because of the Quiet Revolution or because of national search for identity? If so, how and why?
3. In what ways do your departmental curricula help to prepare students for life in the dual society of Canada?
4. Explain the departmental personnel policy during the period 1960-1970.
5. Explain departmental personnel turn-over during the period 1960-1970.
6. Have foreign faculty affected the tone of your department in any way?
7. What have been enrolments in Majors and Honours programs and in individual courses featuring Canadian content?
8. What percentage of your departmental program features Canadian content? Why?
9. Explain the rationale for the compulsory courses demanded in your department.

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

10. What curricula reforms, additions or deletions were made in your department 1960-1970?
11. How effective has your department been in transmitting Canadian content courses?
12. In terms of Canada, what new undergraduate courses do you think should be offered by your department?

APPENDIX C

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS CONFIDENTIAL AND ANONYMOUS

Please circle appropriate response letter or fill in the space

1. Respondent's Age:
 - a. under 30
 - b. 30 - 39
 - c. 40 - 49
 - d. 50 - 59
 - e. over 60

2. Respondent's Birth Place:
 - a. Canada (if Quebec, circle)
 - b. United States
 - c. Great Britain
 - d. Continental Europe
 - e. Other _____
specify

3. Respondent's Present Citizenship:
 - a. Canadian
 - b. American
 - c. British
 - d. European
 - e. Other _____
specify

4. Country where Bachelor's Degree Received:
 - a. Canada
 - b. United States
 - c. Great Britain
 - d. Europe _____
specify
 - e. Other _____
specify

APPENDIX C

5. Country where most Graduate Work Completed:
- a. Canada
 - b. United States
 - c. Great Britain
 - d. Europe _____
specify
 - e. Other _____
specify
6. Number of Years Teaching at Present University:
- a. less than 2
 - b. 2 to less than 5
 - c. 5 to 10
 - d. more than 10
7. Respondent's Academic Discipline:
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| a. Economics | f. Sociology |
| b. English | g. Anthropology |
| c. French | h. Geography |
| d. History | i. Psychology |
| e. Political Science | j. Other _____
specify |
8. Respondent's Likely Plans, Next Five Years:
- a. Will stay in Quebec definitely
 - b. Will stay in Quebec probably
 - c. Undecided
 - d. Will leave Quebec probably
 - e. Will leave Quebec definitely
9. In the Transmission of a National Identity, Universities Should Play a Role Best Described as:
- a. Vitally important (crucial)
 - b. Very Important
 - c. Moderately Important
 - d. Not Important
 - e. Irrelevant

APPENDIX C

10. Postulating that there is a Bilingual Culture in Quebec, How Important a Role Should the English-language Universities in Quebec Play in Preparing Students for Life in that Society?
- Vitally Important (crucial)
 - Very Important
 - Moderately Important
 - Not Important
 - Irrelevant
11. Assuming that Beginning in 1971 an Undergraduate will Need Fifteen Courses to Graduate, How Many Courses with Essentially Canadian Content Should the Student be Required to Take?
-
12. In your Department, what Percentage of Total Undergraduate Course Allocation should Focus on Canada?
-
- %
13. Postulating that there is a Bilingual Culture in Quebec, and with Reference to your University's Existing Curricula and General Attitudinal Tone, how Effective is your University in Preparing Students for Life in the Society of Quebec?
- Most Effective
 - Very Effective
 - Moderately Effective
 - Not Effective
 - Irrelevant
14. In View of the Provincial Government's Desire to make French the Language of Work in Quebec, should Competence in French be a Requirement for Graduation from an English-language University in Quebec?

YES _____

NO _____

(please check one)

APPENDIX C

DAWSON COLLEGE

350 Selby Street
Westmount 215, P.Q.
Tel. 931-4211

October 9th, 1970.

One of the traditional functions of a university has been the transmission of culture. Especially in view of the struggle to attain a harmonious and truly Canadian identity, this concept has important implications. On the other hand, the recent creation of the Colleges as an integral part of the educational system in Quebec has placed another perspective on this matter.

This study, which represents one aspect of a doctoral dissertation, hopes to shed light on the subject of the development of "Canadianism" at the university level. By ascertaining contemporary professional opinions regarding this topic in general, it is hoped that some indication of curricula direction for the future might be realized. It is my conviction that such a study presents both an interesting research topic and an opportunity to gather some valuable data which has reference to the responsibilities of the collegial system in terms of Canadian content in curriculum planning for the future.

I would be grateful if you would be good enough to devote a few moments of your valuable time (I appreciate that these requests arrive with all too frequent regularity) to filling out the brief questionnaire that you will find enclosed. It should take less than ten minutes. The findings of the research will be made available later. No signature or identification is required and you can be fully assured of anonymity.

A stamped, addressed envelope is enclosed for the return of the questionnaire. In order that I do not bother you more than once, and to preserve the anonymity, kindly mail the stamped, addressed post card, bearing your name, under separate cover, so that I will know you have returned the completed questionnaire.

Your participation and assistance in this project will be most appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

RAG/pp

ROBERT A. GORDON
Secretary-General

Enclosures

APPENDIX C

Robert A. Gordon
Secretary-General
Dawson College
350 Selby Street
Westmount 215, Quebec

I have completed and returned the
questionnaire on Canadianism.

In the middle of October I mailed to you a questionnaire regarding "Canadianism". Although it may appear an elementary questionnaire (it represents the basis for only one of seven chapters of a thesis which delves deeply into historical background), nevertheless, I would ask you to reply at your earliest convenience as it does mean a great deal to the work I am pursuing.

At the same time, let me assure you that the rationale upon which this questionnaire has been based stems not from a desire to further the cause of blatant nationalism, but from a wish to ascertain the opinion of university faculty towards future curriculum direction regarding the development of a consciousness of Canadian origins and institutions. I had detected this misunderstanding in some of the returned questionnaires. In short, notwithstanding your personal feelings concerning the topic or the structure of the questionnaire per se, I would ask you to respond in good faith. Please disregard if already mailed.

3.11.70

ROBERT A. GORDON
Dawson College

APPENDIX C

DAWSON COLLEGE

350 Selby Street
Westmount 215, P.Q.
Tel. 931-4211

November 13th, 1970.

Dear

Some time ago I sent you a questionnaire (confidential and anonymous) regarding faculty opinion of curricula concerning Canadian origins and institutions. To date approximately 70% of the sample of 501 have responded.

If you have already returned the questionnaire, thank you for your co-operation which is most appreciated. If, however, you have not yet done so, I would be grateful to receive a reply at your earliest convenience in order that a start can be made in tabulating the data.

In case you do not still have the originals, you will find enclosed another questionnaire, an addressed, stamped envelope in which to return the questionnaire, and a stamped, addressed post card which will indicate that you have completed the questionnaire. Thank you in advance for your attention on this matter.

Yours sincerely,

RAG/pp

ROBERT A. GORDON
Secretary-General

Enclosure

APPENDIX D

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES RE QUESTIONNAIRE - CHAPTER VI

Procedure and Instrumentation:

The purpose underlying this aspect of the study was to conduct an investigation into the attitudes regarding Canadian curricula of all faculty members employed in the Arts Faculties of the universities. An interview technique was not a practical procedure, as had been the case with department chairmen, because it was important to ascertain attitudes involving the total population. A mailed questionnaire was the most feasible technique of gathering the required data.

The professors to be selected for the population needed to fulfill only one criterion, namely to be employed, full time, in the Faculty of Arts at one of the universities during the 1970-71 academic year. No deliberate attempt was made to base selection on any other identifying criterion, such as age or citizenship. By utilizing the total population, any danger of statistical bias was minimized. Four hundred and ninety-five faculty members comprised the population: two hundred and fifty-eight at McGill; one hundred and eighty-four at Sir George Williams; and fifty-three at Bishop's. Because university calendars tend to contain some errors due to their compilation a priori the actual academic year, contemporary faculty lists were obtained

directly from Faculty of Arts offices in September, 1970, at the time of the actual opening of the academic year.

The questionnaire was constructed in two sections. One series of questions (1-8) sought certain biographical data, and another series (9-14) sought certain attitudinal perceptions regarding the universities, Canada, and curricula.¹ Biographical data per se were not thought to be important factors. It was thought they would prove to be interesting, however, both in terms of university employment practices and when compared with responses concerning Canada and curricula.

It should be noted that due to the attitudinal and generalized nature of the questions concerning Canadianism, absolute results could not be drawn from the data. The intention was merely to establish broad suggestion as to curricula direction in the short-term future. All items, biographical and attitudinal, were constructed so as to be answered by checking one choice of five.

For biographical responses, this necessitated the utilization of broad but straight-forward categories. For attitudinal responses, the five choices were scaled in descending order of importance, with the last enabling a response which 'did not apply'. Two of the attitudinal items called for a specific numerical response, which later could be arbitrarily scaled on a similar five-point scale.

¹See Appendix C, pp. 193-98.

Before being mailed out, the questionnaire was pre-tested by professors at the universities and at Dawson College, a community college in Montreal. The interviews with chairmen, carried out earlier, constituted another source of ascertaining what data might be valuable. Many items were eliminated by such pre-testing, a few were added, and most were re-structured or re-phrased. The format underwent some minor alterations. Such activity helped to increase clarity and to improve the questionnaire so that the respondents could both understand and complete it easily. Nevertheless, as it turned out, several of the terms (for example, 'national identity' and 'bilingual culture') did still present some ambiguity to some respondents.²

Based on the pre-testing, no more than ten minutes was spent responding. This was due primarily to the simplified technique of checking desired response choices. This system also led to easy scoring procedures and, to a certain extent, notwithstanding the subjectivity of the questionnaire itself, to objectivity in analysing the results.

Treatment of Data:

Frequency counts were made for each category of each item, and responses to each item were compared with responses to other items. A

²For a variety of reasons, some respondents elected not to answer every item. For example, many recently appointed faculty felt they could not respond fairly to the item requesting opinion of effectiveness of the university in preparing students for life in Quebec society. Again, some did not respond to certain items, (e.g., the ones requesting the number of Canadian courses for graduation and percentage of content), believing that they did not concern their particular discipline. Others simply believed that some items were either ambiguous, inappropriate, biased or unnecessary.

punched card run-off facilitated the tabulation of the data. The employment of a five-choice scale for biographical items allowed a straight-forward categorization of data. For attitudinal items, the assumption was that a five-point scale for responses would allow an indication of general values and are not of discrete values. Furthermore, Items 11 and 12 allowed open answers, and later these were arbitrarily categorized for easier scoring purposes. Thus, for example, all choices of five or more compulsory courses on Canada for No. 11 were grouped into response (e), although the actual responses varied.

Distribution and Return of Questionnaires:

In order for the questionnaire to be both meaningful and valid, distribution was carried out in three stages. Questionnaires were mailed out in October, 1970, together with a covering letter explaining the purpose of the study and a post card to identify those who had completed the questionnaire.³ The post card and questionnaire were to be mailed back separately to preserve the anonymity. A follow-up mailing was sent three weeks later to all non-respondents requesting the completion and return of the questionnaires. After a further three weeks, another copy of the questionnaire, with enclosures, was mailed. Stamped, self-addressed return envelopes and post cards were provided in the first and third mailings.

³See Appendix C, pp. 196-98.

Of the original five hundred and twelve faculty comprising the population, it was found that seventeen were not in attendance at the universities, due primarily to late resignations and sabbaticals. As the population was a total sample, there was no need to mail out further questionnaires in order to validate the population. Therefore, of the possible four hundred and ninety-five responses, three hundred and ninety-six were returned completed, representing exactly eighty percent of the sample. A further nine faculty refused to respond, primarily because the questionnaire appeared inflammatory, in terms of adding to xenophobic outcries already becoming well-known in academic circles in Canada or because the questionnaire did not seem anonymous due to the structure of the biographical questions. There were ninety non-respondents.

A careful examination was carried out for potential non-respondent bias. After checking general biographical data regarding citizenship, location of institutions of university study, discipline taught, and present institution of employment, there did not appear to be any evidence to suggest any significant differences between the characteristics of those who responded to the questionnaire and those who did not.

Characteristics of the Population:

Several characteristics emerged from the questionnaire's biographical data.⁴ Fully half of those responding had been teaching less than five years

⁴Complete Tables concerning questionnaire data can be found in Appendix E, pp. 207-8.

at their present university, and more than half were under forty years of age. Such data would only be natural in view of the expansion documented in the previous chapter. More interesting, however, was that data concerning faculty over fifty years of age. While forty-four had been born in Canada, and twenty-three in Great Britain or Europe, only four were from the United States. Of those under forty, seventy-six were Canadian born, and fifty-nine British or European; but sixty-nine were American-born. In another perspective, only nine faculty born in America had worked more than ten years at their present university, and another fifteen more than five years. Canadians totalled fifty and forty-two in the same categories respectively, and British twenty-three and twenty-three. Whereas only sixty-one Canadians had been employed less than five years, there were sixty-two Americans of similar status.

The citizenship data revealed other interesting insights. No less than seventy non-Canadian-born respondents had taken out Canadian citizenship. Such additions had come predominantly from Europe and other countries, however. Conversely, eighty-six of the population had been born in the United States, and there remained eighty-five American citizens.⁵

The data regarding the academic backgrounds of the population indicated that one hundred and seventy-nine took Bachelor's degrees in Canada, one hundred and forty-five being Canadian-born. Most of the others

⁵This does not mean that only one American took out Canadian citizenship. A few 'others' had taken American citizenship, and a few Americans had taken Canadian.

had emigrated from Europe, as would be natural, as a result of the upheavals of the 1930's and 1940's. Ninety-two took first degrees in the United States, seventy-nine being American-born. One hundred and forty-four took primary graduate work in Canada, including seventy-two Canadian-born and fourteen American. At the same time, one hundred and fifty-nine were trained primarily in American graduate schools, with fifty-four being Canadian-born and sixty-nine Americans. Lesser numbers had attended British and European undergraduate and graduate schools.

Regarding faculty plans for the next five years, there was little indication of any widespread desire to leave Quebec. On the contrary, only fifty-three of the entire responding population suggested they would, in all probability, leave. Despite the fact that fifteen Canadians and fifteen Americans under age forty indicated a probability of leaving, and another thirty-one Canadians were not sure, no significance can be attached in view of the larger numbers who indicated a desire to stay. It is to be noted that the questionnaire was not designed to gain specific reasons (e.g., political) for leaving in any case. Overall, sixty-three percent of Canadians indicated an intention to stay, as did sixty-two percent of Americans. The longer faculty had been teaching at their present university, the more likely they were to stay.

The breakdown of the data by individual disciplines did not produce any startling trends. With the exception of sociology, a comparatively undeveloped discipline in Canadian universities, the 'Canadian' content

disciplines generally had from one-third to one-half Canadian faculty (e.g., history and political science), and less than one-third American faculty. Each employed personnel who had been born elsewhere but were now Canadian citizens. In this latter category, economics had gained six, English ten, French eight, history three, political science two, sociology and anthropology four, and geography four. Of the one hundred and fifteen 'other' disciplines, fourteen were in classics, twelve in religion, twenty-one in modern languages, three in music, twelve in social work, twenty in fine arts, sixteen in philosophy, five in business, seven in education, three in linguistics, one in communications, and one in architecture.

APPENDIX E
DATA RE QUESTIONNAIRE

Raw Scores

Fig. 1 Age

Under 30	56
30 - 39	174
40 - 49	89
50 - 59	52
Over 60	25
Total	396

Fig. 2 Birthplace

Canada	153
United States	86
Great Britain	46
Cont. Europe	69
Others	38
Total	392

Fig. 3 Citizenship

Canada	223
United States	85
Great Britain	37
Cont. Europe	34
Others	14
Total	393

Fig. 4 Bachelor's Degree

Canada	179
United States	92
Great Britain	49
Cont. Europe	52
Others	18
Total	390

Fig. 5 Graduate Work

Canada	144
United States	159
Great Britain	33
Cont. Europe	47
Others	8
Total	391

Fig. 6 Years at Present Univ.

Less than 2	79
2 to less than 5	121
5 to 10	107
More than 10	88
Total	395

Fig. 7 Plans Next 5 Years

Stay Quebec Def.	91
Stay Quebec Prob.	172
Undecided	78
Leaving Que. Prob.	42
Leaving Que. Def.	12
Total	395

Fig. 8 Trans National Ident.

Vitally Import.	68
Very Import.	89
Moderately Imp.	144
Not Important	29
Irrelevant	48
Total	378

Fig. 9 Role for Univ. in Biling. Cult.

Vitally Import.	115
Very Important	155
Moderately Imp.	86
Not Important	6
Irrelevant	17
Total	379

APPENDIX E

DATA RE QUESTIONNAIRE

Raw Scores

Fig. 10 Discipline

Concomics	30
English	53
French	30
History	38
Political Science	23
Sociology	29
Anthropology	7
Geography	20
Psychology	53
Other	115
Total	398

*

*Some listed more than one discipline

Fig. 11 Compulsory Courses Grad'n.

None	154
Less than Three	70
Three	49
Three to Five	55
More than Five	34
Total	362

Fig. 12 % Cdn. Content by Depts.

None	94
1 - 10	87
11 - 20	74
21 - 30	40
Over 30	54
Total	349

Fig. 13 Effectiveness in Preparing Students

Most Effective	13
Very Effective	27
Moderately Effective	178
Not Effective	112
Irrelevant	28
Total	358

Fig. 14 French Competence Requirement

Yes	295
No	94
Total	389

APPENDIX F

SOME COMMENTS RESULTING FROM QUESTIONNAIRE ON CANADIANISM

Young psychologist from New Zealand: "I think internationalism is more important than nationalism. I would answer (questions on Canadian content) in the same way if they referred to my own country, rather than Canada."

Young psychologist from California (refusal to respond to questionnaire): "Too much superficial and irrelevant information is already being used to fan the fires of nationalism and ethnic hatred, and to fill the speeches of politicians with platitudes."

Anonymous: "I do not find this questionnaire to be anonymous. The combination of questions 1 to 7 is such that it could be used to identify almost any faculty member in any university."

Young political scientist from Quebec: "I think persuasion through rich course offerings with Canadian content should be used. The first year courses in English, French, Social Sciences should have Canadian content."

Middle-aged English from Canada: "I like the idea. Thank you for soliciting my opinion. Congratulations on taking this initiative."

Political scientist in 30's from Quebec: "I greatly fear this movement towards nationalism on Canadian campuses as part of a deliberate policy. Universities should seek truth and understanding in as objective and unimpassioned a manner as possible. International goals cannot know 'national' limitations."

Anonymous: "Your questionnaire couldn't be better disguised to identify the respondent."

British English professor in 30's: "Postulate (concerning bilingual culture) not granted."

APPENDIX F

SOME COMMENTS RESULTING FROM QUESTIONNAIRE ON CANADIANISM

Canadian psychologist in 30's: "Best preparation for Quebec is to provide perspective of other societies, nor can university legislate behaviour."

Canadian psychologist in 30's: "I don't know what a national identity is. Maybe an invention of defensive Canadians."

Irish psychologist in 40's: "I am not a nationalist. I think universities should have nothing to do with nationalism."

Canadian fine arts in 40's: "All courses can have a Canadian attitude."

Quebec political scientist in 30's: "No requirements. Should be encouraged to take some (Canadian content)."

Quebec sociologist in 30's: "All courses should operate in a Canadian context -- with specific focus on 2 or 3."

European psychologist in 30's: "Cultural identity is important."

American English in 40's: "To consciously drum up nationalism in our day seems to me pernicious to say the least."

American English: "I sincerely hope the material will not be used to further the idiotic nationalism of Messrs. Mathews and Steele, who tell a God-awful number of lies, and whose aims are highly suspect to me."

American economist in 30's: "Does a theory course offer any 'national' content. When dealing with public policy or description of institutions the main content should be Canadian."

American historian in 30's: "3 compulsory Canadian (courses) and no more than 1 American."

APPENDIX F

SOME COMMENTS RESULTING FROM QUESTIONNAIRE ON CANADIANISM

Quebec psychologist in 30's: "Most (effective preparation by universities) for English domination."

American sociologist in 30's: "Universities should serve the needs of the majority of the people -- nationalism is not the issue. In Quebec, all universities should be French."

British psychologist in 50's: "If he is not Canadian by that age (university entrance), he never will be."

American sociologist in 30's: "American nationalism, that of an imperial power is a menace to humanity. Canadian nationalism, so long as it is useful to resist U.S. power, is positive insofar as it is not only used as blame and excuse and is a goad to action and self-assertion by Canadians to more humanitarian purposes than those of the U.S., not really a high standard."

American sociologist: "Other than the obligation to provide reasonable coverage of the field in the teaching operation, the individual teachers are more or less free to choose their own research and teaching emphases. I think this is as it ought to be. I think outside attempts at determination of content ought to be resisted."

Canadian historian in 30's: "English universities will play a very important role (in transmitting bilingual culture) because they have well established traditions of competence in certain fields of study vital to the material and intellectual prosperity of Quebec. On the other hand, they have not shown themselves to be very responsive to the 'cultural' demands of bi-culturalism."

Quebec political scientist in 40's: "A national identity that cannot stand up under the free choice of learning experiences by students and teachers dedicated to the life of the mind shouldn't stand up. If I really felt that the absence of explicit Canadian content requirements in universities would mean the disappearance of Canadian content, or if I really felt that Canadian culture, or nationalism, was so feeble that the universities of Canada, left free to choose, would starve it to death, I would say, so much the worse for Canadian nationalism."

APPENDIX F

SOME COMMENTS RESULTING FROM QUESTIONNAIRE ON CANADIANISM

American sociologist in 30's: "I feel that such a requirement (courses) would be burdensome and counterproductive. I do feel, however, that courses in humanities, arts and social sciences should have Canadian content. This should be fostered through involvement of staff in Canadian oriented research and community affairs, rather than dictated."

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