

## TOWARDS DEVELOPING AN “ANGLO-QUÉBÉCOIS” INFORMATION RESOURCE BOOK FOR SCHOOL HISTORY TEACHERS IN QUEBEC: THOUGHTS FROM A QUALITATIVE STUDY

Paul Zanazanian  
*CELAT, Université Laval*

### Résumé

*À partir d'une étude qualitative sur la conscience historique des enseignants franco-québécois à l'égard des anglophones, cet article exprime le besoin de développer un guide de ressources sur les « Anglo-Québécois » pour le cours d'histoire nationale. Ce document se justifierait par la manière dont les répondants structurent leurs frontières intergroupes, accordent une place aux anglophones dans un nouveau programme d'histoire, et s'informent au sujet de leurs expériences. Vu la prédominance des mémoires historiques antagonistes, parfois stéréotypées, ce document offrirait de nouveaux horizons pour améliorer la qualité de la vie commune tout en respectant les modes traditionnels pour appréhender la minorité anglophone du Québec.*

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### Abstract

Based on a qualitative study that examines Franco-Québécois teachers' historical consciousness of Quebec Anglophones, this article argues in favour of the need for developing an “Anglo-Québécois” information resource book for school history teachers. Justification stems from the manner in which respondents structure group boundaries when remembering Anglophones, focus attention on them if mandated to develop a new history programme, and access information and resources about their experiences. Given the prevalence of antagonistic historical memories, which reinforce stereotypical images, such a resource book could open up possibilities for change, while respecting traditional means of remembering and of making sense of Quebec's English-speaking minority.

To this day, integrating “Anglo-Québécois” realities and experiences into the national historical narrative of Quebec school history programmes proves to be highly controversial.<sup>1</sup> One needs only to look at the large media outcry over the introduction of the new History and Citizenship Education programme during the “History Wars” in 2006 to grasp the contentiousness of such an undertaking. Fundamental fear of undermining the historical significance of Quebec’s Francophone character ultimately led certain interest groups and grassroots movements to counter government attempts at diversifying Quebec’s national memory, and particularly at incorporating Anglophone viewpoints of the common past in the programme’s general storyline. Deploring the social constructability of the “French-English conflict” and thus the potential dilution of its relevance in remembering difficult times, programme detractors instead demanded that a collective narrative that mostly configured the dominant storyline of their community’s shared historical memories be preserved. Consequently, the main identity markers of the Franco-Québécois majority that usually cast “Anglophones” as the antagonist to Quebec’s national aspirations and fulfillment were successfully reemphasized in a later, revised version of the new programme (Laville 2006; Létourneau 2006a; Éthier et al. 2007; BHP 2007; McAndrew 2010).<sup>2</sup>

While such an outcome may somewhat soothe general concerns of properly transmitting the Francophone historical experience to students, it nonetheless risks disengaging the Anglo-Québécois minority from closely identifying with Quebec’s national development. Feeding off memories of unequal inter-group power relations, political ambitions of strengthening Quebec’s Francophone character ultimately seem to confine the latter to an exclusive and largely timeless category of *otherness*. And as such, the continued exclusion of Anglo-Québécois realities and experiences from a common narrative undoubtedly contributes to preserving group boundaries between the province’s two historical communities, thereby hindering the growth of inter-group dialogue and harmony in the long run (Zanazanian 2009).

Surely mirroring the centrality of the “French-English conflict” in Franco-Québécois negotiations of ethno-cultural identity and agency, this tendency of *othering* the Anglo-Québécois is not solely limited to politically motivated interest groups and grassroots movements. It seems to also be widespread among the Francophone public as a whole (Maclure 2003; Létourneau 2004; Létourneau 2006b). And for my purposes here, it is particularly present among both Francophone history teachers and students alike throughout the province

(Létourneau and Moisan 2004; McAndrew et al. 2006; Létourneau and Caritey 2008; Zanazanian 2008; 2009). By generally basing their understandings of the past on their community's collective memory, many history teachers and students tend to generally maintain group boundaries with the Anglo-Québécois. By thus inadvertently adhering to stereotypical images of "Anglophones," they seemingly differentiate and distance this minority group from forming an integral component of a common and sentimental "sameness," or a *nous collectif* with which Francophone group members closely identify.<sup>3</sup>

It is thus within this particular context of *othering*, both in and outside of schools, that I would like to argue for the development of an "Anglo-Québécois" information resource book that is readily available in Quebec history classrooms. My position is based on findings from a recent qualitative study, in which I examined the impact of Francophone history teachers' historical consciousness on their structuring of group boundaries with the Anglo-Québécois. From these findings, it seems clear that there is a need for a document that configures the different realities and experiences of Quebec's diverse English-speaking communities. Such a resource book would be particularly helpful to those teachers who seek to know more about and transmit information on Anglo-Quebec, but for various reasons do not have access to adequate materials in this regard. I believe that such a document would be all the more attractive to teachers if its use were to be mandated by the ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir, et du Sport (MELS). As only *one* strategy among many others, this resource book would surely contribute to attaining the MELS' objective of encouraging Francophone educators to be more inclusive of the province's Anglophone minority in their teachings. This aim was clearly stipulated in the 1998 Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education, which emphasized the need to "integrate into the study of history—not just to tack on as separate material—the role played by Anglophones and Aboriginal peoples, and by groups of other ethnic origins, in the building of Quebec society and development of the collective identity and memory of Quebecers" (MEQ 1998, 26).

In what follows, I briefly describe my study before presenting how respondents generally interact with the past for knowing and acting toward the Anglo-Québécois. I further touch upon how these teachers foresee the amount of attention they would offer to Quebec Anglophones if given the task of writing a new history programme for the province. I then look at respondents' capacity and willingness to access information and resources for integrating knowledge of the Anglo-Québécois community in their teaching and conclude by

elaborating on the development of the much needed information resource book.

### **Qualitative Study on Historical Consciousness and the Structuring of Group Boundaries**

Interest for the qualitative study under discussion here emerged from the overall findings of a prior exploratory study that I had conducted previously on inter-group attitudes and mutual in-class treatments between Francophone and Anglophone history teachers in Montreal (Zanazanian 2008). By investigating into participants' pedagogical practices when dealing with common but non-consensual historical issues, my exploratory study revealed that the majority of Franco-Québécois respondents exhibited a general sense of "indifference" to Anglo-Québécois realities and experiences, as well as a seeming disinterest in transmitting such information to their students. Intrigued, I decided to conduct a follow-up, in-depth study to verify these findings, some of the main results of which form the basis of my argument in this article.

In this new study, I wanted to particularly grasp how Francophone history teachers made sense of the common past, to then see how they positioned themselves towards the Anglo-Québécois. More specifically, I sought to understand the impact of teachers' historical consciousness on their structuring of group boundaries vis-à-vis Quebec Anglophones, hoping to thereby apprehend the extent to which they both viewed this minority as forming a part of a common collective identity and willingly transmitted their realities and experiences in the history classroom. Faced with the current competition between Francophones and Anglophones over their respective maintenance and development as well as with memories of unequal inter-group power relations (McAndrew 2003; 2010; Zanazanian 2008; In press a), I believed respondents would use personal ideas of right or wrong to construct understandings of inter-group realities and to decide upon their choice of action, thereby revealing expressions of their historical consciousness. To this end, I basically wanted to see how the seventeen Franco-Québécois teachers (of French-Canadian descent) in my study mobilized notions of the past for making sense of the Anglo-Québécois, and whether they did so by accepting, rejecting or adapting the influence of pre-given and interiorized configurations that may emerge in group discourses for expressly knowing and acting toward the Other.<sup>4</sup>

Given this formidable task of grasping the effects of historical consciousness on ethno-cultural agency, I had to figure out a way to best capture how teachers' theoretical and practical interactions with

the past guided their intentions for making sense of reality and for acting toward the Anglo-Québécois. In light of the past's abundance of options for influencing human thought and action, I needed to devise a reading key in order to consistently chart the ways in which respondents historicized the past. Described elsewhere in greater detail, my resulting "open-ended interpretation key" permitted me to attain these objectives.<sup>5</sup>

As a starting point, my reading key used a list of preliminary categories that emerged from a repertory of four parallel and equal tendencies of historical consciousness that I had developed based on the ideas of Jörn Rüsen (2005). This preliminary start-list served to grasp respondents' verbal expressions, while also offering room to develop new categories of analysis along the way. Although I borrowed the initial definitions of each tendency from Rüsen's (2005) own typology of historical consciousness, I distanced myself from its ontogenetic structuring, which organizes each type in a progression of growth of the complexity for imbuing the past with historical significance, finding it counter-productive for my aims. I instead viewed each tendency as holding equal weight of importance for making sense of inter-group realities, especially since they fundamentally consist of human choices for living life. I thus could not imagine one being more significant than the other. Of importance, keen on embracing the fluidity of human agency, while also avoiding the imposition of value judgments on the way in which social actors use the past for constructing reality, I further visualized each tendency in my repertory as an ideal-type in the sense of Weber (1949). The critical elements of each tendency were grouped together to form a logical, meaningful, and coherent whole (as an ideational representation that can ultimately never be found in reality), in order to serve as a standard with which to compare social actors' mobilizations of the past. Variations from each standard permitted to better understand the workings of historical consciousness. By considering emergent similarities and differences, important nuances to how respondents engage with the past emerged, as did new sub-categories or tendencies for grasping how they historicize the past for knowing and acting toward the Anglo-Québécois (Weber, 1949; Hekman, 1983).

Based on Rüsen's (2005, 28–34) theorization, my repertory of parallel and equal tendencies of historical consciousness consists of four main types. The first two tendencies largely reflect the role of collective memory in the formation and maintenance of group boundaries (Weber, 1968; Juteau, 1999). Accordingly, the 'traditional' type refers to remembering origins and keeping traditions, cultural norms, and values alive through the repetition of narratives or symbols that

confirm and reaffirm an individual's connection to his or her peers. The second, 'exemplary' type points to the use of experiences of the past as guidelines for conduct, legitimizing the validity of social roles and values as well as orienting individuals either toward the course of action to take or to avoid.

In contrast, the remaining two types greatly point to social actors' anticipation of plausible understandings of the past for living life. Whereas the 'critical' type invokes questioning and transgressing the viability of dominant historical narratives for making sense of reality as handed down through collective memory, the 'genetic' type fundamentally consists of recognizing the complexity, temporality, and variability of both knowing and acting in the world. Consequently, there is acknowledgment that moral obligations to the past not only vary according to time, space, and context, and thus can be constantly adjusted, but also require sincere openness to different viewpoints if a more complete vision of reality is to be attained.

By confronting different moments of respondents' historicizing with my "open-ended interpretation key," I was able to track the varying degrees of their openness to including the Anglo-Québécois in a common collective identity for Quebec and to transmitting their realities and experiences in the classroom. I believed that if respondents *regularly* tended to demonstrate a 'genetic' outlook when interacting with and signifying the past, it would suggest their potential openness to eventually re-structuring group boundaries with the Anglo-Québécois in a more inclusive way. In such a dynamic, I believed that they may come to realize that members of the Anglophone community, just like themselves, are similarly inserted in time and also use personal ideas of right or wrong for navigating through pre-configured narratives of knowing and acting. In thus embracing the moral and historical agency of the Anglo-Québécois, and by doing so regularly, Franco-Québécois history teachers may develop a sense of mutual commonality and engagement with the latter, and may eventually render group boundaries more porous, unless they consciously refuse to do so for ethical, practical, and/or political reasons.

In this mindset, I examined respondents' historical consciousness according to four different thematic contexts. On the one hand, I looked at the relevance respondents attributed to History for making sense of the past (for living life and for solving problems of a historical nature). And on the other, I considered the concrete ways in which they actually interacted with the past regarding the three main components that underlie the negotiation of ethnicity: awareness of the "ethno-cultural" Self, of the significant Other, and of the evolution of power relations between the two (Juteau, 1999).

Overall, two important findings are well worth mentioning, particularly since they support my main argument here for developing an “Anglo-Québécois” information resource book. Firstly, as we shall see, my in-depth study reveals how respondents’ historical consciousness of the Anglo-Québécois has variously led them to reinforce group boundaries, thereby clearly *othering* the latter and not necessarily considering them as forming part of a common collective and sentimental identity. Despite such a vast reliance on pre-established narrative configurations of the past for making sense of the Anglo-Québécois, some of these respondents are nonetheless open to expanding the contours of what they consider to be their collective identity, at least in a civic sense of the term. Secondly, regardless of my respondents’ generalized unfamiliarity with Anglo-Québécois realities and experiences, roughly half of the respondents are nonetheless open to learning about and transmitting such information to their students. It might well be that the prevalent “indifference” to the Anglo-Québécois among Franco-Québécois history teachers in my exploratory study most possibly corresponds to a genuine lack of knowledge of the latter.

While the findings of this study may hold true for its participants, it is, however, important to keep in mind that they cannot be generalized to the whole population of Franco-Québécois history teachers. These results should rather be seen as a start in exploring and initiating interest in better understanding the role of historical consciousness in group member negotiations of ethnicity and the structuring of inter-group boundaries. In terms of contributions, these findings may raise important issues for discussion and for further analysis by pointing to how respondents’ historical consciousness leads them to represent and deal with the Anglo-Québécois when teaching national history, and by permitting to explore avenues that might help teachers move toward more balanced representations when apprehending this minority group.

### **Historicizing the Anglo-Québécois Past**

In what follows, I present selected excerpts from interviews with respondents that demonstrate the manner in which teachers in my study mobilize notions of the past for knowing and acting toward the Anglo-Québécois. To do this, I focus on their expressions of historical consciousness for only one of the four aforementioned thematic contexts, namely their awareness of the significant Other through time, or, in other terms, the manner in which they basically remember Quebec Anglophones. The study’s main strategy for eliciting respondents’ historical consciousness for this thematic context consisted of asking

them to orally narrate the history of the Anglo-Québécois, from the very beginning up to the current day, as best as they could know, perceive or remember (Létourneau and Moisan 2004).<sup>6</sup> To specifically examine how respondents historicize the past for knowing and acting, I sought to grasp the thinking and justifications underlying the narrative formulations of their discourses (Rüsen 2005; Straub 2005). Of importance here were the form, logic and reasoning inherent in these narratives, and not solely the themes, intrigues, and major structures of their descriptive content, which would have inevitably limited my intended outreach of grasping the effects of historicizing on ethno-cultural agency. The aim was to get into respondents' mindset and grasp the main underlying logic of their discourse by looking at their personal reflections, overt justifications, and the manner in which they presented their ideas (Zanazanian 2009; In press a). Given the complexity of historical consciousness and the potential that individuals variously manifest elements of each of its four tendencies, respondents' thought processes were analyzed and coded according to a global reading of what they were saying. Visualizing each tendency in the repertory as an ideal-type enabled the coding process to be as neutral as possible. Knowing that respondents' "real" tendency of historical consciousness existed in the cracks of each ideal-type tendency, a priori expectations of certain predispositions of interaction with the past were not imposed upon respondents (Zanazanian 2009; In press a).

Generally speaking, my analysis for this thematic context demonstrates that the vast majority of respondents do not know the past of the Anglo-Québécois from the Anglophone point of view, let alone from the perspectives of its diverse communities. The respondents instead tend to recite narratives of inter-group relations, thereby mobilizing key identity markers reflective of their own group's history and power struggle with the Other. As such, they maintain group boundaries when remembering the Anglo-Québécois past.<sup>7</sup>

Two main variations emerge in respondents' *othering* of the Anglo-Québécois. The first, by demonstrating either a 'traditional' or 'exemplary' tendency, groups those respondents who *strongly other* the Anglophones. These eight participants mostly rely on various aspects of their group's collective memory for guiding their agency or for structuring group boundaries. Consequently, they espouse pre-established significations of the past for knowing and acting by either repeating them, without really questioning their accurateness for apprehending reality, or by justifying them through the use of life regularities or patterns that are taken for granted and generalized to all similar contexts of the past.

Such a reliance on various aspects of their group's collective memory possibly points to these respondents' need for reaffirming a common sense of solidarity with their ancestors as well as for confirming a sense of belonging and ethno-cultural cohesion over time. One can moreover assume that they undoubtedly seem to feel threatened by the Anglo-Québécois, believing to be intimately involved in a power struggle for the survival of their own community.

Those participants who *repeat* pre-established significations of the past *without questioning their accurateness for apprehending reality* (i.e. the 'traditional' tendency) all offer an antagonistic narrative of inter-group relations, touching upon such themes as the Conquest, attempts at assimilation of French Canadians by the English, domination and constant exploitation. Even if at times some of them do offer aspects of the Anglophone past, it is clear that this group is nonetheless dichotomized from their own community. Overall, it is as if they take everything that they say as being "absolute" or "true."

"I'm quite aware that, even today in 2008, [Anglophones] have won and we have lost the war. Nothing can change this. They are the winners, we are the losers. We are the dominated, they are the dominators." (René)<sup>8</sup>

"It's always a situation where they have the bad role. We know about the Battle of the Plains of Abraham because they were there and they beat us. Then, the Royal Proclamation, the Test Oath, everything that's in it is very negative, very bad for us. Then, even if the Quebec Act was only positive for us, I was made to perceive it as something they had no choice but to give us, if not they greatly risked facing another rebellion in the St. Lawrence valley. So, we give them the candy they want, and they stay quiet." (Victor)

Respondents who *justify* pre-established significations of the past for making sense of the Anglo-Québécois (i.e. the 'exemplary' tendency) do so by *using life regularities or patterns* (either specific to Quebec history or to the human condition at large). In turn, their narratives of inter-group relations, when remembering Quebec Anglophones, variously discuss a power struggle between Francophones and Anglophones, group competition between the two communities, confrontations and antagonism, and even compromise at times. Among the main themes of the life patterns they bring forth for justifying aspects of their group's collective memory are such ideas as "leaders of winners always rule," "adversaries generally know and comply with military strategies and norms during war," "unhappy people always mobilize themselves against the source of their discontent," "colonial attitudes toward colonized peoples are typical," and "the Catholic Church promotes a high birthrate." Similar to their peers who simply repeat aspects of their group's collective memory, these respondents do not necessarily

see the past in its entire complexity and also hold elements of pre-established narratives for knowing and acting as being ultimately “true.”

“I often tell my students that the Act of Union is when the victor will always keep what he wants. The victor is the English. The victor is not there to share. I tell them that when there will be gold medals this summer at the Olympic Games, the guy who has the gold medal does not have to give it to the guy with the silver medal [and] say ‘we’ll share it six months each.’ It is the victor who wins.” (Robert)

“I don’t really see, since the British presence in Quebec, any particular animosity among Anglophones toward Francophones in their policies. I think they were ruling like rulers rule. And they were doing so elsewhere also, and it’s not the nationality of the given population [in the conquered lands] that will change things.” (Jacques)

The second variation in respondents’ *othering* of the Anglo-Québécois consists of those who do so *softly*. This variation groups the remaining nine respondents who, in turn, demonstrate either a ‘critical’ or ‘quasi-genetic’ tendency when historicizing the past. The ‘quasi-genetic’ tendency, as we shall see below, is a sub-category of the ‘genetic’ one that emerged during the analysis of the data. Overall, these participants fundamentally seek, from near or far, plausible understandings of the common past for making sense of inter-group relations, and yearn to do so by either questioning the relevance of pre-established narratives for making sense of the Anglo-Québécois or by embracing the need to recognize the complexity and the fluidity of bygone years. Instead of adhering to aspects of their collective memory, they seemingly attempt to grasp the Anglo-Quebec past in a way that professional historians practice their craft, even if they do not possess all the necessary skills permitting them to do so.

Some of these respondents (i.e. those with an overall ‘critical’ tendency) tend to *highlight problematic aspects* of pre-established significations for making sense of the past, for the most part doing so simply to justify their irrelevance for signifying inter-group realities. Although they do not necessarily know the history of Quebec Anglophones, they nonetheless seek to demystify certain aspects of their group’s collective memory and moreover question the content of the history programme they are responsible for transmitting to students.<sup>9</sup> In doing so, they believe that parts of the general storyline do not correspond to the reality or experiences of the Anglo-Québécois and that they sometimes promote certain exaggerations of the past without offering important nuances. In this mindset, without necessarily bringing in alternative narratives, these respondents nonetheless all seek to promote inter-group conciliation and harmony.

This excerpt from Inès is a clear example of how these respondents discredit certain elements of pre-established narratives for making sense of the past and how they bring in modifications to contradict some exaggerations.

“I explained the Battle of the Plains [of Abraham]. I said people make it [into something] very, very big, but it only lasts between ten and fifteen minutes. I said it’s not really our fault. In America we were winning several battles because we fought [in the style of] Native guerilla warfare....France didn’t necessarily abandon us...I said it was a logical choice for France to let go of New France to protect its lands in Europe. It was [France’s] choice. But to then say [France] abandoned us, well it could look like that to the students, because they told me so, ‘did they drop us?’ Well, they left us to fend for ourselves.” (Inès)

Another example is Mathieu, who also questions the relevance of pre-established elements for making sense of the past, believing that they place Anglophones in a bad light. In reciting a history of competition as well as of tension and cooperation, he brings certain aspects of the Anglophone past to the fore, while mainly speculating on how certain non-consensual understandings of the common past affect and are perceived by Francophones. To do this, he focuses on the Constitutional Act of 1791, the *Patriotes* Rebellion, Lord Durham’s Report, Confederation, as well as on the 1950s, 1960s, and the 1970s. This next excerpt shows how Mathieu discredits popular understandings of the *Patriotes* Rebellion.

“In terms of the conflict of the *Patriotes* in 1837–1838, it’s not the English against the French, it’s rather the Canadians against the British. Because there also was a struggle in Upper Canada, in Ontario, and this is rarely mentioned in Quebec history books. They discuss Louis-Joseph Papineau, they discuss the battles of St. Eustache or others, but they do not often mention that the English of Western Canada, of Upper Canada also fought against the British for the same reasons, to have control over their laws, to have control over their budgets, their parliament.” (Mathieu)

In terms of the other respondents who also seek plausible understandings of the past, one finds those whose discourses generally go beyond mostly highlighting problematic aspects of pre-established narratives. For the thematic context under scrutiny here, these teachers largely demonstrate a ‘quasi-genetic’ tendency (i.e. not a fully ‘genetic’ one), by, above all, *recognizing the complexity of human life and the variability of time* when historicizing the past. This ‘variability’ criterion refers to respondents’ acknowledgement of the temporal distance between the past and present regarding the different ways of doing and living, while the ‘complexity’ criterion points to their

appreciation of the difficulty in understanding reality, and thus of recognizing the necessity of finding a more sophisticated and fluid manner for apprehending the past.<sup>10</sup>

Of importance, these respondents offer reasoned perspectives of the past by taking its complexity into account. These perspectives, however, seem to be fixed in time and are not necessarily a call for further investigation or deeper understandings. Once the past has been reasoned, it is as if the respondents have understood all that they need to know. Located within narratives of competition or of tension and cooperation, which variously incorporate different aspects of the Anglophone past, the themes of these perspectives touch upon such ideas as the mobilization of ethnicity for promoting group interests, the melding of socio-economic, linguistic or cultural cleavages, and sentiments of fear of disappearance among both Francophone and Anglophone communities. The first of the three excerpts here displays one example of a reasoned perspective, while the others touch upon the two aforementioned criteria.

“The demands of the *Canadien* elite were basically more political, but in order to get supplementary support, they deviated towards an ethnic component, which in reality it wasn't. Inside the *Patriotes* movement, which would replace the *Parti Canadien* in the chamber, you also find Anglophones. There were some Irish, and even certain Scottish. One should not see the *Patriotes* Rebellion as only ethnic. It was basically a political movement and it is a political movement that fits into a global movement at the time [qui s'imbrique dans une tangente qui est mondiale à l'époque].” (Sébastien)

“The place the Irish occupy in the economy was probably very similar to that of the French Canadians, even if there was confrontation. One could speak of ethnic confrontation, but at the same time the Irish are Catholic, so to what extent then? ... And this is something very interesting to look at because I am sure that there probably were more alliances between French Canadians and the Irish because of their shared religion [and] because of denigration, the fact that the Irish themselves were denigrated by the Anglo-Saxon.” (Ludovic)

“The main lines are the main political ones, but what I understand is more nuanced. You have to place yourself in the Other's position. Yes, there was a Conquest and of course it was to the advantage of the victor, but there are nuances that we do not often make. That is, French Canadians had the right to take part in government; some were businessmen, even at the beginning of the twentieth century; there were French Canadian capitalists; there were some who were rich; there were French Canadian banks that were founded in the nineteenth century. So these nuances need to be considered in the debate between the conqueror, seeking to dominate and assimilate all the time, and the Other who doesn't let it

happen. This history is a bit nationalistic, but I understand it in a more nuanced way.” (Richard)

On a final note, it is important to keep in mind that only one of these teachers (the only one out of the seventeen participants in the study, for that matter), Richard, who offers a narrative in which the Anglo-Québécois are the protagonists of their history. He brings in key elements that clearly resemble the visions of the past that Quebec Anglophones would plausibly consider as their own. For example, he touches upon the different waves of migration and groups of English-speaking immigrants (the Americans, the British, administrators, merchants, the Irish, the Scottish, demobilized soldiers, Loyalists, Blacks, Greeks and Italians), the English-speaking demographic majority of Montreal in the nineteenth century, an Anglophone minority that controls the economy, as well as other political and cultural contributions.

This brief overview of respondents’ differing variations of historical consciousness when remembering the past of Anglophone Quebec greatly points to the maintenance of group boundaries vis-à-vis the Anglo-Québécois, albeit either in a *soft* or *strong* manner. Despite evidence of openness to learning more about them, particularly among those participants who seek plausible understandings of the past, this generalized othering suggests the exclusion of the Anglo-Québécois from forming part of a common and sentimental identity or *nous collectif*. Respondents’ failure to place themselves in the Other’s position when historicizing the past points to this, as does their unconscious spontaneity in narrating histories of inter-group relations. Consequently, it is as if the Anglo-Québécois are sometimes perceived as constituting a monolithic and homogeneous group, devoid of any cultural or socioeconomic diversity, let alone as possessing different perspectives of the past and societal ambitions for the future. On the whole, I believe that this generalized unfamiliarity with Anglo-Québécois realities and experiences partly supports my argument in this article for developing an “Anglo-Québécois” information resource book that would be readily available in the province’s history classrooms. It would be particularly useful for those teachers who seek to learn about Quebec’s diverse Anglophone past and to transmit such information to their students.

### **Placing the Anglo-Québécois in a New History Programme for Quebec**

The prior section demonstrates how practically all respondents (sixteen out of seventeen) in my study do not know the history of the Anglo-Québécois. By offering narratives of inter-group relations,

which overwhelmingly highlight unequal power structures, respondents tend to reinforce ethno-cultural differences by *othering* the latter. In what follows, I briefly look at the amount of attention respondents would centre on Francophones and Anglophones if they were mandated to write a new history programme for Quebec. Seeking to elicit vivid reactions, I placed this question within the context of the aforementioned 2006 “History Wars,” focusing on the debate over the alleged decrease of Franco-Québécois realities and experiences in the new History and Citizenship Education programme that would have accommodated Quebec’s cultural diversity, including the Anglo-Québécois (BHP 2007). Catering to a different thematic context here, namely the usefulness of History for making sense of the past (for living life and for solving problems of a historical nature), this question was formulated in the following manner:

“Recently, there was a large debate over the new History and Citizenship Education programme in the Quebec media. One of the controversies at the heart of this debate was the decrease of the space given to the social and historical experiences of the Franco-Québécois to the benefit of Anglophones and other minority groups. Considering Quebec’s historical past, tell me what place you would give to each of these social groups. Justify your answer.”

Intended as a practical follow-up to two preceding questions on how History helps us understand the present and on how we use the past for solving today’s problems, respondents’ answers offered some insight into the varying degrees of their openness to embracing the realities and experiences of Quebec Anglophones. This question was particularly revealing because the study took place during 2007–2008, at a time when participants were teaching the “History of Quebec and Canada” course, developed in 1982, for the last time in Secondary Four, before the introduction of the new “History and Citizenship Education” programme. Seeing as the collective narrative framework of the 1982 history programme largely transmitted the dominant storyline of the Franco-Québécois collective memory, and thus inevitably reinforced stereotypical images of “Anglophones,” this question made respondents reflect and take a stance on the content of the old programme as well as on the alleged changes to the new one.

Three main positions emerged when analyzing the answers to this question. Firstly, viewing Quebec as a mainly Francophone society, it became clear that nine respondents out of seventeen would not give the same weight of importance to both Francophone and Anglophone communities if they were to develop a new history programme. While some of these respondents believed that the 1982 programme more or less adequately focused due attention on all Quebec communities,

others variously emphasized the importance of keeping the memory of the “English-French conflict” alive (which the 1982 programme at the time adequately did).

“In the current form [the 1982 programme], the distribution is correct. That is to say it’s our history, so we give a large place to Francophones. For sure it would not be that much of an unequal space [for Anglophones]. [But] at the same time, I cannot give the same importance to the history of Anglophones, the history of Francophones, and the history of Allophones, which often form part of the history of Anglophones.... It is justified by our number, by the time that we have been here. I justify it by our achievements, by our culture, by our difference, by our importance.” (Victor)

“It is clear that we must insist that we’re in Quebec and that we’re doing the history of Quebec. We must insist on the history of the French, of Québécois Francophones, French Canadians. For me, it is very important. It is also important that we explain all the history of the English, the history of England...Well not necessarily equal, but a little more space for the English and mainly more space for Natives [than in the 1982 programme].” (Jean-Marie)

A second group of respondents, a further five out of the seventeen, would offer an equal but nuanced space to Anglophones in a new history programme. While concerned with preserving Quebec’s French character, these teachers are nonetheless mindful of the need of transmitting historical elements related to the Anglo-Québécois, believing that they played an important role in Quebec’s past. Some of these respondents suggest that equal weight to both Francophones and Anglophones should be given according to different moments of the past, without necessarily exaggerating the contributions of the latter community. In embracing Anglo-Quebec, others nonetheless highlight the importance of remembering the past for what it is and of not glossing over the “French-English conflict.” Despite pointing to some openness to their realities and experiences, it is clear that the contributions of the Anglo-Québécois here are not considered as equally important as of those of the Franco-Québécois when it comes to teaching and remembering Quebec.

“I think they should be given their rightful space and presently we should be careful not to seek details that would give them an over-representation. We should not forget that Canada was, that Quebec was, nonetheless a Francophone province and always had a Francophone majority. However, it would be interesting within the history of French Canadians to see the evolution of English Canadians with their immigration, because knowing the Other is at any rate [better knowing oneself].” (Ludovic)

Unlike their peers, the remaining three respondents of the study would give an equal weight of importance to both Francophones and Anglophones in a new history programme. As a sort of imposition, one of these teachers is keen on promoting the idea of positive inter-group relations with the express purpose of demonstrating that the rapport between both communities always worked out in the best interests of each group. In contrast to this didactic approach, two other respondents feel that Anglophones need to be understood just as perfectly as all other groups in Quebec, the aim being to not only better know oneself, the past and one's own society, but also to know the Other.

"[Francophone students] are situated in history vis-à-vis an Other. You have to start with what they are in comparison to an Other. And the Other can be a Native, an Anglophone. And the Other has to be there, has to be put in this perspective all the time, but from his point of view; not by seeing the Other as being wicked [le méchant] or the Conqueror. If I were teaching in an English school to Anglophones, I would take the Other's point of view. I place myself in the students' position, in the position of the person I am addressing, because it is for him that this history will be useful. He has to be rooted in it. So, I can't say in terms of absolute numbers, but I see it rather in terms of a center and a periphery. But not contradictory." (Richard)

Overall, in light of these three main positions, two important tendencies emerge from the study. Firstly, it seems that the vast majority of respondents do not necessarily view Anglo-Québécois contributions to Quebec's history as holding the same weight of importance as those of the Francophone majority. Once again, this type of distancing raises questions regarding the extent to which Anglophones are considered as forming an integral part of a common national identity for Quebec. Secondly, it is clear that nearly half of all respondents are nonetheless open to teaching about Anglo-Québécois history to students. Of interest, despite minor exceptions, it is overwhelmingly the respondents who variously tend to *softly other* the Anglo-Québécois, as was seen in the previous section, who would be the most inclined to better understand and transmit Anglophone realities and experiences in the national history classroom. Clear examples of *soft othering* and such openness are Ludovic and Richard, both of whose interview excerpts have already been cited.

### **Possessing Adequate Information and Resources on the Anglo-Québécois**

This final section briefly overviews respondents' reactions when asked whether they lack any information or resources on Anglo-Québécois social realities and historical experiences. They were asked the

following question:

“Are there any aspects of the experiences of Anglophones (both past and present) and/or of relations between Francophones and Anglophones for which you lack any information and resources? If yes, what is lacking?”

Through their answers, seven participants clearly express an overall insufficiency of knowledge and materials, irrelevant of whether they seek plausible understandings of the past or simply base themselves on different elements of their group’s collective memory when making sense of the Other. Of interest, some of these respondents voice a need to learn more about Anglo-Québécois daily life (both past and present), such as economic, social, and political realities, as well as sources of personal intra-group contact, and the development of community movements. One participant further expresses curiosity over the role of the Anglican church in the Anglophone community, Anglophone artists, and Anglophone poverty.

“Let’s say the contribution of the Anglican Church in the Anglophone community, what is it? Let’s say Anglophone painters of Quebec, the sculptors, all the Anglophone artists of Quebec...We have little information on them. ... At a social, cultural level...we tell [students] that during Industrialization, the Anglophones were the bosses, they had big houses in TMR...were there any who nonetheless lived in small apartments? We have little information on [such issues].” (Robert)

Touching upon the lack of time and resources for acquiring such information on her own, another teacher moreover articulates a need for a list of reliable and plausible websites to access details of Anglo-Québécois experiences.

In contrast, six of the remaining ten participants believe they do not lack any information nor resources, not because they have access to them or have knowledge of them, but because they can find them on their own when necessary, either through the internet or the school library.

“I hardly use the official resources offered, the textbooks... I would say in my practice, I get information [on my own]. I easily have access to information.” (Maude)

“Anyhow, we know how to look in books, we can do research at a library. Now, do I have the time to do this? Do I feel like doing this? Do I have the time to go to the library to do research to prepare a class? No. Unless, they give me time...We have guidebooks, we have textbooks, it’s not for nothing...We can enrich our knowledge, but [do we?]” (Ludovic)

Lastly, the feedback from the four remaining respondents points to an overall indifference to the general lack of information and resources

regarding Anglo-Québécois experiences. Two believe that there are deficiencies in practically all aspects of teaching, without elaborating on what they are missing. A third teacher has no idea if he lacks any information or resources, wondering instead whether a written history of the Anglo-Québécois exists at all. And the fourth does not seem to be bothered by the possibility of lacking any information and resources, believing the knowledge he already possesses is more than enough.

In sum, a little more than half of all respondents believe they lack information and resources for better knowing the Anglo-Québécois. A further number of them feel that they are resourceful people and can get such information on their own, if they need to, while the remaining four are not too clear on what they lack. Consequently, it would not be wrong to assume that all these teachers' workloads, regardless of whether they can get information on their own or not, would be considerably lighter if they had ready-to-access information on Anglo-Québécois experiences, especially since it is not available in the teaching materials they already possess.

The findings discussed in this section offer some insight into the extent to which history teachers are capable and willing to gather information on Quebec Anglophones. At a larger level, these results give empirical support to the need for developing a more inclusive history curriculum, as outlined in the MEQ's aforementioned *Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education* of 1998. These findings also point to the necessity of ensuring that information on Anglo-Québécois realities and experiences are given adequate space, if not already done so, in teacher education programmes for future history educators. In line with my overall argument in this article, the development of an "Anglo-Québécois" information resource book would definitely be useful in this regard, particularly for those teachers, in both school and teacher education programmes, who are willing to learn about and transmit knowledge on Quebec's historical English-speaking minority.

### **General Discussion**

The findings of the study discussed in this article highlight three important points. Firstly, respondents do not necessarily know the history of the Anglo-Québécois from the latter's point of view. By reciting narratives of inter-group relations that keep both memories of confrontation and an unequal power structure alive, they instead seem to be preserving group differences, thereby maintaining group boundaries and inadvertently *othering* the Anglo-Québécois. While this is certainly true for those respondents who overwhelmingly tend to rely

on their collective memory for remembering Quebec Anglophones, it is less set in stone for those who rather seek plausible understandings of the past. By either questioning aspects of pre-established significations or by simply embracing the intricacies involved in making credible sense of the past's vastness and multifariousness, they seem to be more open to sometimes contradicting traditional norms and even altering essentialized and preconceived visions of the past. It would not be wrong to assume that most of these participants would consequently be more predisposed to learning about Anglo-Québécois realities and experiences and to transmitting such information to their students, unless they willingly refuse to do so for ethical or political reasons. It is noteworthy that just over half of the research sample (nine respondents) fall into this category.

In looking at the amount of attention respondents would focus on the Anglo-Québécois in a new history programme for Quebec, a second point emerges, somewhat complementing the first one. Of importance, practically half of all respondents (eight of them) would be open to offering more of an equal, if not a completely equal space to the latter community. Of this eight, six overwhelmingly seek plausible understandings of the past when remembering Quebec Anglophones. The remaining two respondents instead rely largely on aspects of their collective memory. Despite repeating or justifying pre-established configurations, these two teachers possibly realize that the presence and positive contributions of Anglophones to Quebec's development cannot be simply ignored or vilified. The reverse can also be said of the three respondents, out of the remaining nine who are not predisposed to offering any equal space to the Anglo-Québécois. Despite being capable of questioning the relevance of some pre-established significations or of recognizing the overall complexity of making sense of the past, these three teachers may possibly refuse to acknowledge the specificities of the Anglo-Québécois for ethical, practical, or political reasons. In spite of these minor exceptions to the general trend, it is clear that at least half of all respondents in my study are open to transmitting information on Anglo-Quebec to their students, irrelevant of how they historicize the past for constructing social reality. This openness once again suggests these teachers' keenness to learn more about the latter community's realities and experiences.

Finally, the third point refers to respondents' capacity and willingness to access information and resources for teaching about Anglophones. Approximately half of all respondents (eight in all) state that they lack information and adequate resources. Six others believe that they do not because, as resourceful persons, they can

find and fulfill such needs on their own. Of importance, five of the overall seventeen respondents moreover believe that they lack time for such activities. If correlated with prior reports and studies that point to educators' limited time to properly transmit course materials because of ministerial exams in June (MEQ 1996; Zanazanian 2009), this would suggest the widespread shortage of time for practically all respondents to get information on the Anglo-Québécois, even if they wanted to. Overall, it becomes clear that Francophone teachers do not necessarily have access to information and resources about Anglo-Québécois realities and experiences, and that even if they believe themselves to be capable of filling such voids on their own, much needed information and time is not readily available.

### **Conclusion**

The findings of the in-depth study described in this article lead me to believe that there is an important need for offering Franco-Québécois history teachers information on Anglo-Québécois social realities and historical experiences. This information could easily become available as a resource book that informs and sensitizes Francophone teachers on Anglo-Québécois identities and contributions, past and present. As a preliminary thought, this document should, in the very least, offer a chronology of all the main events, characters, and time periods that are considered particularly significant for Quebec's English-speaking communities. Details on daily life, on networks of both interpersonal and social relationships, as well as on the development of economic, political and civil society movements and institutions should be available, as should extracts of primary and secondary sources that discuss the different aspects of the Anglo-Québécois past. Offering a window into the lives of Anglo-Quebec's diversity, close attention should also be paid to the many realities and experiences that exist along ethno-cultural, religious, gender, and socio-economic lines. Of importance, I believe the creation of this text should specifically delineate overall Anglo-Québécois desires for common future life with Quebec's Francophone majority—thereby gaining an open ear among sceptical members of the public.

To be as democratic and wide-reaching as possible, it would be further necessary that such an "Anglo-Québécois" information resource book involve an intimate and transparent collaboration between Quebec's ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport and interested historians, history educationalists and English-speaking community organizations and interest groups, as well as other concerned citizens. To survey and tally the aforementioned contents of the document, this team of specialists could access diverse sources of knowledge. For

example, they could analyze various oral life histories, examine central elements of different forms of collective remembering, and synthesize relevant contributions by both professional and popular historians.

Once completed, I believe this resource book would offer a significant opportunity to enable national history teachers to not only appreciate shared Anglophone historical memories as a historic Quebec community in its own right, but to also acknowledge its contributions to the province from the group's own perspectives. As a researcher concerned with improving the quality of common future life, I believe that this book would undoubtedly fulfill one important step toward bridging group differences between English-speakers and Francophones.<sup>11</sup> Of importance, it would undoubtedly be welcomed by those educators who are open to learning and teaching about Anglophone experiences, but who do not always have the time, skills and motivation to research relevant information on their own.

Finally, while the development of this resource book may raise some social and intellectual consternation among certain interest groups, who may particularly fear it as a sort of political imposition of a particular view of the past, it should nonetheless be seen as an initial call for debate, no matter how one perceives the transmission of history and the different aims and purposes of teaching it. Given the centrality of national identity narrative frameworks in Western history programmes—which fundamentally enable students to locate their moral and socio-political agency within the ongoing story of the nation (Nash et al. 1997; Stearns et al. 2000)—the creation of such a document would set the tone for discussions regarding the overall memory of Quebec's past that will be transmitted to students. By demonstrating the will of Quebec's historical Anglophone minority to contribute to Quebec's national development, it could jumpstart a process by which dominant visions of Quebec's past, visions that particularly *other* the Anglo-Québécois, may be revisited and reconstructed, making room for occluded memories that have been pushed aside for socio-political reasons over the years. Of specific interest, it could open up possibilities for change, at least one step at a time, among those history teachers who yearn for new materials that would assist them in improving the quality of common future life.

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## NOTES

- 1 In this article, Anglophone and Anglo-Québécois refer to Québécois of British heritage or others assimilated by this group, whereas Francophone and Franco-Québécois denote those of French-Canadian descent. While these understandings do not adequately cover the rich cultural diversity of Quebec's English-speaking communities as well as that of the French-speaking ones, they nonetheless generally reflect what was understood as "Anglophone" or "Francophone" for participants in the qualitative study under discussion here.
- 2 Some central points of concern for detractors of the new History and Citizenship Education programme were the perceived dilution of the "French-English conflict," the lack of referral to the Québécois nation, and the increased inclusion of Quebec minority perspectives in the programme's collective identity framework. By bringing history and citizenship education together, it was argued that the virtuous qualities of each would be confounded while the transmission of historical content would erroneously be downplayed to the benefit of historical skills. By thus focusing more on skills rather than on factual knowledge, the Franco-Québécois historical experience would become threateningly unimportant, while Quebec's ethno-cultural diversity would be led astray by not properly being integrated into the mores of the majority group (BHP 2007). At the opposing end of the debate were historians, educationalists, and field practitioners who supported the new programme's attempts at developing critically engaged citizens that were fundamentally open to minority viewpoints and to thus embracing Québec's increasing social diversity (Lévesque 2004; Éthier et al. 2007).

- 3 Shared historical memories of the “French-English conflict” form a central component of how members of the Franco-Québécois community generally remember their past. These memories of often unequal inter-group power relations contribute to not only viewing their own group as historical victims of an oppressed past, but to also *othering* “Anglophones” as one of the main “culprits” for their group’s negative experiences (Létourneau, 2006; 2010). For an interesting take on some central structural components or narrative pillars underlying how the Franco-Québécois remember their past, please refer to the works of Jocelyn Létourneau (2006; 2010).
- 4 For the purposes of my study, I mainly based my conceptualization of historical consciousness on the ideas of Jörn Rüsen (2005). I thus visualized historical consciousness as referring to an individual’s capacity to mobilize notions of the past (both narrative configurations of the past and interpretive filters used to make sense of the past) for making necessary moral decisions to orient oneself in a social relationship. Such historicizing, which consists of establishing a rapport with temporal change for negotiating a sense of responsibility and conscience for guiding action, assumes that humans are moral and historical beings. To better conceive the impact of such a conceptualization on the structuring of group boundaries, I adopted a constructivist perspective of ethnicity (Zanazanian 2009). In exerting their historical consciousness in the construction of inter-group realities, “ethnic” individuals (implicitly) evaluate their ethical motives in order to bind their personal identity to that of their group and to orient their actions toward the out-group. To do this, they have to historicize the many ways in which group trendsetters present different aspects of the common past, i.e. cultural and historical attributes that are manipulated, essentialized, and mobilized in contexts of inter-group power relations so as to indefinitely preserve cultural differences (Weber 1968; Barth 1996; Juteau 1999). It is thus in this sense that I believe social actors accept, reject, or adapt the moral weight of these articulations when negotiating their ethnicity according to their needs and capacities, to then mobilize them in the way they deem fit.
- 5 For a detailed description of the theoretical framework and methodology used in my study, please consult: Zanazanian, Paul. In press a. This article, which will appear in *Curriculum Inquiry*, specifically focuses on the different understandings that two teachers in my study develop from the past for knowing and engaging with the Anglo-Québécois. Of interest, despite demonstrating a more or less equal capacity to develop plausible understandings of the past, both educators diverge in their attitudes for dealing with the Other. Through my comparison, it becomes clear that this divergence reflects two main opposing public social

discourses in Quebec over how to properly confront memories of the “French-English conflict.”

- 6 The idea for developing such an open-ended narrative was borrowed from Létourneau and Moisan (2004), who conducted a qualitative study to better understand the complexity of young Franco-Québécois students’ knowledge of the historical experiences of their community in Quebec.
- 7 For a deeper look at the workings of respondents’ historical consciousness for this thematic context, please consult: Zanazanian, Paul. In press b.
- 8 I have translated all the following quotes into English myself, and in so doing, I have done my best to truly express what was meant in the original. In some instances, I have inserted parts of the original French within the translation so as to offer an exact meaning.
- 9 It is important to keep in mind that the respondents in this study were teaching the Secondary IV “History of Quebec and Canada” course in French-language schools for the last time before the introduction of the new History and Citizenship Education programme.
- 10 Four main criteria were developed for coding respondents with an overall ‘genetic’ tendency during analysis. For the thematic context under scrutiny here (“Awareness of the significant Other”), respondents who were placed in the ‘quasi-genetic’ sub-category were coded as only displaying two of these four criteria: *Recognition of both the complexity of human life and of the variability of time*. The two remaining criteria that were not registered in respondents’ narratives were the *recognition of the temporality of human forms of thought* and the *recurring need to improve meanings given to the past*. The first refers to the acknowledgement that the way in which humans conceive the world is not only inserted in and varies according to time, but also consists of a historical construction in and of itself that evolves according to its own logic and rhythm. The second points to the realization that humans do not always possess sufficient knowledge for understanding the past and, as a result, need to know and learn more about it.
- 11 Described elsewhere in greater detail, another avenue that I propose for overcoming group differences through history teaching involves raising students’ awareness of the different potential uses of the past for living life, including benefits and shortcomings (Zanazanian, In press a). This approach aims to foster students’ autonomous and conscientious engagements with the past when using it to construct social reality. The more students understand the political, cultural and historical uses of the past for knowing and acting as group members, the more they can come to appreciate their own standpoint when remembering and thinking historically.

They can freely develop their own rapport with pre-established narratives of group experiences and thus embrace potentials for improving the quality of common future life, if they so choose to, without feelings of guilt or obligations to ancestors, family, and or other members of their own ethno-cultural community. I believe that this approach greatly complements some general views that already exist for improving the quality of history teaching in Quebec, and which either seek to accommodate the province's growing cultural diversity or to help cope with the heavy weight of the "French-English conflict" on how Franco-Québécois students remember their collective past. Keen on mostly promoting autonomous critical thinking skills, these ideas greatly point to embracing the complexities of the past and appreciating its multiple interpretations so that students develop their own personal conclusions on how things were, instead of naively accepting viewpoints that are handed down to them from above (Lévesque 2004; Éthier et al. 2007; Létourneau 2010).



â€œTowards developing an Anglo-Québécois information resource book for school history teachers in Quebec: Thoughts from a qualitative study.â€ Journal of Eastern Townships Studies, vol. 36, (Spring), p. 69â€95. Google Scholar.â€ Harmonizing two of history teachingâ€™s main social functions: Franco-Québécois history teachers and their predispositions to catering to narrative diversity.â€ Education Sciences, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 255â€275. Google Scholar. Other Articles From This Journal. It will look at how national history teachers of French Canadian descent, who teach in French language schools, manage the diversity of perspectives regarding the provinceâ€™s past and concretely deal with them in the history classroom.â€ 2. Towards Three Main Conceptions of History and Citizenship in the Teaching of History.â€ As French Canadians in Quebec started to gradually identify themselves as les Québécois, circumscribed by the provinceâ€™s geographical and henceforth â€œnationalâ€ boundaries, they became responsible for socializing all Quebec citizens and not just members of their own group.â€ (For a clear description of the evolution of Quebecâ€™s parallel school system, existing initially along