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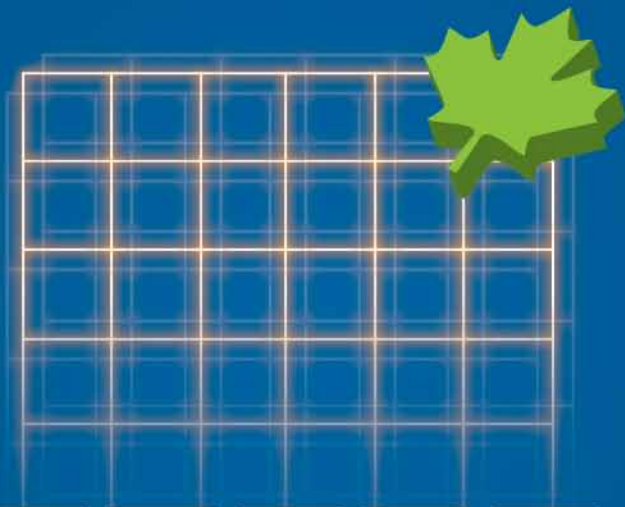
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NEW CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES

Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec

Research Report Edited by Richard Y. Bourhis



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Note from the Editor

There are as many ways of naming the English-speaking communities of Quebec as there are ways to name various French-speaking communities across Canada. Each author contributing to this volume adopted their preferred way of naming the relevant English-speaking communities they dealt within their respective chapter. We chose to respect the terminology used by each author in order to reflect the sociological reality they addressed in their respective chapter of this volume.



Preface

“La démocratie ce n’est pas la dictature de la majorité, c’est le respect des minorités.”

– Albert Camus

The goal of this book is to provide a current portrait of the group vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. The enduring stereotype about the Anglophones of Quebec is that it is a pampered minority whose economic clout is such that federal or provincial support for the maintenance and development of its institutions is hardly necessary. This view of the privileged status of Quebec Anglos is widely held not only by the Francophone majority of Quebec but also by many leaders of Francophone communities across Canada. On the few occasions that Anglophones in the rest of Canada (ROC) spare a thought to the Anglophones of Quebec, either this idealised view of the community prevails, or they are portrayed as residents of a linguistic gulag whose rights are trampled on a regular and ongoing basis.

We cannot blame Francophone minorities outside Quebec for envying the institutional support and demographic vitality of the Anglophone minority of Quebec. Why should Francophone minorities outside Quebec feel they have to share precious federal resources with Quebec Anglophones who are doing so much better than themselves on the institutional support front? The first obvious response is that government support for official language minorities is not a zero-sum game and that evidence based needs should be sufficient to justify the maintenance and development of both Francophone and Anglophone communities in Canada and Quebec. The second complementary response is that the institutional support achieved by the Anglophones of Quebec during the last two centuries can be used as a benchmark goal for the further development of Francophone minorities across Canada. The combined efforts to maintain and develop the vitality of

the Francophone communities outside Quebec and of the Anglophone minority within Quebec, contribute to the linguistic and cultural diversity of Canadian and Québécois societies.

But what is the current vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec? Taken together, the chapters in this book tell a sobering story about the decline of this historical national minority in Quebec. On the status, demographic and institutional support fronts, Quebec Anglophones are declining, especially in the regions of the province but also in the greater Montreal region. Though much of the chapters are devoted to documenting the ups and down of this decline, some effort is made in each chapter to propose options and strategies to improve and revive the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. We hope this book, along with past and future ones, will be used by Quebec Anglophones as a tool to develop their community vitality in the present and for the sake of future generations. It is also hoped that this book will inspire Quebec decision makers to pay more attention to the vitality needs of Quebec Anglophones, a minority community who contributes so much to the social, cultural and economic development of Quebec society.

Finally, a word of thanks is owed to all those who made this book possible. The editor and chapter contributors wish to thank in particular the following: Bill Floch of the Department of Canadian Heritage, the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM), the Quebec Community Group's Network (QCGN), the dedicated staff of the Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CEETUM) at the Université de Montréal, and Rana Sioufi and Shaha El-Geledi my graduate students at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

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June, 2012



Group Vitality, Cultural Autonomy and the Wellness of Language Minorities

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Université du Québec à Montréal

and

Rodrigue Landry

Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities

Université de Moncton

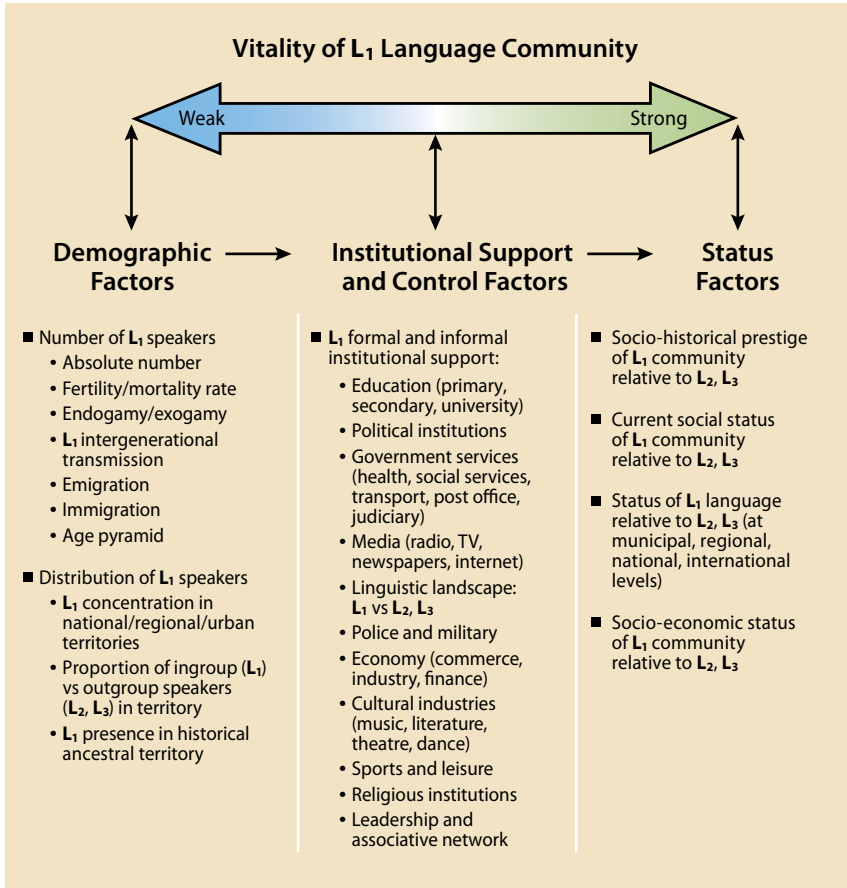
The first part of this chapter offers an overview of the language group vitality framework as it developed in sociolinguistics during the last three decades. Features of the Linguistic Vitality Model will be illustrated with Canadian examples, with a focus on the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. This section will also provide a brief overview of some research contrasting objective vitality with subjective vitality perceptions. The second part of the chapter provides an overview of the Cultural Autonomy Model developed to better account for how institutional completeness, social proximity and ideological legitimacy combine through collective identity to foster mobilization towards the maintenance and development of language minorities in majority environments. The third part of the chapter provides a tentative approach for roughly assessing the wellness of language minorities in Europe, Canada and Quebec using the vitality and cultural autonomy frameworks. It is hoped that this approach can help language minorities such as the Anglophones of Quebec and the Francophones in the rest of Canada better define the mobilization strategies they need to improve their respective vitalities in the Canadian setting.

1. The Language Group Vitality Perspective

History has shown that language groups expand or decrease and that their vitality is related to many historical and situational factors (Calvet, 1999; Crystal, 2000). Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) coined the term “ethnolinguistic vitality” and developed a theoretical construct that provides a taxonomy of the structural variables that can determine the course that relations may take when language groups are in contact. The notion of group vitality provides a conceptual tool to analyze the sociostructural variables affecting the strength of language communities within multilingual settings. The vitality of a language community is defined as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup settings” (Giles *et al.*, 1977: 308). The more vitality a language community enjoys, the more likely it is that it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in the given intergroup context. Conversely, language communities that have little vitality are more likely to eventually cease to exist as distinctive language groups within the intergroup setting. As can be seen in figure 1, three broad dimensions of socio-structural variables influence the vitality of language communities: demography, institutional support and status (Bourhis, 1979, Bourhis & Barrette, 2006).

Demographic variables are those related to the absolute number of members composing the language group and their distribution throughout the urban, regional or national territory. The number factors constituting a language group are usually based on one or a combination of the following linguistic indicators: L_1 as the mother tongue of community speakers; knowledge of the first (L_1) or second (L_2) language; and L_1 and/or L_2 language use in private settings such as at home and with friends. Number factors refer to the language community’s absolute group numbers, its birth rate, mortality rate, age pyramid, endogamy/exogamy, and its patterns of immigration and emigration in and out of the ancestral territory. For example, one major factor that has eroded the demographic strength of Anglophone minorities in Quebec is the high number of Anglophones that have emigrated outside the province to settle in the rest of Canada (ROC) (Dickinson, 2007; Jedwab, this study; Floch & Pocock, this study). Exogamy, or the rate of linguistically mixed marriages, affects the

Figure 1
Taxonomy of Socio-Structural Factors
Affecting the Vitality of Language Community L₁
in Contact with Language Communities L₂ and L₃
(Adapted from Bourhis, 2001a)



vitality of language minorities because such parents often use the dominant language of their immediate region to communicate with their children and choose this language to educate them in the school system (Landry, 2003, 2010). For instance, the high rate of Francophone/Anglophone mixed marriages (exogamy) in Ontario was found to be the major contributing factor to the anglicization of Franco-Ontarians in that province (Mougeon & Beniak, 1994).

Distribution factors refer to the numeric concentration of speakers in various parts of the territory, their proportion relative to outgroup speakers, and whether or not the language community still occupies its ancestral territory. The distribution of L_1 speakers in a given territory (urban or regional) is strongly related to the strength of the ingroup social network and hence, to the frequency of L_1 language use in private and public settings (Landry & Allard, 1994a, 1992a; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2010). The higher the proportion of the group members in a given regional population, the stronger are the networks of linguistic contacts and the more likely the minority language will be used for intra-group communication in private and semi-public situations. Minority language groups whose numbers and network intensity are strong in a given region may even be in a position to use their minority language for public use such as in local stores and business and obtain some government services in their minority language (Bourhis, 1979). The vitality of a language community can be influenced positively when the group achieves a majority position within a regional territory or political jurisdiction (e.g., province or municipality) and negatively when the group is spread too thinly across urban or regional territories. The fact that Francophone minorities in Canada are distributed in nine provinces and three federal territories is related to their relatively weaker demographic strength and political power in the ROC compared to the majority of Quebec Francophones concentrated in their ancestral national territory (Bourhis, 1984; Gilbert, 2010; Johnson & Doucet, 2006).

Taken together, these demographic indicators can be used to monitor demolingistic trends such as language maintenance, language shift, language loss and inter-generational transmission of the L_1 mother tongue (Bourhis, 2001a). Within democracies, demographic factors constitute a fundamental asset for language groups as “strength in numbers” can be used as a legitimizing tool to grant language communities with the institutional control they need to ensure their inter-generational continuity within multilingual societies (Bourhis, El-Geledi & Sachdev, 2007).

Institutional support is defined as the degree of control one group has over its own fate and that of outgroups and can be seen as the degree of social power enjoyed by one language group relative to

co-existing linguistic outgroups (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005). Institutional control is the dimension of vitality *par excellence* needed by language groups to maintain and assert their presence within state and private institutions such as education, the mass media, local government, health care, the judicial system, commerce and business. It is proposed that language groups need to achieve and maintain a favourable position on the institutional control front if they wish to survive as distinctive collective entities within multilingual states (Bourhis, 1979, 2001a). Institutional support is related to the concept of “institutional completeness” originally developed by Raymond Breton (Breton, 1964, 2005). However, institutional support is not a static given, as it can weaken due to demographic decline or weak community leadership unable to stem the erosion of existing institutional support due to the action of dominant majorities unsympathetic to the existence of linguistic minorities.

The extent to which a language community has gained formal and informal representation in the institutions of a community, region, state or nation constitutes its “institutional support”. Informal support refers to the degree to which a language community has organized itself as a pressure group or organization to represent and safeguard its own language interests in various state and private domains (Giles *et al.*, 1977). Thus informal support represents the community organizations and their mobilization to achieve better institutional support for the minority language group in domains including: the development of minority cultural and artistic production and diffusion; more teaching of the minority language in primary and secondary schools; the provision of health care in the minority language; the hiring of minority speakers for the provision of government services in the minority language; and the inclusion of the minority language on road signs and commercial signs. Gains achieved through such informal community support can then be enshrined more formally as institutions controlled by the dominant majority begin incorporating minority group members within state and private organizations. Thus formal support refers to the degree to which members of a language group have gained positions of control at decision-making levels of the majority government apparatus in education, health care, the armed forces, as well as in business, industry, the media and within cultural,

sport and religious institutions. Thus, informal control comes from within the minority language community and can develop into formal control to the degree that linguistic minorities are granted the right to occupy decision-making roles within the institutions of the dominant majority. Taken together, informal control at the minority community level and formal control at the level of majority institutions can combine to provide increased institutional support for a given language minority within a majority environment.

Language communities that have gained representation and a degree of autonomous control in a broad range of private and state institutions enjoy a stronger institutional vitality than language minorities whose representation exists in only a few less critical institutional domains or is limited to informal domains of a tenuous nature. The cultural autonomy model presented in section 2 of the chapter provides a more detailed analysis of the type of informal community mobilization needed by language minorities to achieve better formal institutional support in key domains of vitality.

Language planning adopted by regional or national governments can also contribute to the institutional support of language communities. What is known as status language planning can be used by governments to legislate the use of competing languages in education, the public administration, health care, the mass media and the language of work (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), adopted by the separatist Parti Québécois in 1977, is a classic example of language planning designed to enhance the institutional support of one language group relative to a competing language group (Bourhis, 1984, 2001b). For instance, Bill 101 succeeded in limiting the access of immigrants to the English school system which, after three decades of application, contributed to a 60% decline in the number of students attending English schools in Quebec. The resulting closure of English primary and secondary schools has also contributed to the weakening of the English school boards in the province (Lamarre, 2007, and this study).

The presence and quality of leaders who can head the formal and informal institutions representing language groups also contributes to the institutional support of language communities. Gains in

institutional support often depend on the emergence of activists and leaders who succeed in mobilizing language groups to struggle for greater institutional support within multilingual states. The absence of quality leadership can undermine gains achieved by previous generations of minority groups on the institutional support front and can mortgage future gains needed for the community survival of the next generation of group members. In the Quebec context, the demise of the “Alliance Quebec” leadership which defended the judicial rights of the Anglophone minority in the province for over twenty years, contributed to a leadership deficit for the community at the provincial level (Jedwab, 2007; Jedwab & Maynard, this study). A period of doubt about the type of leadership needed to best serve the interests of the English-speaking communities of Quebec is ongoing. Some Anglophones prefer a less publicly visible sectoral leadership specific to separate domains of institutional support such as health care, schooling and post-secondary education, social services, arts and culture. Others focus on the necessity of developing inter-sectoral leadership capable of mobilizing English-speaking communities not only across domains of institutional support but also across the west island of Montreal and the regional Anglophone communities of the province. Meanwhile, analysts such as Stevenson (1999, 2004) make the case that two complementary leadership organizations may be more effective in defending the institutional support of Anglophone minorities in Quebec: the more discrete conciliatory style of organizations such as the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN), and the more militant style publicly advocating and defending the collective and human rights of Quebec Anglophones as a legitimate national minority in Quebec and an official language minority in Canada. Leaders of “besieged communities” such as the Anglophones of Quebec have an interest in developing organizations and leadership styles that promote coherent and consistent approaches to the defence and development of their institutional vitality. This is especially important in settings where the newly empowered majority controls all the tools of the state but whose current leaders remain imbued with the psychology of a threatened linguistic minority in North America (Bourhis, 1994a; 2001b, Bourhis, this study).

Taken together, we have seen that language groups who have gained strong institutional control within state and private institutions are in a better position to safeguard and enhance their collective language and cultural capital than language communities who lack institutional control in these domains of group vitality. However, in democratic states, the maintenance of institutional support for linguistic minorities must be legitimized by the presence of sufficient minority group speakers to warrant the expense of providing such minority language services and institutions. For instance, Francophone minorities in the ROC constituting just over 5% of the regional population can warrant the funding of French-language services by the Canadian federal administration. However, in Quebec, the provincial government has used the same population threshold for the Anglophone minority as for the Francophone majority to limit the provision of government services such as health care and bilingual municipal services (Foucher, this study). Thus, the demographic decline of Quebec Anglophones in the last thirty years resulted in the closure of a number of hospitals which offered services in English, thereby further eroding Anglophone institutional support (Carter, this study). As is well known by Francophone communities in the ROC (via the Montfort Hospital case in Ottawa, for example), the loss of *any* minority institutional support is more keenly felt by linguistic minorities than by the majority group, who benefits from a greater pool of alternative institutions to compensate for local losses.

Language communities that have gained ascendancy on institutional support factors are also likely to benefit from considerable social status relative to less dominant groups within multilingual states. The status variables are those related to a language community's socio-historical status within the state (e.g., founding people), its current status as a dynamic culturally and economically vibrant community, and the prestige of its language and culture locally, nationally and internationally. The social prestige of a language community is often related to the spread of the group's language and culture through military, colonial, economic or diplomatic activities (Giles *et al.*, 1977). The status of a language is not readily measurable but can be inferred by the drawing power it has on both ingroup and outgroup speakers locally, nationally and worldwide. The social prestige of English in

the world today is so strong for socioeconomic, scientific and cultural reasons that more and more states are promoting its teaching as a second language from primary school to university (Crystal, 2004). However, as the case of Quebec Anglophones clearly shows, a language community may speak a language that has much prestige and diffusion nationally and internationally, but may nevertheless be a community whose vitality at the regional level is declining demographically, institutionally and as regards its legal status (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepage, 2004).

The more status a language community is ascribed to have, the more vitality it is likely to possess as a collectivity. Social psychological evidence shows that speakers of high-status groups enjoy a more positive social identity and can more readily mobilize to maintain or improve their vitality position within the state (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Conversely, being a member of a disparaged low-status linguistic group can sap the collective will of minorities to maintain themselves as a distinctive language community, leading to eventual linguistic assimilation. The experience of belonging to a low-status language community can foster a negative social identity to the degree that status differentials between language groups are perpetuated through language stereotypes and prejudices (Bourhis & Maass, 2005; Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982).

The prestige of language groups can also be affected favourably or unfavourably through the adoption of language laws that enshrine the relative status of language communities within multilingual states (Bourhis, 1984; Ricento & Burnaby, 1998). In 1969 the adoption of the Official Languages Act at the federal level and of the Official Languages Act in New Brunswick enshrined French/English bilingualism in Canada. These laws improved the status and institutional support for Francophone minorities after decades of provincial laws which often eroded the vitality of such communities across Canada (Fraser, 2006; Bourhis, 1994b; Bourhis & Marshall, 1999). In Quebec, the adoption of Bill 101 enhanced the status of French relative to English by declaring French the only official language of the legislature, the courts, statutes and regulations (Corbeil, 2007). Francophones were granted the right to work in French and not be dismissed for the sole reason that they were unilingual French speakers.

"*Francisation*" programs were established to prompt business firms and industries of more than fifty employees to adopt French as the language of work and to obtain *francisation* certificates. While guaranteeing English schooling to all present and future Quebec Anglophone pupils and to all immigrant children already in English schools in 1977, Bill 101 stipulated that all future immigrants to Quebec must send their children to French schools while maintaining freedom of language choice for post-secondary education. Members of the Francophone majority were guaranteed the right to receive communications in French when dealing with the provincial administration, health and social services, business and in retail stores. Members of the Anglophone minority were granted the right to receive English services as individuals in the public administration and in selected health institutions and social services. Public signs and commercial advertising in retail stores could be in French only, though languages other than French were allowed on signs related to public safety and humanitarian services. Taken together, Bill 101 regulations enhanced the status and institutional support for the French majority while eroding the status and institutional support of the Anglophone minority in the province (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004). Faced with a declining demographic base and eroded status and institutional support, the judicial status of Quebec Anglophones remains tenuous thirty years after the adoption of Bill 101 (Foucher, this study). However, with the adoption of the Constitution Act of 1982, which Quebec has not signed to this day, Section 23 of the constitution guaranteed to Francophones in the ROC and Anglophones in Quebec the right to primary and secondary education in their language, thus improving institutional support in education for official language minorities (Landry & Rousselle, 2003). Thus, while provincial language laws and regulations often eroded the vitality of Francophones in the ROC and Anglophones in Quebec, federal language laws in the last decades sought to equalize and protect the status of official language minorities as a way of maintaining Canadian unity (Fortier, 1994; Fraser, 2006; Schmidt, 1998; Williams, 1998).

The above three dimensions combine to affect in one direction or the other the overall strength or vitality of language communities (Giles *et al.*, 1977). A language group may be weak on demographic

variables but strong on institutional support and status factors resulting in a medium vitality position relative to a language minority weak on all three vitality dimensions. Language communities whose overall vitality is strong are more likely to survive as distinctive collective entities than groups whose vitality is weak. Demolinguistic and sociographic data based on the census and other sources such as post-census surveys are used to assess the relative vitality of language communities within particular multilingual settings (Bourhis, 2003a). Such objective assessments of vitality do serve the descriptive and analytic needs to more rigorously compare and contrast the language communities in contact. Given their often precarious position in majority settings, linguistic minorities are even more likely to need the evidence-based assessments of their demographic and institutional vitality than do dominant majorities.

The objective vitality framework was used to describe the relative position of language communities in numerous bilingual and multilingual settings such as: the Anglophones and Francophones of Quebec (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004; Hamers & Hummel, 1994); the Acadians of New Brunswick (Landry & Allard, 1994a, b); Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada (Gilbert, 2010; Johnson & Doucet, 2006; Gilbert, Langlois, Landry & Aunger, 2010; O'Keefe, 2001); the Cajuns in Louisiana (Landry, Allard & Henry, 1996); Francophones in Maine's Saint John Valley (Landry & Allard, 1992b); Hispanics in the USA (Barker *et al.*, 2001); the Catalan in Spain (Atkinson, 2000; Ytsma, Viladot & Giles, 1994); and the Basque in Spain (Azurmendi, Bachoc & Zabaleta, 2001; Azurmendi & Martinez de Luna, 2005, 2006). An overview of conceptual and empirical issues related to the vitality framework was also presented in a number of conceptual analyses (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994; Landry & Allard, 1994c).

How speakers perceive the vitality of their own language community may be as important as "objective" assessments of group vitality based on census data and measurable institutional support. The subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ) was designed to measure group members' assessments of their own group vitality and that of other language groups important in their immediate environment (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981). Using the SVQ questionnaire, respondents

assess their own group vitality and that of other locally important groups on a number of items constituting the demographic, institutional support, and status dimensions of the objective vitality framework. A review of the vitality research using the SVQ showed that overall, group members are realistic in perceiving the vitality position of their own group along the lines suggested by “objective” assessments of community vitality (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). Allard and Landry (1986, 1992, 1994) have developed another approach to measuring vitality beliefs. These beliefs are categorized as either “exocentric” (focused on the external vitality context) or “egocentric” (focused on the person’s beliefs concerning oneself in the vitality situation) and are used to predict language behaviours.

A recent study with Francophone minorities in the ROC showed that perceptions of ingroup subjective vitality was related to the amount of contact with own group speakers in the public domains, whereas language contact in private settings such as the home was more strongly related to the strength of the identification to one’s own language group (Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006a). This study also showed that subjective community vitality and language identification were related to the desire to be part of one’s own group community. Another study conducted with Francophone minorities across the ROC showed that the sustained presence of commercial and public signs in French in the local region or neighbourhood (linguistic landscape) was related to Francophone perceptions that their language community had strong vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

Studies have also shown that language group members can be biased in their assessments of their own group vitality and that of outgroup communities (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993). Such biases do not emerge on obvious differentials between ingroup/outgroup vitality, but are documented on objectively minor vitality differences between contrasting language communities. Three basic types of subjective vitality biases were identified based on our review of the literature (Harwood *et al.*, 1994). Perceptual distortions in favour of ingroup vitality occur when language groups exaggerate the strength of their own group vitality while underestimating the vitality of the outgroup. It is usually comforting to believe that one’s own language group is better off than the other language groups in one’s immediate environment.

Non-consensual vitality perceptions occur when contrasting language groups disagree not only on the degree of difference between groups, but also on the direction of such difference. Perceptual distortions in favour of outgroup vitality involve language groups who underestimate the vitality of their own group while exaggerating the vitality of the outgroup. Both motivational (ingroup-favouring bias) and cognitive factors (availability and vividness heuristics) help account for these perceptual distortions of group vitality (Sachdev & Bourhis 1993).

Why do some language groups underestimate the vitality of their own group while exaggerating the strength of competing outgroups? The Quebec case study offers some suggestions. In Quebec, there is a long tradition amongst Francophone sovereignty leaders to exaggerate the threat to the French language due to the presence of English-speaking minorities such as Anglophones (8%) and Allophones (12%) in the province. This feeling of linguistic threat is heightened when Francophone activists point out that French mother tongue speakers are likely to become a minority on the island of Montreal if present immigration trends prevail. It is pointed out that "*nous perdons Montréal*": we are losing Montreal. Thus Francophone activists focus on demographic trends on the island of Montreal, while underestimating the strong majority position of French mother tongue speakers in the greater Montreal region. Francophone activists also point out that, though Francophones are the majority in Quebec (80% French mother tongue), Quebec Francophones constitute less than 25% of the Canadian population, while in North America, Quebec Francophones are an endangered minority of just over 1% of the continental population. By shifting the territorial base of Francophones from the province of Quebec to Canada as a whole, and then to the North American continent, the endangered minority position of Quebec Francophones is highlighted, with the effect of minimizing the vitality position of the Francophone majority in Quebec. French-language activists also tend to bemoan the fact that many Anglophones, Allophones and immigrants do not use French in private settings such as the home, asserting that Bill 101 has failed to assimilate minorities, thus further endangering the vitality position of French and the Francophone majority in Quebec. Least likely to be mentioned by French-language activists is that, since the adoption of Bill 101, as much as 94% of the

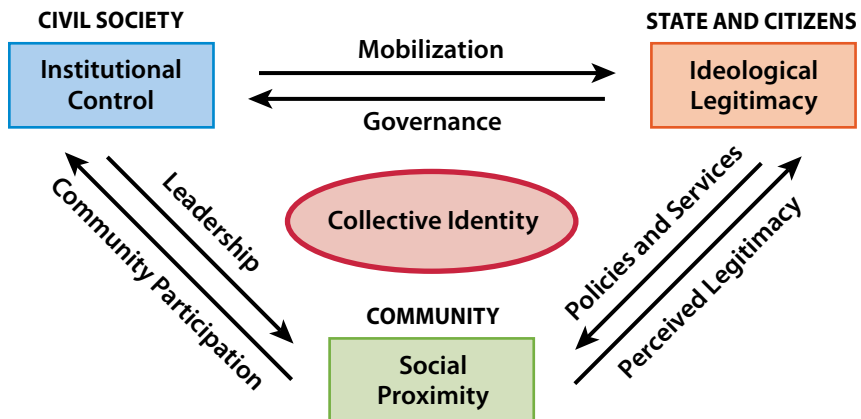
Quebec population declared they had a knowledge of French in the 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006 Canadian census. Basically, emphasizing the threatened vitality of the French language in Quebec and North America is seen as an effective lever for maintaining the mobilization of Francophone nationalists in the quest to separate Quebec from Canada. It is considered that only separation can protect the endangered position of French and guarantee its Francophone majority total institutional control in Quebec. Thus, ideological causes may be served not only by exaggerating the vitality of one's own language community, but may in other circumstances be better served by exaggerating the endangered or weakening vitality of the ingroup language and its community of speakers. Subjective perceptions of own-group and out-group vitality are therefore not static but rather are malleable social constructions which may shift depending on social group membership, perceived threats and fluctuating socio-political circumstances (Giles, 2001; Bourhis, *et al.*, 2007).

2. The Cultural Autonomy Model

Fishman (1991, 2001) proposed that language groups that do not aspire to political independence may nevertheless aspire to different degrees of linguistic and cultural autonomy. In Fishman's model of reversing language shift (RLS), cultural autonomy is relatively well attained when one's language is well secured in a "home-family-neighbourhood-community" nexus and widely used in the public domains (e.g., media, education, business, government). Using both the group vitality framework and the reversing language shift model, Landry (2008 a) proposes a three component model of cultural autonomy (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007a, b, 2010; Landry, 2009). This model encompasses the three categories of structural factors defining group vitality while also showing their dynamic interactions in such a way that they can be related to the group's collective identity and active participation within the group's cultural and social institutions. The model can also be used in language planning activities in order to determine relevant interventions that would help language minorities reach higher levels of cultural autonomy and institutional control.

As seen in figure 2, the cultural autonomy model can also be used by language minorities to define a socio-political project aimed at maintaining or increasing its institutional control within civil society. The model can be applied locally for a given linguistic community or more generally in a given multilingual state. This could depend, as discussed below, on the nature and type of governance structure in which the group operates. According to the model, this community project is largely influenced by the group's collective identity which becomes instrumental in mobilizing the group's collective action. The collective identity of the group is the basis for the nature and scope of community or group projects (Breton, 1983). Without a strong collective identity, projects may be limited in scope and lack linkage with other components of a more global mobilization plan. When the collective identity of the group is mobilized on legitimate needs through the media, education and community groups, action plans can be developed for improving formal institutional vitality. When collective identity is weak and lacks focus, collective action can be hampered (Landry, Forgues & Traisnel, 2010). However, although collective identity is the foundation of group action, this identity can be strengthened by the results of various interventions and by the changing conditions in the various formal and informal components defining community vitality and cultural autonomy.

Figure 2
A Cultural Autonomy Model for Language Minorities
 (Adapted from Landry, 2008a)



Cultural autonomy has three components and is defined in terms of the degree of control a language community has within cultural and social institutions related to its language and cultural vitality. Cultural autonomy also refers to the degree of self-governance a community exercises in a socio-political context that includes social proximity within the group and the ideological legitimacy of the group. As seen in figure 2, institutional control,¹ social proximity and ideological legitimacy interact with each other and with collective identity in ways that can reinforce or weaken overall cultural autonomy. In order to better understand these interactions we now describe each of these components.

Social proximity is closely related to the role of demographic factors in the community vitality framework (Giles *et al.*, 1977) but it focuses on factors that define what Fishman (1990, 1991, 2001) has called the “home-family-neighbourhood-community” nexus. Fishman argued that this community life nexus is the most basic and necessary foundation for language and cultural survival. We agree with Fishman that L₁ family language use and frequent L₁ language contacts with neighbours and other community group members is the foundation of cultural autonomy and group vitality. We have called this component “social proximity” because it provides the primary socialization in the minority group language (L₁) essential for intergenerational language and cultural transmission as well as language group identity development. The social proximity nexus also stresses the importance of optimal territorial concentration of group members which provides the intimate social networks that create “ingroup solidarity” domains of language use. In a minority-majority context, the diglossic nature of intergroup communication is such that the minority language is often at best a “language of solidarity” mostly restricted to private and informal use. In contrast, the language of the dominant group is a “language of status”: the language most often used in public and formal societal contexts (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2006, 2007a).

1. Institutional completeness (Breton, 1964) is the term used in Landry's cultural autonomy model (Landry, 2009). In this text (as well as in figure 2), the term institutional control is used to reinforce the conceptual similarities between the cultural autonomy model and the group vitality framework and also to avoid confusion between concepts that are highly synonymous.

Social proximity also connotes the need for minority language group members to reside in close proximity to their cultural institutions such as the school, the church, the community and leisure centre. This social proximity hub provides access to viable social milieus that foster cultural and language contacts with other ingroup speakers (Gilbert, Langlois, Landry & Aunger, 2005; Gilbert & Langlois, 2006). All these different aspects of social proximity contribute to what Fishman (1989) has called the minority group's community life. In the proposed model, three important aspects of language socialization constitute the social proximity component and contribute to language use and language group identification: enculturation, personal autonomization and social conscientization (Landry, Allard, Deveau & Bourgeois, 2005; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2008, 2010).

In order to attain a higher degree of cultural autonomy, it is important that language use in "solidarity" domains be maintained but also that the group be able to experience and expand its language and culture in "status" domains (Bourhis, 1979; Landry, 2008a). Consonant with the group vitality framework (Giles *et al.*, 1977), the degree of institutional support achieved by a language minority can favour language use in both private (at home, among friends) and public settings such as education, health, media, the work world and in government administration. Social proximity is necessary for the language of the group to become a "language of solidarity" while institutional control is necessary for the group's language to become a "language of status" (Fishman, 1991, 2001). Institutional support provides the societal setting which allows minority group speakers to move beyond diglossia: that is, for such speakers to experience their language in important social domains that contribute to their upward mobility and group status (Landry, 2008a). Indeed, research has shown that use of the language in public domains and the presence of the minority language in the linguistic landscape such as commercial signs, road signs and street names contribute to the perceived vitality of the minority community and increased use of the ingroup language within social institutions (Bourhis & Landry, 2002; Landry & Allard, 1994b, 1996; Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006a).

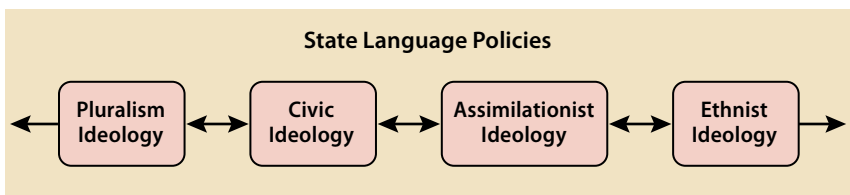
The third component of the cultural autonomy model is akin to the group status factor defined in the group vitality framework (Giles *et al.*, 1977; Bourhis *et al.*, 1981). This component, called “ideological legitimacy” adds to the “status vitality” of the group, the notion of the group’s legitimacy in society (Bourdieu, 1982, 2001; Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001). Ideological legitimacy focuses on the degree to which the State and its citizens recognize the status and legitimacy of the language minority. A number of theorists have argued, on philosophical and ethical grounds, that liberal theory does recognize different linguistic and cultural rights for different types of minority groups (Kymlicka, 1995; Williams, 1998). National minorities which have a grounded history in society and important ties with a particular territory (e.g., Canada’s Aboriginal groups and the two founding nations) would have more rights to self-government and hence to a higher degree of cultural autonomy and institutional control than other cultural groups based on more recent immigration. National minorities have rights to self-government whereas immigrant communities have rights to integration. Thériault (1994, 2007) describes the Francophones outside Quebec and the Anglophones in Quebec as different from national minorities but also different from ethno-cultural minorities (as defined by Kymlicka, 1995). Yet, they are part of Canada’s two “founding nations” of French-Canadians and English-Canadians which were at the source of the Confederation agreement and now constitute “official language” minorities enshrined in the Official Languages Act of 1969. However, the notion of “two founding peoples” has been contested in Canada during the last two decades as the reality of immigration, multiculturalism and multilingualism has taken hold in Canada’s large urban centres where no majorities exist and where cultural and ethnic minorities co-exist and interact on a daily basis using English as a *lingua franca* (Fleras & Elliott, 1996).

The ideological legitimacy component combines the construct of ideology (Van Dijk, 1998) and that of legitimacy as formulated by Bourdieu (1982) and Tajfel (1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Fishman (1991, 2001) argued that all positions for or against the language and cultural vitality of different groups including neutral positions or positions of indifference are basically ideological. Within the RLS model, Fishman affirms that “ideological clarification” is of utmost

importance when conducting language planning for the revival of language minorities. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) discussed how different societal ideologies related to language and culture have contributed in some cases to the enhancement of language and cultures and in others to linguistic and cultural genocide.

As seen in figure 3, Bourhis (2001a) proposed a continuum of ideological orientations that states or regions can adopt in their language policies toward minority language groups. These range from pluralism at one end of the ideological continuum to the “ethnist” ideology at the opposite pole of the continuum (Bourhis *et al.*, 2007). The pluralism ideology implies that the dominant majority values the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural distinctiveness of its minorities and is ready to modify or even transform some of its state institutions and practices for the sake of accommodating the needs of its linguistic minorities (e.g., Renewed Official Languages Act, 1988). The civic ideology is characterized by an official state policy of non-intervention and non-support of minority languages and cultures, though this ideology does respect the right of linguistic minorities to organize collectively using their own private means in order to maintain or develop their respective linguistic and cultural distinctiveness as minorities. In effect, the civic ideology promotes the development of the dominant language and culture financially and institutionally, while denying linguistic minorities access to such institutional support by the State. The assimilation ideology expects linguistic minorities to abandon their distinctive language for the sake of adopting the language and culture of the dominant majority constituting the historical core of the State. While some states expect this linguistic and cultural assimilation to occur voluntarily and gradually across the generations,

Figure 3
Continuum of Language Planning Ideologies
Towards Linguistic Minorities



other states impose assimilation through specific laws and regulations that limit or repress public manifestations of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. Usually it is the economically and politically dominant majority that is most successful in imposing its own language and culture as the valued “founding myth” of the assimilationist state. While the ethnist ideology encourages or forces linguistic minorities to give up their own language and culture, this ideology makes it difficult for minorities to ever be accepted legally or socially as authentic members of the dominant majority no matter how much such minorities have assimilated linguistically and culturally to the dominant group. The ethnist ideology usually defines “who can be” and “who should be” citizens of the state in ethnically-exclusive terms based on ancestral and linguistic heritage. In extreme cases, the ethnist ideology upholds that linguistic minorities are so distant culturally and linguistically that they represent a threat to the authenticity and purity of the dominant majority and that such minorities should be segregated in special enclaves (apartheid, reserves), expelled from the national territory (ethnic cleansing) or physically eliminated (genocide).

Depending on economic, political and demographic trends, government decision-makers can shift language policies from one ideological orientation to the other within the continuum depicted in figure 3. Language policies can be more progressive or less tolerant than the views held by the dominant majority and its linguistic minorities. Through its institutional control of education and media, the State can influence public attitudes concerning the legitimacy of the ideological position it has adopted and can foster harmonious, problematic or hostile climates of relations between the dominant majority and its linguistic minorities (Bourhis, 2001a). Ultimately, language policies can have a substantial impact on the language use, language maintenance and language loss of linguistic minorities as they adapt within accepting or intolerant majority group environments.

However, ideological legitimacy may involve more than ideological orientations, linguistic rights, language policies and political support. Bourdieu (1982, 2001) proposed that languages compete in a “linguistic market” and that linguistic minorities may perceive their language to have more or less legitimacy in society according to the symbolic value of their language in this market. Minority speakers

who do not perceive their language to have high value in this market may even disparage their own language and strive to learn and use society's more "legitimate" language or languages (Bourhis, 1994b). Ideological legitimacy is, therefore, not only related to government institutional support, but also to support by outgroup and ingroup citizens who endorse positive attitudes toward minority languages by learning and using them (O'Keefe, 2001). In civil society, corporate groups and private businesses may also support minority languages by promoting their use in the workplace and in industrial and commercial establishments. Use of the minority group's language in public domains including the linguistic landscape, as already noted, can be strongly related to group members' subjective vitality. This has been a contentious issue in Quebec, especially in relation to the question of the linguistic landscape of Montreal (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). The subjective vitality construct could indeed be extended to designate not only the group's perceived status but also the perceived legitimacy of the group's language in society. Although having access to one's minority language in the cultural and the social institutions that are governed by one's own group (e.g., schools) can certainly contribute to group members' subjective vitality, perceiving that one's language is legitimate in society as a whole is certainly related to a sense of valued citizenship and societal value for linguistic minorities.

The three components of the cultural autonomy model, as already mentioned, interact and reinforce each other in the cultural autonomy process. Each component contributes to a stronger collective group identity. As shown in figure 2, a strong social proximity component will reinforce community participation in the group's cultural and social institutions. For example, although section 23 of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees the right to schools in the minority language for Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones outside Quebec, children raised in families that do not speak the minority language at home (even though their parents are right holders) often do not attend the group's educational institutions. A recent Statistics Canada study (Corbeil *et al.*, 2007) shows that only 49% of the children of Francophone right holders attend minority schools. These same families whose children do not attend the minority language schools will also tend not to participate in other local Francophone

institutions. Nonetheless, interaction between social proximity and institutional control is a two-way process. Strong leadership among community leaders within civil society may increase community participation in the formal and informal institutions of the linguistic minority (Wardhaugh, 1987). For example, minority group leaders in education, in the media, and in the business world may exert strong influences on the participation of linguistic minorities in their own community activities and institutions. This leadership may indeed lead to the creation of other institutional support (e.g., health services, media) that will, in turn, promote more community participation. This two way interdependence between the social proximity component (i.e., the “home-family-neighbourhood-community” nexus) and the institutional control component may also impinge on the group’s collective identity and foster more synergy in collective action.

Schools have been described as the most fundamental institution in the cultural autonomy process (Landry, 2008a; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007). On the one hand, from a socialization perspective, it is strongly connected to the social proximity process. For instance, minority language schooling has been shown to be as strongly related in ingroup identity development as the family and social network (Landry & Allard, 1996). On the other hand, it is from participation within the linguistic minority educational institutions that most of the group’s human capital will emerge, which will, in turn, nourish and empower all of the group’s institutional leadership.

As can be seen in figure 2, the interactions between institutional control and ideological legitimacy are also of interest. Civil society leaders and community architects involved in community institutional development may influence government decision-makers to improve the minority group governance structure and increase government funding for the institutional support of the linguistic minority (Cardinal & Hudon, 2001; Forgues, 2007; Landry, Forgues & Traisnel, 2010). As proposed within the ideological continuum analysis, minority group leaders may be more effective in swaying government decision-makers in favour of broadening institutional support in states that have already adopted language policies reflecting the pluralism ideology (figure 3). By improving community representation in the governance structure of the state and through effective leadership

and communication (via the media) with community members, linguistic minorities may become more conscious and mobilized relative to relevant community needs. Collective action may then improve the group's ideological legitimacy by broadening linguistic rights and improving minority government services. However, community architects may have little influence on government decision-makers in settings where the state has adopted language policies reflecting the assimilationist or ethnist ideology towards linguistic minorities. In such states, minority group activists who advocate improved institutional support for their linguistic minority group may be repressed (house arrest, jail) by the state security apparatus, and may cause a backlash from the dominant majority through government cancellation of already weak minority institutional support, thus mortgaging present and future prospects for the survival of language minorities. The governance structure that regulates the relationship between the community and the state and how the minority participates in the decision-making concerning its own destiny are also important outcome and mobilization factors in the developmental process of cultural autonomy (Cardinal & Hudon, 2001; Cardinal & Juillet, 2005; Landry, Forgues & Traisnel, 2010).

As seen in figure 2, the ideological legitimacy component and the social proximity component also interact. For example, when community members reside in close physical proximity with their institutions and are actively involved in the group's community life, they can more easily justify their need for government programs and services. In turn, linguistic rights and active support by the State influence the group members' perceptions of their legitimacy in society, which may also influence collective identity. For example, when the group language is visible in the public linguistic landscape, linguistic minorities tend to have more positive beliefs concerning their group vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Community members may also influence the linguistic attitudes and behaviours of private institutions when they demand services in the minority language. The provision of these services reinforces subjective vitality and positively contributes to the group's collective identity.

In conclusion, one may ask which components of the cultural autonomy model contribute most to the group's vitality. An initial

answer is that the cultural autonomy approach views all three components as essential. Put simply, they act as the three legs of a tripod. When one of the legs is weakened, the whole tripod structure is weakened. Collective identification is an additional support to the tripod, connecting each of the legs, holding them together and solidifying the structure. In other words, institutional support alone cannot foster collective identification and intergenerational language transmission. Institutions cannot survive without active community participation and, unless the linguistic minority has ample human and financial resources and no constraints on its societal legitimacy, it cannot attain a high degree of institutional control without acquiring State support and group rights. Social proximity, although the basis for intergenerational language transmission and identity development, could support “community life” if the group were socially isolated but, in a minority intergroup context, community members will tend to disparage their language and culture when it is not recognized by society (ideological legitimacy) and will tend not to develop a strong collective identity without some degree of institutional control over their collective goals. Government and other societal leaders will tend to be passive in promoting minority group cultural autonomy when groups feel disempowered and when community leadership is weak (Fishman, 1991, 2001; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006).

Although all three cultural autonomy components are essential, it is useful to stress the basic importance of social proximity as the basis of cultural autonomy. The greater Moncton area in New Brunswick provides a concrete example. New Brunswick is the only officially bilingual province in Canada and both Francophones and Anglophones have constitutionally recognized collective rights to control schools and other cultural institutions (section 16.1 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms; Landry, 2009). Indeed, in the Moncton region, Francophones have access to several primary schools and two secondary schools, a community college and a university, all under Francophone self-governance. They can tune in to several French-language radio and television programs and have access to one daily newspaper and several weekly papers in French. They have relatively easy access to health services in French and have a French-language hospital. A rich cultural life is readily available in the area

(theatre, music, art and literature); a French-language film festival is held annually. Movie theatres tend to show English-only cinema, with few exceptions. The linguistic landscape tends to be English-dominant. Services in the private institutions tend to be bilingual in certain establishments but French services are not always guaranteed. Three municipalities which are in very close proximity constitute the greater Moncton area: Moncton, 63,000 residents, 30% French; Dieppe, 18,000 residents, 75% French and Riverview, 17,500 residents, 75% French. Francophones in all three municipalities have good access to most Francophone institutions. However, only Dieppe offers strong demographic concentration; transfer of mother tongue by Francophone parents in this city in 2001 was 92%. Moncton, although 30% French-speaking, has few neighbourhoods that are French-dominant; transfer of French mother tongue by Francophone parents was 56%. Riverview's Francophone population is small and weakly concentrated; French mother tongue transfer was only 11% (Statistics Canada 2001 census data calculated by Landry, 2003 and made available on the *Commission nationale des parents francophones* website: CNPS.ca). Although the actual trends are surely more complex, one cannot help but notice that strong community concentration of the Francophone population seems to provide the strong social proximity needed to foster a high rate of language and cultural transmission to the next generation (Landry, 2010).

3. The Wellness of Selected Linguistic Minorities in Europe and Canada

We now move to a more tenuous section of this chapter and seek to consider the development prospects of selected language minorities by taking into consideration three elements: a) their respective group vitality as discussed in section one of the chapter; b) the ideological premises of the language laws which govern their relations with dominant language majorities in their respective settings; and c) their cultural autonomy community mobilization situation as discussed in section 2 of the chapter. In figure 4a we will briefly position the linguistic minorities which were represented during a 1999 conference on minority languages held in Bilbao, Basque Country (Bourhis, 1999). In figure 4b we will situate selected official language communities in

Canada, namely: selected Francophone communities in the rest of Canada (ROC) and selected Anglophone communities situated in different regions of Quebec. The following analysis is illustrative and not meant to be definitive or prescriptive as regards the fate of the selected linguistic minorities included in this section.

As can be seen in figure 4a, we have organized a two-dimensional space consisting of a vertical axis made up of demographic vitality which is very high at the top of the axis, medium in the middle and very low at the bottom of the continuum. Perpendicular to this vertical axis, figure 4a shows a horizontal axis consisting of the institutional support achieved by language minorities, with very low institutional support depicted at the left of the axis, medium institutional support in the middle and very high institutional support situated at the right of the continuum. Using the wellness-illness metaphor proposed by Joshua Fishman at the Bilbao conference, the four quadrants of the two-dimensional space can be labelled as follows:

Quadrant 1, Recovering to Full Wellness: in this space we situate language communities that enjoy medium to high demographic vitality and also have achieved medium to strong institutional support in this domain of vitality.

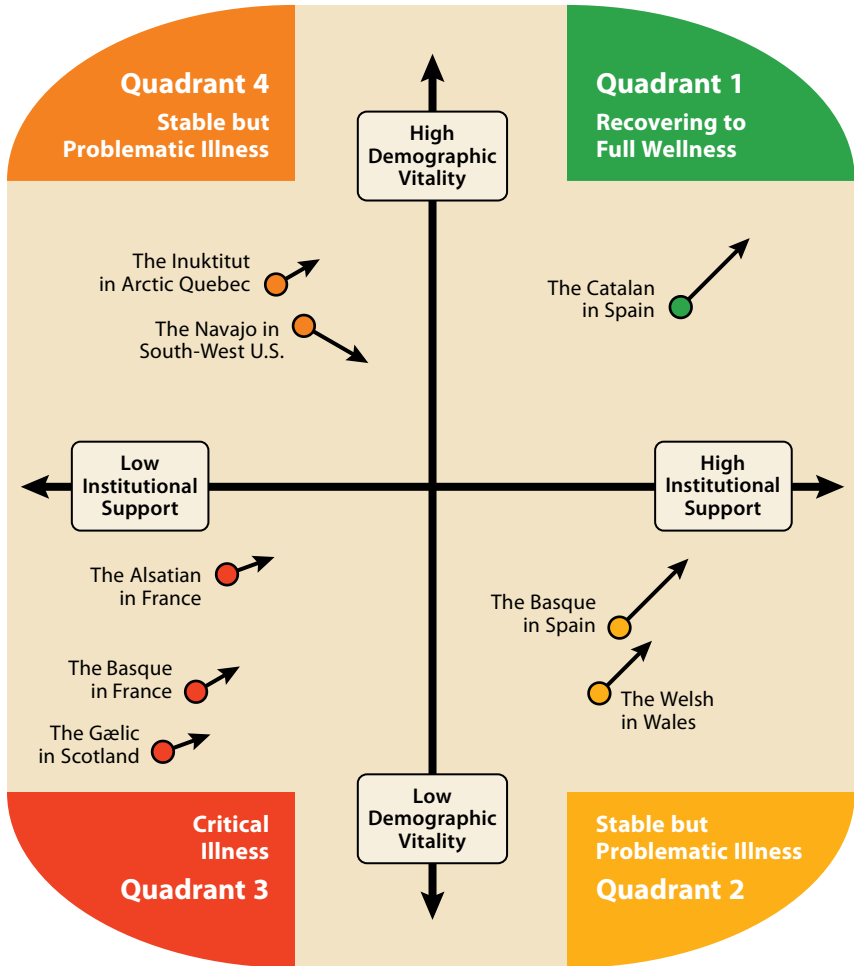
Quadrant 2, Stable but Problematic Illness: in this quadrant we situate language minorities that remain below medium to very low demographic vitality but who are recovering with medium to high institutional support.

Quadrant 3, Critical Illness Condition: in this quadrant we situate language minorities that are not only weak in demographic vitality but who also suffer from low medium to very low institutional support.

Quadrant 4, Stable but Problematic Illness: in this space we situate language minorities who have maintained medium to high demographic vitality but who suffer from less than medium to very low institutional support.

As seen in figure 4a, we begin clockwise in Quadrant 1 with the case of the Catalan language minority in Spain, whose strong demographic vitality and high institutional support within Catalonia is well known. Overall, policies adopted by the Language Policy Directorate

Figure 4a
The Wellness of Selected Linguistic Minorities
 (Adapted from Bourhis, 1999)



of the Government of Catalonia have been quite successful in reversing language shift, though room for improvement remains (Strubell, 2001). The Spanish constitution obliges all citizens of Spain to know and use the Spanish language in public, including communications with the national administration. However, the creation of Bilingual Autonomous Communities in 1978 allowed citizens in Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Galicia, the Basque Country and in

Navarre to also learn and speak their ancestral regional languages in some public settings including education and the public administration. Thus, unlike the Canadian situation where official language minorities are allowed to remain unilingual in French or English, the Spanish constitution requires knowledge of Castilian Spanish as the national language and offers bilingualism as a regional option. Recall that during the Franco regime regional languages such as Catalan, Euskara (Basque) and Galician were banned from public use including schooling, the workplace and the public administration. Note that the length and direction of the arrows depicted in figure 4a are meant to convey our estimate of the degree of collective mobilization effort (political, financial and institutional) exerted by language communities for increasing their institutional support and demographic vitality in the given bilingual or multilingual setting. As illustrated in the first quadrant of figure 4a, such efforts have been quite substantial in Catalonia.

Threatened language communities whose demographic vitality is somewhat low but nevertheless has achieved a good measure of institutional support can be situated in Quadrant 2 of figure 4a. By the end of the Franco regime, which applied a strong policy of linguistic assimilation, the Basque community had suffered considerable loss in inter-generational transmission of Euskara in their ancestral territory (Azurmendi *et al.*, 2001). However, following the adoption of the new Spanish constitution in 1978, the Basque mobilized collectively to gain much institutional support for their language, especially in education, the mass media, and as the language of the public administration (Azurmendi & Martinez de Luna, 2005, 2006). Some sociolinguistic surveys suggest that language loss may be reversing or at least stabilizing (Bourhis, 2003b), while the sociolinguistic situation must still be depicted as being one of “Stable but Problematic Illness”.

Though the Welsh language minority suffered from assimilationist language policies adopted by the British government in the last two centuries, British constitutional developments in the 1990s granting regional autonomy for Wales offered new opportunities for language revival. The mobilization of Welsh language activists and the application of language policies in favour of Welsh institutional support by the Welsh Office now situates this minority in the “Stable but Problematic Illness” quadrant of our diagnostic model presented in figure 4a.

Another sociolinguistic context leading to the diagnostic of “Stable but Problematic Illness” is that depicted in Quadrant 4 of figure 4a. Geographically isolated language communities may have medium demographic vitality by virtue of the concentration of its speakers in a specific regional enclave or territory. Here, demographic concentration within a given territory under the control of the language community (e.g., reserves) can compensate for low demographic numbers in absolute terms. However, lack of formal and informal institutional support would situate such linguistic minorities in the “Stable but Problematic Illness” quadrant of figure 4a. Though no obvious examples of such cases were presented at the Bilbao congress, examples of language minorities in such a position could be those of Aboriginal groups in the “New World”. However, Aboriginal groups even within their reserve or isolated territory, but who lack institutional support, are subjected to increasing pressure to assimilate linguistically and culturally as they come in contact with the modernizing influence of economically and demographically dominant language groups. The Navajo in reserves of the Southwest United States (Lee & McLaughlin, 2001) and Inuktitut in isolated extreme climatic environments of Arctic Quebec (Louis & Taylor, 2001) could be situated in this quadrant of the model. However, sustained contact and linguistic assimilation to the White-dominant language majority may shift such threatened language minorities to the third quadrant of the model: the “Critical Illness” condition.

As can be seen in Quadrant 3, threatened language groups whose demographic vitality is low often have difficulty convincing the dominant language majority that institutional support should be provided for such language minorities. Thus, despite considerable minority group mobilization to influence dominant group decision-makers in favour of even modest gains in institutional support, entrenched assimilationist language policies may easily obviate such efforts and may even result in the police repression of such minority language activism. In addition, as in the case of France, a dominant language majority can create founding myths legitimizing the linguistic assimilation of its regional language minorities by invoking that only the genius of the French language and culture can carry the values of equality, liberty and modernity (Citron, 1987). Two centuries of officially enforcing the assimilationist policy of French unilingualism in the education

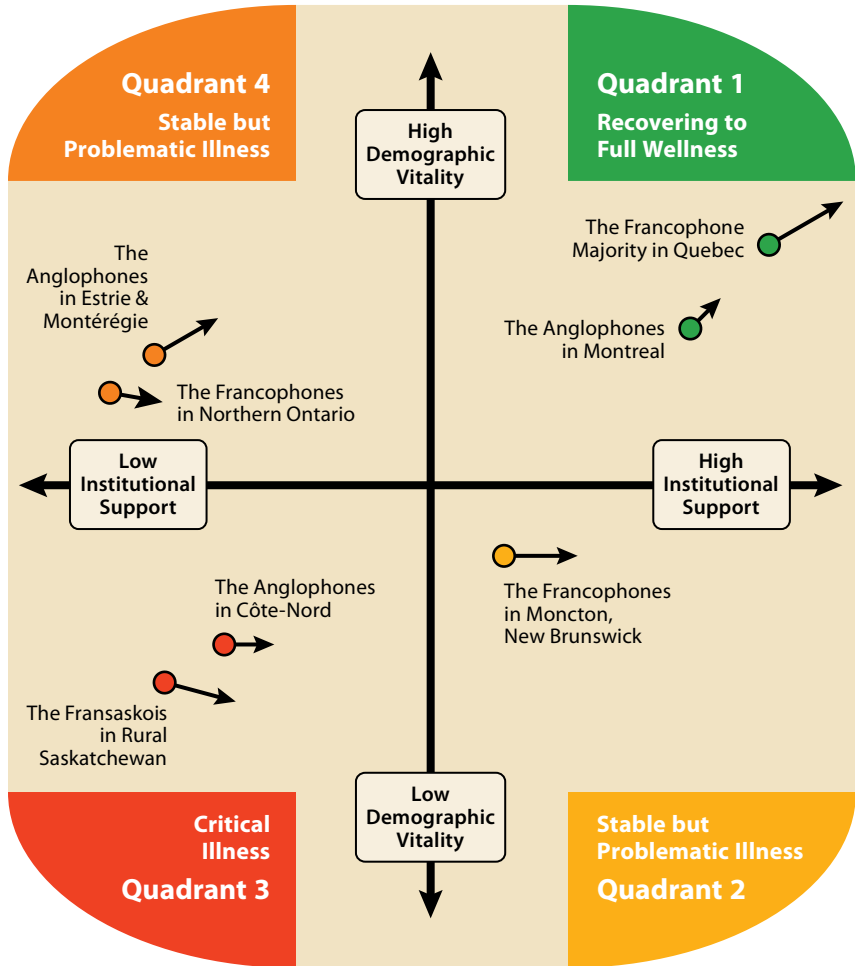
system, the public administration, the army and mass media contributed to the inter-generational dislocation of regional languages such as Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, and Occitan in France (Lodge, 1993; Bourhis, 1997). Though some teaching of regional languages was achieved through the sustained mobilization of regional language minorities, the current French government policy of slowly but surely eroding the vitality of regional linguistic minorities has the intended effect of keeping such communities in the “Critical Illness” condition. To this day, France stands alone in Europe in its refusal to ratify the “European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages”, a situation that does not bode well for the revival of regional languages in France (Plasseraud, 2005).²

The Gaelic language minority suffered as the Welsh from assimilationist language policies adopted by the British government in the last two centuries, but also suffered historically from the Highland Clearing Act which dispersed Gaelic speakers from Scotland. The British constitutional developments in the 1990s granting regional autonomy for Scotland may be too late to compensate for the substantial erosion of Gaelic in Scotland, which may have already reached a “point of no return”.

The tentative assessment of community mobilization and language planning efforts to bolster the demographic and institutional support of official language minorities in Canada is presented in figure 4b. Clearly, one can situate the Francophone majority of Quebec in Quadrant 1 of our framework: Recovering to Full Wellness. According to the 2006 census, Quebec Francophone demography is substantial, with 5.9 million French mother tongue speakers representing close to 80% of the population, and over 6 million speakers using French at home, representing close to 82% of the provincial population (2006 census). As the dominant majority of Quebec, more than 50% of Quebec citizens can afford to stay unilingual French in the province, with French-English bilingualism slowly rising from 26% in 1971 to 36% in 2006. Language laws such as Bill 101 enshrined the institutional control of the French majority, thus guaranteeing a virtually total institutional support for the Francophone majority in the public

2. To our knowledge, France has now ratified the Charter but has not been active in implementing its recommendations.

Figure 4b
The Wellness of Selected Francophone
and Anglophone Communities in Canada
 (Adapted from Bourhis, 1999)



administration, education, health and social services, the judiciary and most of the business and commercial activity of the province (Bourhis, 2001b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004). The success of Bill 101 is embodied by the fact that knowledge of French in the provincial population was 93.6% in the 1991 census and rose to 95.5% in the 2006 census. By worldwide language planning standards, this is a victory for the French fact in Quebec.

Amongst the Francophone minority communities in the rest of Canada, we find almost the full spectrum of vitality on the wellness-illness continuum. For example, the Acadian community of New Brunswick is in itself a microcosm of the Canadian context (Allard & Landry, 1998; Landry & Allard, 1994a, 1994b). Several communities are almost 100% French (e.g., Caraquet and St-Quentin), a large portion of the population in these communities is unilingual, community and public activities are in French and linguistic assimilation is absent. At the other end of the continuum, we find small Francophone populations where the amount of language transfer is very high despite considerable institutional support. In cities such as Saint John and Fredericton, the population size is greater but demographic concentration is weak and institutional support is weak. However, school community centres provide community activities for Francophones that identify positively with the Francophone community (Harrison, 2007). Outside of New Brunswick, vitality ranges from moderately high to very weak.

Quadrant 2, a situation of Stable but Problematic Illness due to moderately low demographic vitality and moderate to high institutional support, adequately defines the situation of the Francophones in the city of Moncton. As mentioned in the previous section, the Moncton area is well endowed with many Francophone institutions. Moncton is often described as the urban cultural capital of Acadia (Lefebvre, 2010). Yet, only 30% of the population is French, exogamy is relatively high and the assimilation rate of Francophones is approximately 20%. Moncton is indeed a good example of a context where a population could be overly confident about its vitality and not be sufficiently aware of its social proximity needs in the demographic domain.

Francophones in Northern Ontario can be situated in Quadrant 4 of our wellness-illness framework: Stable but Problematic Illness. Many Francophones in this area live in predominantly French-speaking communities (Gilbert & Bérubé, 2010). They have access to French schools, a French community college, a bilingual university (Laurentian University in Sudbury), some health services in French, French-language television and radio and several other cultural activities. Yet, for example, media contacts among its Francophone youth remain very predominantly English, and many students attending

the Francophone schools do not speak French at home (Mougeon & Beniak, 1994). Francophone identity is moderately high, but their desire to integrate into the Anglophone community is as strong as their desire to integrate the Francophone community (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2007c).

Francophones in Maine's Saint John Valley and in Southwestern Louisiana are examples of communities that had moderate to high demographic vitality in the past, but due to sustained U.S. assimilation policies have suffered a chronic lack of institutional support and must be considered prototypical examples of Quadrant 3: Critical Illness Condition (Landry & Allard, 1992b; Landry, Allard & Henry, 1996). In Canada, mainly in the Western and Atlantic provinces, there are many small Francophone communities that survived due to geographical isolation but which now are either almost completely assimilated or struggling to survive, schools being the only institutions under Francophone control (Landry & Magord, 1992; Magord, 1995; Magord, Landry & Allard, 2002). With many of their youth migrating to urban centres, the assimilation rate is high and increasing in these Francophone communities (Beaudin & Landry, 2003; Forgues, Bérubé & Cyr, 2007). For example, in Saskatchewan, the ratio of persons 65 years and older to persons 15 years and younger is 0.50 for Anglophones, but 4.14 for Francophones (Marmen & Corbeil, 2004). In other words, on average, in the Francophone communities of Saskatchewan there are more than four times the number of people 65 years and older than there are of youths 15 years and under, a very problematic situation for rural Fransaskois minorities.

Where can we situate the various English-speaking communities of Quebec in our wellness-illness framework presented in figure 4b? Based on first official language spoken, Quebec Anglophones constituted in 2001 about 1 million speakers of various ethnic backgrounds, thus constituting 14% of the Quebec population. Based on English mother tongue census data in 1971, Anglophones numbered 788,830 individuals in Quebec, constituting 13% of the provincial population. However, by the 2006 census, the English mother tongue population dropped to 607,165 individuals making-up only 8.2% of the provincial population (Bourhis, Jedwab, this study). By international standards, one would be tempted to situate all Quebec

Anglophone communities in the bottom half of figure 4b, simply because this minority constitutes much less than half the overall population of Quebec. However, for our tentative analysis we will consider the vitality of Quebec Anglophone communities relative to each other rather than relative to the overwhelming Francophone mother tongue majority in the province.

With this approach in mind, we can situate Anglophones living on the island of Montreal within Quadrant 1 of our model: Recovering to Full Wellness, but obviously with less wellness than the Quebec Francophone majority also situated in this quadrant. In Montreal, Anglophones with English as first official language spoken numbered close to 600,000 individuals in 2001, and benefited from the greatest concentration of institutional support in the province. However, we know that institutional support for Anglophones in Montreal is declining (school and hospital closures), while community mobilization is recovering following the demise of Alliance Quebec. The Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative (GMCDI) represents a new impetus for community mobilization which reinforces existing sectoral Anglophone mobilization in education, business, health and social services (see Jedwab & Maynard, this study).

Anglophone communities in the “historical Eastern townships” made up of the Montérégie and Estrie regions can be situated in Quadrant 4 of our model: “Stable but Problematic Illness”. Anglophones in the Eastern townships constitute the second largest English-speaking population base in the province. Though it is home to over 150,000 individuals with English as first official language spoken, the region lost 8000 Anglophones between the 1996 and 2001 censuses. With Bishop’s University, Champlain College, three English-language high schools and vocational schooling, educational support remains stable, though a fourth high school would shorten bussing time for many Anglophone students. Two bilingual-status hospitals remain open in this large territory after the closure of Sherbrooke hospital in 1996. English services in major French hospitals of the region remain available, though voluntary. Thus, despite community mobilization on the part of numerous Anglophone community groups including the Townshipper’s Association, institutional support is weaker than in Montreal and declining. We leave it to our

zealous readers to identify Quebec Anglophone communities also situated in the “Stable but Problematic Illness” condition but found in Quadrant 2 of our framework.

Anglophones living in the Côte-Nord region of Quebec can be situated in Quadrant 3 of our model by virtue of their weak demographic and institutional support circumstances. Only 5750 Anglophones with English as a first official language inhabited the region in the 2001 census, and the region lost 355 Anglophones in the 1996 to 2001 census period. Anglophones in the region are isolated geographically and only 38% were bilingual according to the 2001 census, compared to the 66% rate of bilingualism amongst Anglophones across the province. With a frail and struggling community mobilization structure, institutional support for English speakers in the region is weak. This community is faced with costly and difficult travel links, though efforts are being made to improve communication networks with Anglophones in other parts of the province. With one of the highest Anglophone unemployment rates (31%) and poverty rates in the province, the community can be situated in the Critical Illness Condition within our model.

As shown in this section, the vitality framework can be used to adequately assess the degree to which minority linguistic groups are likely to remain distinct and active groups in various intergroup contexts. In complementary fashion, the cultural autonomy model may be used to guide language planning activities whose goal is language revitalization (Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006b). As shown in figure 2, many variables need to be considered to foster the cultural autonomy process. It is not enough to obtain linguistic rights (Bourhis, 2003b). The group needs a minimum level of collective identity to implement collective action (Breton, 1983) and this action has to be strategically planned and focused on the most crucial elements of vitality (Fishman, 1991, 2001). The group may need to plan community mobilization and to devise a governance structure that optimizes the full collaboration of all relevant partners. A global collaborative partnership is especially warranted in a federal state involving several government levels (Landry, 2008b). As proposed in the cultural autonomy model, the challenges call into action civil society leadership, governmental support and services and a community that is aware of its needs, goals and challenges (Bourhis, 2003b; Landry, 2010).

Concluding Notes

Many more years of sociolinguistic and language policy application will be necessary to identify the best ways of improving the health and vitality of language minorities across the world. Research and language policies developed in Canada to improve the status, demographic and institutional vitality of Francophones minorities outside Quebec and of the Anglophone minority in Quebec contribute to this quest for the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity in the world. The “science and the art” of the task is to find the best way to shift threatened language minorities from the “Critical Illness” condition to the “Stable but Problematic Illness” condition. The ultimate goal is to help endangered language communities attain the “Recovering to Full Wellness” condition already reached by at least some of the language groups mentioned in this chapter. Will the fundamental and applied research needed to achieve these goals be accomplished in time to save at least some of the many language communities in danger of disappearing in this 21st century? In an age of economic globalization, it is inevitable that all language communities regardless of their vitality must accept to live dangerously if they are to partake in the riches of linguistic and cultural diversity across the internet planet. The quest for total linguistic and cultural security is an illusion today as it always has been throughout history.

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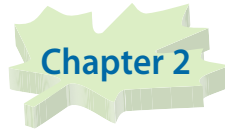
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Legal Status of Anglophone Communities in Quebec: Options and Some Recommendations

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The trust of the chapters presented in this book demonstrates two important points. First, that the English language still exerts a strong power attraction upon most people living in North America, including the French majority within Quebec. Consequently, it is a truism to say that it is French, not English that is the threatened language in Quebec and Canada. Clearly, it is languages other than English that need special legal protection. Therefore measures such as the Charter of the French Language adopted in Quebec in 1977 (hereinafter: *Bill 101*) as well as the renewed *Official Languages Act* of Canada adopted in 1988 (hereinafter *OLA*) are needed to support the French language across Canada. Without such legislative support to counter-balance “free market forces” in favour of the dominant language of North America, French would eventually lose even more ground to English across Canada (Fraser, 2006).

Second, it is also a truism to say that languages do not exist in a vacuum: they are spoken by people who form linguistic minorities and majorities in given territories and states (Fishman, 1999; 2001). In addition to being the target of language planning, languages are markers of social identity as well as means of interpersonal and intergroup communication (Bourhis, El-Geledi & Sachdev, 2007). Viewed in this light, the Anglophone community of Quebec has been placed in the uncomfortable position of being demoted from an elite to an ordinary minority, but a minority that, within a larger political unit, belongs to a continental majority (Stevenson, 1999). There are worrying signs for

the vitality of the Anglophone community of Quebec on the demographic and institutional fronts: numbers and proportions are decreasing; schools are closing, the community has lost the pre-eminent status it once enjoyed as a privileged minority and feels more uncomfortable (Bourhis, 2001; Bourhis & Lepage, 2004). Anglophone vitality indicators are troubling, resembling, in some regions of Quebec, those of the French minorities outside Quebec (Johnson & Doucet, 2006).

This chapter provides a summary analysis of the language rights of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. The first part of the chapter reviews language rights provided by the Canadian federal government to its official language minorities while the second part compares those rights to those enshrined in so-called “traditional human rights” as enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. The third part of the chapter provides an analysis of ways to improve the collective language rights of Quebec Anglophones in key domains including the Quebec legislature and the courts, education, government services, designated institutions and the private sector. The chapter closes with key recommendations for improving the judicial status of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. Although it may seem at times technical, the analysis seeks to identify gaps in the legal regime and proposes directions towards which the Anglophone minority should be moving to improve its legal status.

Two main ideas are the guiding thrust of the paper: first, that emphasis should be placed upon collective rights for the community rather than individual freedom of choice of language, since it is the collectivity, not the language, that is at risk. The second point is that institutions for the English-speaking community should be secured: institutions where it can pursue its activities, institutions which will defend its interests, institutions where its culture may flourish in all its diversity.

1. The Anglophones of Quebec, Federalism and International Law

The legal challenge confronting the Anglophone community is to reframe language rights as collective rights rather than individual ones and to secure a future for their community, not for their language, because sheer market pressure will ensure that English will

still be spoken in Quebec for a long time to come. By reframing the debate in collective terms, a further challenge emerges: reconciling these collective rights with the collective rights of the French majority in Quebec. The model we propose is that of linguistically homogeneous institutions where the language of work is that of the minority, but where services to the public are offered in both languages, save at school for obvious reasons. Some political scientists call this phenomenon “civil governance”, where control of its institutions belongs to the minority itself.

Federalism is a tool to create majorities within a given state; by creating majorities, federalism also create minorities, often minorities who are a majority within the larger political entity. This is the situation of double status majorities and minorities in Canada. French Quebec is a majority only within its borders and only with regard to powers that the *Constitution Act 1867* attributes to provincial governments. Therefore it is a minority within Canada and as such, will resent any imposition by the rest of Canada, without Quebec's consent, of any rights or measures perceived as detrimental to the survival and flourishing of the French language. But federalism has created by the same token a minority: the Anglophone community within Quebec. That minority also can legitimately claim some rights. These rights do not appear “by magic”; they have to be granted by some political institutions. The Quebec Anglophone community may appeal to the only institution within which it is majoritarian: the Federal Parliament. However, if the Federal Parliament intervenes, it is seen by the Quebec Government as an unwarranted intrusion into provincial matters. The Anglophone minority thus has to convince the Quebec government that the rights it is claiming are legitimate and will not hamper the status of French within Quebec.

Indeed, in one legal case concerning the language of commercial signs in Quebec, the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations concluded that the Anglophone community in Quebec is *not* a minority in international law. This UN committee is a body of experts whose role is to monitor and hear complaints against member states with regard to the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights to which Canada, and automatically its member states, is a party. The UN committee has determined that a minority is a community

whose distinctive characteristic (language) is in smaller numbers and weaker position *within the state as a whole* and not within a federated unit such as a province. In Canada, it is the French minority across Canada as a whole that has the legal status of minority in international law. Therefore the Anglophone minority of Quebec cannot invoke section 27 of the Covenant, which stipulates:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

It is only in the event of Quebec becoming an independent state that section 27 and other instruments of international law such as the International Declaration of the Rights of Minorities (1992) would apply. The main difficulty with international law is its effectiveness; in the event of a special treaty between Canada and an independent Quebec concerning minority language rights, both parties would have to agree on a dispute resolution mechanism whose decisions would be binding on each other.

Provincial governments are not always keen to abide by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, seen in many quarters as the imposition of a “government by judges” rather than a “government by people”. In Quebec, the opposition is not framed in the same terms: the Canadian *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* is seen as a tool designed by English Canada to hamper the efforts that the provincial government makes to enshrine Quebec as a truly French-speaking society (Woehrling, 2005). More fundamentally, it is seen as the imposition by English Canada of values and concepts that are not shared by the dominant Francophone majority in Quebec.

Courts have decided that under the *Constitution Act 1867*, language and culture are divided subject-matters: both the federal government and the provinces can legislate on these topics, each within its own sphere and considering its own aspects (see the *Jones* and *Devine* cases). This explains why there are both an *Official Languages Act* and a *Charter of the French Language*. Things are thus not clearly delineated. For example, immigration is a field within federal jurisdiction, but

recognizing the special linguistic and labour needs of Quebec, the federal government entered into an intergovernmental accord with the Quebec government to grant it some administrative responsibilities (McDougall-Gagnon-Tremblay accord, 1991). Education is a field within exclusive provincial jurisdiction, but federal spending power enabled the federal government to intervene in the development of universities as well as in minority language education. This chapter addresses specific areas where gaps or risks are identified, such as the issue of divided responsibilities and the legality of federal intervention within provincial jurisdiction, especially as regards language issues. Before dwelling on the specific language rights though, a word must be said about individual human rights with respect to their impact on language use in Quebec and Canada.

2. Contrasting Human Rights and Language Rights in Canada

Not only has the Canadian Constitution divided legislative and administrative power between the central government and provinces, but since 1982 it protects fundamental human rights and language rights. Some fundamental human rights may have a bearing upon language rights: freedom of expression, right to security of the person, equality and non-discrimination. But no human right is absolute. The rights contained in the *Charter* can be subject to reasonable limits that are demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society.

Language laws curtail individual freedoms and impose, forbid or regulate language use in various contexts. They are therefore prone to constitutional challenges under the guise that they are violating traditional human rights and freedoms. Quebec Anglophones regularly invoked individual human rights and freedoms to challenge the legality of the *Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101). It is our view that this strategy is overused and should be restricted to the most obvious cases. For instance, freedom of expression has been successfully invoked to challenge Quebec commercial signs law. In both *Ford* and *Devine*, the Supreme Court of Canada concluded that commercial speech is part of the constitutionally protected freedom of expression and that freedom of speech includes not only the content but also the choice of language of speech: but this guarantee accrues to *any*

language and does not specifically protect the Anglophone community in Quebec. The Court said that it is a legitimate and valid government objective to **impose** the use of a language when such language is threatened, but evidence showed that it is unreasonable to **forbid** the use of any other languages. Facing strong reaction from many quarters, the Quebec Liberal government of the day chose to use a device in the *Charter* known as the “notwithstanding clause”, enabling a government to shield its laws from the application of many of the fundamental human rights of the *Canadian Charter*. In 1988, the language of sign law (Bill 178) excluding languages other than French on commercial signs pleased no one in Quebec, was decried in English Canada, and was considered as one of the causes for the demise of the Meech Lake Accord (Bourhis, 1994). The notwithstanding clause is valid for 5 years and must be renewed by another law otherwise it ceases to have legal status. After the prescribed 5 years, and amid more controversy, the Liberal government dropped the notwithstanding clause and adopted a new sign law in 1993 known as Bill 86. The law authorized the use of other languages on commercial signs, provided French was twice as predominant as all other languages combined. Considering the national and international outcry of the language of sign debate and its divisive political and constitutional consequences, it is to be asked if the move was really productive in the long term (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). It contributed to the scuttle of the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord; it unleashed nationalist sentiments in Quebec to record high levels; and in the field, it did not change much to the existing linguistic landscape situation. Was it all worth it?

Freedom of expression does not apply to language use in all official settings, given there are special constitutional provisions regarding such areas. Language is not included as a ground of discrimination in the anti-discrimination provision of s. 15 of the *Canadian Charter*. Courts have consistently refused to entertain an argument that a legal regime promoting one language (Bill 101, *Quebec*) or two languages (*OLA, Canada*), to the detriment of any other, represents a ground of discrimination according to the *Canadian Charter*. For example, with regard to minority language education rights, Franco-Albertans tried to argue that it was discriminatory in Alberta to refuse a French-language school board. Chief Justice Dickson sternly rejected the argument in these terms:

Beyond this, however, the section [s. 23 of the Charter] is, if anything, an exception to the provisions of ss. 15 and 27 in that it accords these groups, the English and the French, special status in comparison to all other linguistic groups in Canada. [Underline added]

Quebec also has a *Charter of Rights*, where the anti-discrimination provision is broader than the Canadian one. Language is a stated reason of discrimination. S. 10 of the *Quebec Charter* has been invoked a few times in support of an argument against special language rights, and has sometimes been successful. But in *Gosselin*, the Court stated that restrictions to admission in English schools was a means of protecting linguistic minorities and that neither s. 15 of the *Canadian Charter* or s. 10 of the *Quebec Charter* could be invoked by a Francophone to gain access to an English public school, because a part of the Constitution cannot be used to nullify another part thereof. In New Brunswick, suggestions that special language rights with regard to use of French or English within the court system are useless, because the *Canadian Charter* already guarantees the right to a fair trial, are consistently made by lawyers and consistently rejected by the courts (see the *Macdonald* and *Société des Acadiens* cases). This is the case because minority language rights are of a different nature than classical human rights. The difference is missed by many, within government as well as in the population, and has to be repeatedly stressed by the Courts. The Supreme Court of Canada said:

The right to a fair trial is universal and cannot be greater for members of official language communities than for persons speaking other languages. Language rights have a totally distinct origin and role. They are meant to protect official language minorities in this country and to insure the equality of status of French and English. (*Beaulac* at 41)

So an argument based on individual human rights will be entertained by the courts only when no special minority language rights are involved. Cases will often turn around the question as to whether it is reasonable to limit these individual rights in order to pursue a specific language policy such as official bilingualism or the promotion of French as a threatened language. Generally, the balance will tilt towards vindication of language laws since they are geared at specific, collective rights and are part of a social compact which supersedes

individual freedoms in a limited area. Courts will tend to vindicate individual linguistic freedoms only when governments go too far in imposing language bans, and absent a specific constitutional guarantee to support language laws. When official bilingualism or minority language education rights are at stake, as guaranteed in the Canadian *Charter*, no argument based on individual human rights will succeed. Furthermore s. 16(3) of the Canadian *Charter* has confirmed a principle already developed in jurisprudence: that Parliament and the Legislatures are not prevented from adopting laws to advance the equality of status, rights and privileges of the official languages. This usually means that any challenge to such special linguistic rights based upon constitutionally protected, traditional, individual human rights will fail.

Strategically, therefore, the Anglophone community of Quebec should strive to gain more of these collective rights rather than push for an extension of individual human rights in the field of language. Challenges based on individual human rights are often seen by the Quebec French majority as an unjustifiable attack upon its collective language regime.

Finally, it is possible that international commercial treaties could jeopardize national language legislation at the federal and provincial level, because they create obstacles to the free circulation of goods and services. Both federal and provincial legislation are at risk of yielding to the pressure of international commercial treaties promoting globalization. Voices in Quebec and Canada have sought to convince the international community to negotiate an international treaty on language diversity. This was the case especially after the UNESCO *International Covenant on Cultural Diversity* authorized states to take protective measures for cultural products (including television, video games, radio, etc). For strategic reasons, the Anglophone community in Quebec should support such efforts and lobby to involve the federal government in these international negotiations. To conclude, individual human rights should be invoked only when there is a ban on the use of English in private settings. Emphasis must be put on how this ban, albeit grounded on a valid legislative purpose, is nevertheless too severe a restriction on individual rights and freedoms.

3. Promoting the Use of Official Languages: Where, When and How

“Official languages” is an expression designating legal status of languages and their use within the state. Two models are generally at work in language laws: the territorial model, by which one language only is recognized within a delimited territory, and personality, by which language rights are granted to individuals and they “carry” their rights, so to speak, everywhere in their country (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The federal policy, albeit not “pure”, mainly follows the personality model whereas the Quebec policy follows the territorial one. Conflicts are bound to happen. It is not to say that differences between the two can never be reconciled; but harmonization is a difficult task. And the task is further complicated by the fact that the legal sources in Canada are numerous: the *Constitution Act 1867*, the *Canadian Charter of Rights*, the *Official Languages Act of Canada*, the *Criminal Code of Canada*, and in Quebec the *Charter of the French Language*, and the *Health Act*. We have chosen to explore these matters by theme rather than by sources. It will make it easier to identify areas where, strategically, the Quebec Anglophone community should concentrate its efforts. Existing rights will be briefly mentioned without going into details, and room for improvement will be identified. More specific analysis may be found elsewhere (Bastarache, 2004).

Language of Legislation

The *Constitution Act 1867* has imposed from the outset the legal obligation to discuss, adopt and publish legislation in French and English, both versions being equally authoritative. For historical reasons, this obligation was imposed only in Quebec and Manitoba, as well as in the Federal Parliament. New Brunswick imposed such obligations upon itself by law in 1969, and since 1982, has accepted to have the obligation enshrined in the *Canadian Charter of Rights*. Ontario decided to pursue this obligation by law in 1984, but as yet has resisted any suggestion to include the obligation in the *Canadian Charter*. The three northern territories are under the same rule. Language legislation in Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island enables the government to have some laws translated, but not all and not automatically. Quebec has always resented the fact that the **constitutional**

obligation is not imposed upon every province. Some Franco-Ontarians have been suggesting that indeed, given that Ontario does legislate in both languages, the time has come to put it in constitutional terms. Strategically, this move would prove to Quebecers that the burden of official bilingualism is not theirs alone to bear. It would not change the fate of the Anglophone minority in Quebec but would be a gesture towards national unity.

Earlier versions of the *Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101, 1977) had official laws adopted in French only and non-official translations were made available upon request. Challenges of French-only laws were brought to the Canadian Supreme Court, which declared such provisions unconstitutional in 1979 (in *Blaikie*). Government adoption of unilingual statutes should be resisted by official language minorities. The Anglophone community should not sacrifice this right in the name of linguistic peace with the dominant French majority of the province. Language of statutes is more symbolic than real and does not really threaten the French majority in Quebec any more than it threatens English majorities in the rest of Canada. However, such symbolic matters can readily degenerate into fierce conflicts and linguistic minorities must be vigilant in this regard.

Language Use in Parliament

The *Constitution Act* states that both French and English may be used in the Canadian Parliament and in the Quebec legislature. The same exists in New Brunswick and in Manitoba. In Ontario, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and in the three northern territories, the same right is granted in statutes. But there is no right to translation: translation services (simultaneous, in this case) are a matter for each legislature to decide.

Language Use in the Courts

Language use in the courts is an area that deserves careful attention and where concrete gains could be made by Quebec Anglophones. The *Constitution Act 1867* states that either French or English may be used by any person in any proceedings before a federal or Quebec court of law. Courts have extended the right to administrative tribunals such

as the Workers' Compensation Board, the Human Rights Tribunal, labour law arbitrators and the like. The problem with this rule is that it is granted to the benefit of anyone. Thus, in *MacDonald*, an Anglophone Montrealer was denied the right to a road traffic ticket in English: the officer writing the ticket has the constitutional right to use his language of choice, in this case French. In many provinces as well as at the federal level, legislation has corrected this situation to the benefit of the citizen: thus the *OLA* states that before federal courts, the presiding judge and the lawyers for the government must understand directly and without interpreters, and use themselves the language of the trial or both languages when the situation requires it. Furthermore, since 1990, the *Canadian Criminal Code* granted to any accused person the right to a criminal trial in his or her official language, or to persons whose language is neither, the right to choose one of the official languages as the language of trial. The only condition, stated in *Beaulac*, is that the accused must be able to instruct his or her lawyer in the chosen language. The Supreme Court of Canada also stated in this case that the purpose of this right is neither a just and fair trial nor the right to a full and complete defence, but rather the *collective right* of the community to an equal access to the justice system.

In civil matters, the same rules apply before federal courts and courts in New Brunswick and in the Territories: the right to have a trial in one's official language. This entails the right to a translation if the other party is using the other language; the right to a presiding judge who can understand and use the language without interpreter; the right to a government lawyer who will use the language of trial or both as the case may be. In Ontario, this right is granted in designated areas only. Elsewhere, including Quebec, the only right is the right to **use** one's language before courts, without any right to be **understood** in that language, although a practice is developing in some provinces to allow civil trials in one's official language.

This is an anomaly that must be corrected. A constitutional right to a criminal trial in one's official language should be added in the Canadian *Charter* because it is already compulsory throughout Canada. As to civil and quasi-criminal matters, Quebec should follow the New Brunswick and Ontario model: even if private parties have

the right to use either language, the presiding judge and state's lawyers should be obliged to use the language of the trial, or both if the situation requires it. Judicial decisions should be made available in both languages under a rule similar to the one in effect at the federal level: for cases involving a major legal issue, simultaneously; when an emergency warrants it, in one language with translation to follow. Under the present situation in Quebec, a translation is made available upon request, and such request may be made only by one of the parties. The Anglophone minority of Quebec is entitled to have equal access to judicial decisions and to the judicial system.

As well, access to justice in English deserves close attention. Outside Quebec, the French-speaking legal community is regrouped under provincial associations and a national Federation, namely *La Fédération des associations de juristes d'expression française de common law*. Such associations have been successful in pointing out to provincial governments various problems preventing an equal access to justice in the minority language. A similar association would be very useful to the Anglophone community, and we do not mean a professional one such as the Quebec Bar.

Language Use in Government Services

Under s. 20 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights*, any member of the public can communicate with, and receive services from, a federal institution in either French or English in the following circumstances: from the central office of that institution; from any office located in the national capital; and from any other office when warranted by a significant demand, namely when the minority language population represents 5% of the overall population. The *OLA* and its regulations established complex rules to implement this right and added the right of federal civil servants to work in their own language in certain designated areas. Complaints may be put to the Commissioner of Official Languages who will launch inquiries and make recommendations. A plaintiff may then sue the government before the Federal Court of Canada. Some suggestions can be made to the federal government to enhance this right: for example, that the right be made available within any provincial capital, regardless of proportions; that the right

be made available where there are minority language institutions such as schools, hospitals, health and social services offices, regardless of proportions. Any attempt by the federal government to change the proportion to higher numbers should be resisted.

The situation is much less favourable under the *Charter of the French Language* and within the Quebec government public service. Bill 101 enshrined as a general rule that French shall be used within the Quebec government as well as in communications between the State and the population. Exceptions are few and include, for example: communications with individual persons who have used another language in their own communication with the government (excluding associations, companies, legal persons, etc); contracts between the Quebec government and a party outside Quebec; signs and posters where health or security warrants the use of another language; clinical records in Health and Social Services, provided the institution has not required that these be drafted in French and provided a French version is made available upon a valid request from a person authorized to see it; communications between a professional order and a physical person having chosen to use another language; temporary permits to practice a profession, when the person would be qualified to do so save for her knowledge of French. In most other circumstances French is the only language allowed to be used, including for internal communications between two civil servants. There is no formal requirement that the Anglophone minority be represented fairly within any ministries of the Quebec civil service.

Considering the thrust of any official language regime, which is to decide upon language use in governmental institutions, and considering the impact of these measures for the status of French in Quebec, it is very unlikely that any progress could be made on that front in the future, except maybe to authorize the use of English for non-profit organizations or in communications from designated institutions to the general public, which should be in both languages. Efforts could also be made to authorize two Anglophone civil servants to communicate with one another in English and to include a clause equivalent to Part VI of the *OLA*, guaranteeing the right to a fair representation of the community within the Quebec public service.

Language of Education in Quebec

Education remains a contentious issue in Quebec (Lamarre, 2007). The masterpiece of minority language education rights in Canada is s. 23 of the *Charter*, and although s. 23 has played a crucial role in developing French-language education outside Quebec, its impact in Quebec, regardless of the sometimes hysterical reactions from some quarters, has been modest. It is because outside Quebec the issue was and still is to develop a full network of elementary and secondary schools, whereas in Quebec the main issue was and still is access to English schools.

Under s. 23, three classes of persons have a right to minority language education, meaning that they cannot be denied access. They are with regard to the Quebec context: 1. citizen whose language first learned and still understood is English, but this clause will not be applicable to Quebec unless approved by the National Assembly; 2. citizen whose primary instruction has been obtained in English in Canada; 3. citizen whose children have received or are receiving primary or secondary instruction in English in Canada. All other children are obliged to attend French-language schools, save some other small exceptions described in the *Charter of the French Language*. The Quebec government is pursuing an overt policy of integrating all international immigrant children to French schools. The educational provisions of Bill 101 did achieve its avowed goal: force children from the immigrant population to switch from the English to the French public school system in Quebec (Lamarre, this study). Combined with declining demographic trends and Anglophone out-migration from Quebec, the educational provisions of Bill 101 has had the intended effect of reducing enrolment in the English school system; enrolment dropped from 200,000 pupils in the 1970s to under 100,000 today. This attrition rate is greater than that of any Francophone minority in the rest of Canada.

The only legal way to gain access to English schools in Quebec is by means either of the “Canada clause” in s. 23(1)b) of the Canadian *Charter*, implying a long stay in Canada, or by s. 23(2): a child who has received or is receiving instruction in English in Canada. However in 2002, the Quebec government adopted Bill 104 designed to close

a “loophole” in access to English schooling in the province. Bill 104 stipulated that parents residing in Quebec who sent their child to a *private* unsubsidized English school for a year could no longer use this precedent as ground for enrolling their child in the English *public* school system. Between 1998 and 2002, education records showed that 5,000 children had obtained access to English schooling through this procedure, an increase in English school enrolment loudly decried by Francophone nationalists. In August 2007, the Quebec Court of Appeal invalidated Bill 104 as it contravened s. 23(2) of the Canadian *Charter* allowing a child who previously received English instruction anywhere in Canada to be enrolled in English public school in Quebec. Should the Supreme Court of Canada uphold this 2 to 1 decision of the Quebec Court of Appeal in *N’Guyen* against *Bill 104*, cries of outrage amongst nationalists will again erupt in Quebec. Nationalists will demand to either curtail s. 23(2) by reverting to an earlier version which provided access to English public schools only in cases of inter-provincial migration, or by suspending the application of s. 23(2) in Quebec, as was done with the mother-tongue clause, s. 23(1)a). Alternatively, nationalists may demand that admissibility to *private* unsubsidized English schools be curtailed by imposing the same rule as those applied for access to *public* English schools. Such a provision would close the “loophole” which enables parents to send their children to private unsubsidized English schools for a year, and in the following year seek access to English public schools.

English-language education should cease to be viewed as a threat to the French majority in Quebec or a way for pupils to surreptitiously learn English in the province. Rather, English-language education should be seen as a key institution necessary to preserve and promote the unique culture of a particular national minority within the province of Quebec. It is truly a collective right; although it is granted to individuals, its “true beneficiary” is the community itself. It is a minority right. The true purpose of s. 23 was eloquently outlined by Chief Justice Dickson of the Supreme Court of Canada:

The general purpose of s. 23 is clear: it is to preserve and promote the two official languages of Canada, and their respective cultures, by ensuring that each language flourishes, as far as possible, in provinces where it is not spoken by the majority of the population.

The section aims at achieving this goal by granting minority language educational rights to minority language parents throughout Canada.

As a minority society in Canada, Quebec will not accept easily that a linguistic minority within its own territory, being a majority in the country as a whole, be accorded linguistic and cultural rights to which it has not consented. The argument saying that Quebec Anglophones are the best-treated minority in the world is—from a legal standpoint—no longer true with regard to primary and secondary education. French-language minorities in Canada now enjoy rights equivalent to their English-speaking counterpart in Quebec, even if there are still implementation problems. But the fact is that s. 23, even if it guarantees primary and secondary schools and school boards for the Anglophone community “where numbers warrant”, does not cover either pre-schooling or college and university education.

Ideally, the mother-tongue clause (s. 23(1)a) should be made applicable to Quebec. But this is not likely to happen under the current political situation in the province. Other solutions must be sought. A strong improvement would be to recognize a right to linguistically homogenous institutions in the fields of education, culture and social services, under the model provided by s. 16.1 of the *Charter of Rights* for the Acadian community in New Brunswick. Such minority rights, as desirable as they may be in securing a better position for the Anglophone institutions of Quebec, are not likely to emerge because of the intractable constitutional debate they would trigger in Quebec and other parts of Canada. It seems that s. 23 will not be reopened soon. Should this prove wrong, improvements to s. 23 should include: 1. to apply the mother-tongue clause (s. 23(1)a) to Quebec; 2. to abrogate the “numbers warrant” condition; 3. to extend s. 23 to pre-elementary and post-secondary education; 4. in exchange, to curtail s. 23(2) or have it suspended in Quebec.

Language Provisions in Health and Social Services

The Quebec Health and Social Services Act guarantees the right to such services in English, under access programs and a provincial advisory committee. Some institutions may be designated (see *infra*). These clauses provide a fairly comprehensive code for the delivery

of health and social services in English (see Carter, this study). If problems lie with implementation, then a suitable mechanism must be found.

Designated Institutions

As regards English-language institutions in Quebec, section 29.1 of Bill 101 authorizes the government to designate some institutions, allowing them to use the English language internally and among themselves and for providing their services when more than 50% of the population they serve is not French-speaking. The following three points may be made concerning the above provisions.

Firstly, the required proportion of more than 50% seems very high, compared to other Canadian jurisdictions. In New Brunswick municipalities have some linguistic obligations when 20% of their population is of the other official language. In Ontario, designation occurs when 10% of the population is French. At the federal level, linguistic obligations are triggered when the population of the other official language is 5% of the population served by the federal institution. There is room for improvement in Quebec. A “substantial proportion” of minority language population should trigger some rights; why impose such a stringent requirement?

Secondly, to avoid the drama provoked by the forced amalgamation of English majority municipal institutions within the city of Montreal a few years ago (Aubin, 2004), a rule should stipulate that before revoking a designation, the government must demonstrate that limits are necessary and justifiable in the circumstances, under the model of s. 7 of the *Ontario French Language Services Act*. The *Montfort Hospital* case (*Lalonde*) proves that such a clause can be effective to protect a minority language institution against forced amalgamations. This should be a priority for the safeguard of the Anglophone minority of Quebec.

Thirdly, designation should be opened to more institutions than those provided for in s. 29.1 of Bill 101. There is room for designating other types of institutions such as institutions that deliver public services “on behalf of” the provincial government. Ontario has a designation mechanism open to any private body entrusted with governmental

responsibilities. Federal, Territorial and New-Brunswick legislation have a clause which automatically extends linguistic obligations to any organism acting “on behalf of” the government. The term “on behalf of” is a designation recently made applicable to a regional economic development corporation administering some federal programs, as was stated in *Desrochers*, presently under appeal from the Federal Court of Appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. Be it either by way of a general clause or by specific designations, such an extension of language rights would have the legal regime adapt to an increasingly pressing reality, that of privatization and of partnerships with the private sector in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada.

Immigration and Language

Amendments to the Canadian Immigration Act have included, as an object of the Act, to strengthen the bilingual character of Canada and to “support and assist the development of minority official languages communities in Canada” (s. 3.(1)*b*) and 3.(1)*b.1*). The 1991 McDougall-Gagnon-Tremblay agreement between Quebec and Canada has devolved to Quebec the main responsibility for the selection and integration of immigrants. The Quebec government has made it clear that its objective is to integrate immigrants within its Francophone host majority rather than within its Anglophone minority. There have been talks to amend the Constitution to make this permanent. It is very unlikely that Quebec would revert to a federal role in the immigration process. Since Immigration is a federal responsibility from the outset, the federal government still has a legal obligation to at least negotiate a linguistic clause within an updated McDougall-Gagnon-Tremblay accord and to make sure such linguistic provisions are implemented.

The Language of Media and Culture

By virtue of its proximity to the huge English markets of Canada and the US, the mass media are a vitality component where the Quebec Anglophone community is well served, though access to local content remains limited in many regions of the province (see Rodgers, Garber & Needles, this study). The federal government is responsible for the electronic media and one of the goals of the *Broadcasting Act* is the

promotion of linguistic duality in Canada by making broadcasting available in both French and English (see s. 3 (m), (t), (q)). Any suggestion of transferring responsibility of this very important sector to the Quebec government should be resisted. Federal agencies such as Telefilm Canada, the CRTC, the Arts Council, etc, should be scrutinized to ensure that Quebec Anglophone communities receive their fair share of media and cultural resources. As to other forms of media, they are mostly left to the private sector and the Canadian and US markets are the driving force for them. The CRTC is pursuing a policy of open competition in the broadcasting markets, has refused to regulate the Internet and ensures that the rules for Canadian content and levies to finance Canadian productions work well. There is room for improvement in entrenching a right to cultural institutions belonging to the Anglophone community, again on the model of s. 16.1 of the Canadian *Charter*. Such a right should bind both levels of government: federal and provincial.

Language Rights in the Private Sector

Canadian federal laws sometimes impose bilingualism in some areas, and at other times authorize the use of one or the other official language. These measures are limited to companies and businesses under federal jurisdiction. Most public dealings in the ordinary life of a citizen are under provincial responsibility, and provisions of Bill 101 promote French as the normal language of use in most domains of public life including the work world as well as commercial and business exchanges. This is also a contentious issue. Although it is acceptable to **impose** French as the language of work and of commerce, it seems a bit exaggerated to forbid the use of any other language. Bill 101 allows the use of English in some limited circumstances. The *Office québécois de la langue française* is monitoring the process.

Considering that the language of work and commerce is one of the centrepieces of Bill 101, and considering the socio-linguistic situation of French with regard to English in North America, it is unlikely that the French majority would tolerate the legal situation to change in favour of linguistic diversity in Quebec. There are ongoing nationalist pressures to extend the obligation to use French in small businesses of fewer than 50 employees and to curtail access to English-language

CEGEPs (colleges; proposed Parti Québécois Bill 195, 2007). Given such pressures, the present status quo represents an acceptable compromise and should not be challenged. Suggestions made in 2007 by the Bloc Québécois (BQ) to subject federal undertakings operating within Quebec to be bound by the *Charter of the French Language* should be resisted. It is possible that the proposed BQ measure would be unconstitutional in the first place.

The following technical area deserves to be studied more extensively: the reach of provincial law in federal matters. Given that the Quebec government is very often opting out of federal programs and asking for financial compensations, is it possible, mandatory, or irrelevant for the Canadian government to impose linguistic rules in federal-provincial agreements? Although technical, these questions all have practical implications for the Anglophone minority community: any transfer of a federal program to Quebec or any opting out by Quebec of a national program will yield the question. Members of the Anglophone minority affected by the program in question should not lose their language rights as a result of a transfer of responsibility from the federal to the provincial government.

Political Representation of the Anglophone Community

Under the federal regime, electoral districts must take into account the linguistic fabric of a territorial area as one of the criteria. This rule is not enshrined in the Constitution, but it could be implied from the unwritten constitutional principle of protection of regional linguistic minorities. The Federal Court has already quashed the New Brunswick federal electoral map, for want of respect for this linguistic territorial rule (*Raïche*). Therefore any reform of the representation within the Canadian House of Commons should take into account the demographics of the Anglophone communities in different regions of Quebec.

With regard to Senate reform, any reform should preserve the representation of minority language communities. An elected Senate under a proportional rule would jeopardize the present linguistic and territorial representation. Therefore, this issue should be carefully studied and any proposal for electoral reform should be analyzed

from the perspective of maintaining a political representation of the Quebec Anglophone community within the Federal Senate.

Within the province of Quebec, the problem is the same. Electoral reforms are in the air; many people are considering having the province move towards a mixed local-proportional representation. Any reform should be carefully studied to guarantee the continued political representation of all Anglophone communities in the Quebec National Assembly. Protection of political representation for linguistic minorities is an often neglected but crucial collective right, recognized in international law.

As to representation within the public service of the Quebec government itself, the Quebec Human Rights Commission showed that in 1998, while Anglophones made up more than 8% of the Quebec population, their presence in the Public Service was less than 1%, a trend that has not changed in the last decade (CDPDJ, 1998) and which analysts are attributing in part to discriminatory behaviours on the part of language majority employers (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2006). Though the adoption of employment equity provisions in the Quebec public service did improve the position of Francophone women in the public service, the situation has not improved much for Anglophones, cultural communities and visible minorities in the last decade (Déom, Mercier & Morel, 2006). The Quebec government must give the good example. A right to fair, proportional representation of the linguistic and cultural communities of the province should be pushed for by Anglophone communities.

Government Role in Promoting Official Language Minorities

As part of its nation-building responsibilities, the Canadian government has legislated in favour of the protection and promotion of its official language minorities (Foucher, 2007). Part VII of the *OLA* creates a very important justiciable obligation for the federal government, under s. 41. This obligation is sustained by direct federal support to the minority language community, its initiatives and associations, and by the use of federal spending power to help provinces foster bilingualism, linguistic equality and services in the other official language. The Quebec government has frequently indicated that control

of federal spending power is one of its priorities and the current federal Conservative government has stated it would be open to such negotiations. By way of approval by its Treasury Board, Quebec already controls any financial attribution amounting to more than 50% of an organization coming from non-Quebec sources. Any general curtailment of federal spending power should exempt from its reach minority communities support, in order to preserve the financial leverage the federal government has to help minority language communities, including the Anglophone minority of Quebec.

Some Remedies

At the federal level, the *OLA* provides for a Commissioner of Official Languages, whose role is of the utmost importance in implementing the Act both in letter and in spirit. As is evident from its annual reports, this “linguistic ombudsman” model is well known within the federal public service and is appreciated especially by members of Canada’s official language minorities. A similar language ombudsman office was also created in Ontario, in New Brunswick and in the Northwest Territories. Its utility lies in the fact that it levies no financial expense to the individual complainant, it is vested with important powers of inquiry, while it can act as a “discrete” influence and can help solve systemic problems at all levels of the state and beyond. At the international level, the European Council has had such a High Commissioner to National Minorities, whose interventions at times have helped to diffuse some potentially explosive situations. The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations recently appointed a “special rapporteur” for minorities. Such national and international ombudsmen are an invaluable resource for linguistic and national minorities: they produce extensive research documentation, draft key proposals and act as mediators, negotiators and promoters with officials and leaders of ruling majorities. There is no such equivalent in Quebec. Courts are the only forum where the Anglophone community can voice its grievances against the provincial government. The mandate of the *Office québécois de la langue française* is to promote French and apply the *Charter of the French Language*. Given its terms of reference and its track record, this office can hardly be expected to

be receptive to the needs and aspirations of the Anglophone minority, let alone its grievances. The same can be said of the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française*.

Quebec must create an ombudsman office or Council for the protection of its national minorities, including Anglophones. This office, accountable to the National Assembly, should be mandated to receive complaints, inquire into the implementation of language rights of the Anglophone minority, and negotiate, mediate and propose solutions, while producing research and documentation on the national minorities of Quebec. The reinstatement of the Court Challenges Program should also be a priority for the Anglophone minority in Quebec and for the Francophone minorities in other parts of Canada.

4. Concluding Recommendations

We have reviewed what seemed to be in our opinion important issues on the legal and constitutional front for the Anglophone minority of Quebec. Under an ideal scenario for the English speaking communities of Quebec, the province would be officially bilingual. Language rights would mirror what is available at the federal level. Under the worst-case scenario, restrictions on the use of English would be even more strenuous. An intermediate ground must be found. Our analysis was founded on the basis that although the English language is not in jeopardy in Quebec, the Anglophone communities are. Therefore, we think that organizations should regroup this community and foster its mobilization. The discourse should move from individual freedom to use one's own language to a discourse of protecting the Anglophone community as a rightful national minority in Quebec. In short, we suggest that efforts be made to secure the following specific rights, in decreasing order of priority:

1. Restore the Court Challenges Program;
2. The nomination in Quebec of an independent officer or Council on the model of a Commissioner of Official Languages or a High Commissioner for Minorities;

3. An enlargement of the designation of some institutions that serve the Anglophone community: lower the threshold and increase the possibility of designations; include a clause whereby any limitation of rights must be demonstrably justified as necessary;
4. Exempt from any curtailment of federal spending power all programs and services aimed at official languages communities in Canada, or otherwise devise a mechanism ensuring the continued existence of such;
5. Secure the right to political representation both at the federal (Senate and House of Commons) and provincial (*Assemblée Nationale*) level;
6. Fine tune rights with regard to access in English of provincial public services; include a right to fair representation in employment within the public service;
7. A right to homogeneous institutions in the fields of education and culture on the model of s. 16.1 of the *Charter* for the Acadians;
8. Enshrine a constitutional right to criminal trial in one's own language, the exercise of which will be prescribed by law;
9. A statutory right to civil and quasi-criminal trial in one's own language.

Other proposals were made throughout this chapter, but the nine listed above need immediate attention for the sake of developing the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. Should any of these suggestions be adopted as strategic priorities, they should be backed up by further studies to document more fully the true situation and also to develop more detailed and reasoned arguments in favour of the proposal as well as strategies to achieve them. Finally, great care must be taken to secure the consent of the Quebec government, for the reasons mentioned in the opening observations of this chapter.

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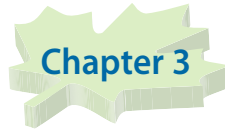
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Determining Who Is an English-Speaking Quebecer and Assessing its Demographic Vitality

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Introduction

The relationship between identity and demography are crucial to any estimate of a community's size and can have profound impact on its ethnolinguistic vitality. The notion of ethnolinguistic vitality provides a conceptual tool to analyze the sociostructural variables affecting the strength of language communities within multilingual settings. The vitality of language communities can be defined as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting" (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977: 308). The more vitality a language community enjoys, the more it will be able to use its own language in private and public situations and the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in multilingual settings. Conversely, language groups that have little or no vitality are more likely to eventually cease to exist as distinctive language communities within the intergroup setting (Bourhis & Barrette, 2005). *Demographic* factors contribute to the vitality of language communities and are related to the absolute number of speakers composing the language group and their distribution throughout the national, provincial or urban territory (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). Number factors refer to the language community's absolute group numbers, their birth rate, mortality rate, age pyramid, mixed marriages with out-group speakers, and their patterns of immigration and emigration in and out of the ancestral territory. Distribution factors refer to the numeric

concentration of speakers in various parts of the territory, their proportion relative to out-group speakers, and whether or not the language community still occupies its ancestral territory. These demographic indicators can be related to language identification, first language use in private and public situations, the inter-generational transmission of the first language to children and grandchildren, additive/subtractive bilingualism, language shift and language loss (Bourhis & Barrette, 2005). Within democracies, demographic factors constitute a fundamental asset for language groups as “*strength in numbers*” can be used as a legitimizing tool to grant language communities with the institutional support they need to foster their development in the present and future within multilingual societies.

Underlying discussions about the demographic vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec (hereafter ESCQ) is the question of language and identity (Jedwab, 2004). When attempting to determine the size of the ESCQ, the federal government and Quebec government often employ different criteria. This can result in diverging perceptions of the community’s situation, as its evolving demography is an important indicator of its group vitality. Indeed, it is the demographic decline of the ESCQ that is frequently identified as the main cause of its weakening vitality on institutional support fronts such as education, health care, social services, cultural development and local governance at the municipal level (Bourhis, 2001; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004; Johnson & Doucet, 2006).

That which follows will employ census data, a number of public opinion surveys and government reports on official language minorities to explore the varying definitions applied to the ESCQ. It will assess the approaches adopted by different levels of government and comment upon the methodology they employ in estimating the demographic vitality of the ESCQ. When it comes to issues of language use and group identification, certain categories of measurement are broader or more inclusive, while others are narrower and less inclusive. The group’s estimated demography is largely influenced by the method or system of classification used by governments or non-governmental organizations. The census conducted by Statistics Canada is the source most widely employed when estimating the demolinguistic vitality of the ESCQ. Four language markers are used to measure the

size of official language communities in Canada: 1) mother tongue; 2) the language first learned and/or still understood; 3) the language spoken in the home; and 4) the derived variable “first official language spoken”. Given that the use of each category results in varying numbers included as members of the ESCQ, government entitlements based on these varying definitions may vary greatly. Thus there may be a gap in the institutional support that official language minorities feel they require to fully develop their vitality compared to that which is offered by the provincial or federal government.

Behind the demographic vitality of a language community one finds the group’s self-definition and its desired degree of inclusiveness. Some language communities prefer less inclusive criteria in determining who can be and who should be considered a member of their linguistic in-group. This occurs where groups believe that broadly-based membership risks modifying or diluting the core identity of their ethnolinguistic community. This degree of inclusion/exclusion may be defined by a combination of minority group leadership, by its rank and file, and institutionally by provincial and federal governments. Category markers and criteria chosen by these actors can have quite an impact, not only on the legitimacy of the community but also on the resources and institutional support granted to such language minorities. Problems are more likely to arise when linguistic minorities use more inclusive criteria to estimate their demographic size, while majority group members controlling governments employ narrower definitions of the minority and underestimate its demographic size. This can result in an inadequate allocation of institutional support for the linguistic minority which in turn must struggle harder to maintain its institutional completeness and community development.

Keeping the above framework in mind, the first part of the chapter will provide an analysis of the social identification of Quebec Anglophones. Part 2 of the chapter will review the definitions of English-speaking Quebecers on the basis of provincial versus federal government criteria. Part three of the chapter examines how such definitions affect our analysis of the demographic vitality of the ESCQ. This analysis will include demographic variables affecting Quebec Anglophone vitality such as: absolute numbers, percentage of the population, rate of mixed marriage, and immigration.

1. The Social Identification
of Quebec Anglophones and Francophones

Both Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers regard language as an important marker of their respective social identity as shown in a polling survey conducted by Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies in August 2007. As observed in table 1, some 84% of Anglophones surveyed on the basis of mother tongue reported a very strong or somewhat strong sense of belonging to their own language group, a level similar to members of the Francophone majority (88%) surveyed in the provincial study. However, note that whereas more Francophones strongly identified with Quebec (89%) than with Canada (55%), more Anglophones identified with Canada (86%) than with Quebec (64%). While the majority of both Anglophones (71%) and Francophones (76%) strongly identified with their respective ethnic group, religious identification was even weaker for Francophones (38%) than for Anglophones (48%).

Table 1
Percentage of Francophones and Anglophones
Who Have a Strong Sense of Belonging to Selected Groups (%),
Quebec, 2007

Very Strong and Somewhat Strong Sense of Attachment to the Following Group:	Total Sample n = 1,000	Francophones n = 809	Anglophones n = 157
The Quebec Nation	85.0	89.0	64.0
Canada	61.0	55.0	86.0
Your own language group	87.0	88.0	84.0
Your own ethnic group	75.0	76.0	71.0
Your own religious group	40.0	38.0	48.0

Source: Leger Marketing for *The Montreal Gazette* and the Association for Canadian Studies, August 2007.

By using mother tongue (the language first learned and still understood) as a basis for determining the size of Quebec’s English-speaking population, the government of Quebec has adopted what might be regarded as the less inclusive or narrower criteria of linguistic categorization for this minority. By doing this, a significant number of

persons of diverse ethnic backgrounds or those who have dual identities (English and French) that either acquired English as their first official language or adopted it as their home language are not considered part of the English-speaking communities. Consequently there is a diminishing of the degree of ethnic and cultural diversity that characterizes the ESCQ. The less inclusive criteria for defining the ESCQ may reflect the desire of the Quebec government to minimize the institutional support granted to the Anglophone minority in the province.

Another effect of restricting the categories of individuals included as Anglophones to estimate the size of the ESCQ is to boost the number of individuals labelled as Allophones in the Province. Given that the category "Allophones" embodies a significant number of people from a broad range of languages and cultural backgrounds, such linguistic communities have no official status at the provincial or federal level. With no particular recognition or status granted by government, Allophone communities receive little institutional support or benefits which could help develop their community vitality and enhance their multiple linguistic identities.

The federal government uses broader criteria in estimating the size of the ESCQ. The derived variable of first official language spoken (first introduced in 1991) includes an important number of immigrants and their children whose mother tongue is not English but whose language use pattern incorporates them into the Anglophone group. Another criterion employed by analysts looks at the language most frequently used in the home, which is also a more inclusive criterion when it comes to establishing the size of the ESCQ. Employing either first official language spoken or language spoken in the home will enhance the size and diversity of the ESCQ, potentially increase the institutional support granted to Quebec Anglophones and reinforce the importance of language duality in Quebec.

The impact on the delivery of services arising from the government definition of English-speakers is not always apparent to members of the communities themselves. In terms of the manner in which government services get delivered to members of the ESCQ or the representation of such persons in government bodies is assessed, there appear to be **three** definitions of ESCQ constituents. First is the actual number of persons securing services as English speakers regardless of their language

background and the language identification of the institution which is extending the service, i.e., the number of persons that require health or employment services in the English language. In this instance, however, the service can be delimited on the basis of the critical mass of Quebec citizens whose first official language spoken is English (13.4% in the 2006 census versus by English mother tongue: 8.2%). A second definition includes those deemed to have access to services on the basis of government-defined criteria, i.e., the number of persons who have been deemed by the State to be eligible for services in an official language institution independent of how they define themselves. Students deemed by the Bill 101 language law to be eligible to attend English or French-language primary and secondary schools of Quebec are an example. A third definition consists of the levels of representation in the institutions of the State based on the system of classification defined by the Quebec government—for instance, the percentage of Anglophone civil servants hired in the Quebec public administration based on the number of Quebec Anglophones present in the province. The models of governance and the marker(s) of identity that define community institutions supported by the State will have a profound impact on the level of resources allocated. For example, prior the 1960s, Quebec's school structures were defined along religious lines: Catholic and Protestant. Therefore, the distribution of resources was a function of the respective numbers of students in each sector based on religious criteria. However, the schools in the bi-confessional public system were either English or French and hence each religious Board also made allocations along language lines (Mallea, 1984).

Garth Stevenson (1999) contends that there is no consensus on how the Anglophone communities in Quebec should be defined. However, Stevenson does acknowledge that establishing the number of English-speaking Quebecers has a profound impact on the assessment of the group's institutional needs. "Who is an English Quebecer?" asks Reed Scowen, author and a former member of the Quebec National Assembly. Most observers outside the province would simply say it is anyone who is speaking English in Quebec, he retorts. Moreover, Scowen (2007) adds, one might reasonably expect that people would be left free to make that decision themselves. As Scowen points out, the Quebec government began with the strategic premise

that membership in the Anglophone community should be limited to those whose mother tongue is English.

Elsewhere, Scowen (1991) has contended that there is no community or communities of English-speaking Quebecers at all. Ethnic diversity, he argues, amongst Quebec's English-speaking communities, means that there is no Anglophone community. He argues that English speakers who live in Quebec need to be thought of as what he describes as "unrelated categories" of persons defined largely by ethnicity. But Scowen's logic is that language communities can only exist when the language is the principal and unique dimension of an ethnic culture and identity. Following his logic the growing diversity of the Francophone population means that it eventually will cease to be a community if it also becomes multiethnic. There is no question that ethnic belonging is important to English-speaking Quebecers. Findings from the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey reveal that whether it is on the basis of mother tongue or the language spoken most often at home or at work, some 53% of English-speaking Montrealers have a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group.

In the final analysis, perhaps it is more important to know whether English speakers define themselves as distinct communities: the process of self-categorization. A 2006 survey conducted by the firm Decima for the official languages branch of the Department of Canadian Heritage confirms that English-speaking Quebecers do indeed believe they constitute distinct language communities in the province (see table 2). Results show that whether respondents were defined as English mother tongue, speakers of English at home or as declaring having English as their first official language, over 80% of English speakers agreed that the future of the Anglophone community was very important to them. Whatever their linguistic definition as Anglophones, about 83% said they will do their part to ensure the continuation of their distinctive language and culture in Quebec.

Importantly for the future of the ESCQ, table 2 also shows that 80% of Quebec English speakers agreed that it was important for their generation to transmit their language and culture to the next generation, a percentage similar to that of French-language respondents surveyed in the rest of Canada (ROC).

Table 2
Anglophones Commitment to the English Language
and Their Own Group Community (%), Quebec, 2006

Strongly Agree: (8-10 on 10-Point Scale)	English Mother Tongue n = 567	English Spoken Most Often at Home n = 483	English as First Official Language n = 567
I will do my part to ensure the continuance of my language and culture	83.8	83.3	82.1
The future of the Anglophone community is important to me	87.2	87.9	83.9
My generation is committed to transmitting our language and culture to the next generation	79.7	80.3	80.2

Source: Decima Research for the Department of Canadian Heritage, November 2006.

The Decima survey (2006) also showed a strong commitment of Quebec Anglophones towards their regional community. As seen in table 3, whether defined by mother tongue, language most often spoken at home or first official language, as many as 70% of Anglophones felt they were very much part of their regional community in Quebec. This degree of community belonging is remarkably

Table 3
Percentage of Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones
in the Rest of Canada (ROC) Who Strongly Feel They Are Part
of Their Community in Their Own Region (%), 2006

Very Strong Extent: (8-10 on 10-Point Scale)	Mother tongue	Language Spoken Most Often at Home	First Official Language Spoken
Anglophones in Quebec	74.0 n = 567	73.7 n = 483	69.8 n = 567
Francophones in the rest of Canada (ROC)	76.3 n = 1,506	81.7 n = 1,216	74.9 n = 1,506

Source: Decima Research for the Department of Canadian Heritage, November 2006.

similar to strong feelings of belonging observed with Francophone minorities in the ROC.

As seen in table 4, results obtained in the same Decima survey also showed that over 70% of Quebec Anglophones agreed that it is very important to be part of the Anglophone community in their region, and this was the case regardless of how the Anglophone respondents were defined. Again, these results are quite similar to those obtained with Francophones minorities in other parts of Canada.

Table 4
Percentage of Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the Rest of Canada (ROC) Who Feel it Is Very Important to Be Part of Their Own Language Community in Their Region (%), 2006

Very Strong Importance: (8-10 on 10-Point Scale)	Mother Tongue	Language Spoken Most Often at Home	First Official Language Spoken
Anglophones in Quebec	74.2 n = 567	74.7 n = 483	70.1 n = 567
Francophones in the rest of Canada (ROC)	81.2 n = 1,506	84.7 n = 1,216	80.0 n = 1,506

Source: Decima Research for the Department of Canadian Heritage, November 2006.

Taken together, these results show that Quebec Anglophones feel as committed to their distinctive language and culture in Quebec as do Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada. This is the case whether Quebec Anglophones are defined by mother tongue, language spoken most often at home or by first official language. As shown in the social identity literature, group membership is best defined through people's own self identification.

2. Overview of the Demographic Vitality of Quebec Anglophones

Why does the Quebec government use a narrower definition to estimate the size of the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ), while the federal government employs the broader definition? While the federal definition is the more inclusive, it may be possible

to argue that it overestimates the size of the English-speaking communities by incorporating persons that do not wish to be identified as such, a contention that Quebec authorities might make. Issues of community belonging and the salience of linguistic identification thus further differentiate the federal and Quebec government definitions of who is an English-speaking Quebecer. The federal government tends to include persons whose first and second languages are English, whereas the Quebec government limits the definition to those whose first language is English. In each instance, the explanation for the criteria is likely based on historic, demographic and ideological considerations rather than upon the level of service required by members of the ESCQ. On the other hand, perhaps the definition of who is an English-speaking Quebecer is a reflection of the asymmetrical character of the Quebec-Canada relationship.

The origin of debates concerning the size of Quebec language communities can be traced back to the introduction of federal and provincial language legislation (Caldwell, 1984, 1994, 2002). In the 1960s, the Quebec government recognized the importance of immigration to the demographic vitality of the Francophone majority population. A number of language laws set the stage for the eventual adoption of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) by the Parti Québécois sovereignist government in 1977 (d'Anglejan, 1984, Corbeil, 2007). Key features of Bill 101 were measures to ensure that immigrants and their progeny quickly acquire knowledge of French. In contrast to the freedom of choice as regards access to French and English schooling up to the 1960s, almost all immigrant children arriving after the adoption of Bill 101 were obliged to enrol their children in French-language schools. In addition to provisions limiting access to English schooling, federal-provincial agreements on immigration in 1978 and 1990 supported Quebec's efforts at recruiting immigrants from French-speaking countries. In 1991 the McDougall-Gagnon-Tremblay agreement transferred responsibility for immigrant integration from federal to Quebec authorities, thus facilitating the *francisation* of non-Francophone immigrants to Quebec.

For its part, the federal government is bound by a legislative commitment on the basis of Part VII of the Official Languages Act (OLA) towards the development of Anglophone and Francophone

minorities in Canada. Federal institutions have long had the obligation to take measures to implement their responsibilities under Part VII of the OLA and more recent amendments to the OLA adopted in 2005 essentially makes it an obligation to make positive measures enforceable: “The Government of Canada is committed to a) enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and b) fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society.” (article 41(1); see Canada, 2007, 3-5). Hence the wider the definition of the ESCQ, the more demographically vital it appears. In this chapter we examine the challenges faced by the federal government in supporting the ESCQ while respecting provincial jurisdictions and powers. We analyse such challenges in at least three areas deemed essential to minority community vitality: immigration, education and employment equity.

2.1 Demographic Decline of Quebec Anglophones: From Who to How Many?

The Anglophone population is declining in both absolute and relative terms in Quebec. For instance, table 5 shows that based on English mother tongue, the Anglophone minority dropped from 13% of the Quebec population in 1971 before the adoption of Bill 101, to only 8.2% of the population in 2006. Thus, based on English mother tongue, Quebec Anglophones dropped from a minority of 789,200 in 1971 to 606,165 in 2006, a net loss of 182,035 Anglophones. Much of this decline was due to the exodus of Quebec Anglophones to other regions of Canada following the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 and the shift to Ontario and western Canada of key elements of the economy (Caldwell, 1984, 1994). However, this decline can be seen as more or less dramatic depending on the linguistic indicators used to define the Anglophones who stayed in Quebec. Thus, depending on how Quebec Anglophones are defined, the population of the ESCQ can range from 600,000 to 995,000 persons, based on the 2006 Canadian Census. As observed in table 5, the difference of nearly 400,000 persons depends largely on the criteria employed to categorize this minority. Ultimately, the gap is attributable to the number of mother tongue English speakers versus those for whom

English is the first official language spoken—a group that, for the most part, resides in the Montreal area.

Over the past few decades, the gap between the mother tongue English population and those who speak English most often at home has widened. As seen in table 5, in 1971 the difference in the number of persons of English mother tongue and those speaking the English language in their homes was just under 100,000 persons, whereas in 2006 the gap between the two increased to 180,000 persons. As observed in table 5, over the ten-year period between 1996 and 2006 the gap between those with English mother tongue and English first official language also widened substantially from about 300,000 in the earlier period to nearly 390,000 in 2006.

Table 5
Quebec Anglophones, by Mother Tongue, Language Spoken Most Often at Home and by First Official Language Spoken, Quebec, 1971-2006

Year	English Mother Tongue	English Home Language	English First Official Language
2006	607,165	787,885	994,725
	8.2%	10.8%	13.4%
2001	591,365	746,898	918,955
	8.3%	10.5%	12.8%
1996	621,863	762,457	925,830
	8.8%	10.6%	n/a
1991	626,202	761,808	904,305
	9.2%	11.2%	13.3%
1986	680,120	791,377	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a
1981	693,600	806,800	n/a
	n/a	n/a	n/a
1971	789,200	886,100	n/a
	13.0%	15.0%	n/a

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1971-2006.

Further complicating estimates of the size of the English-speaking population is the distribution of those individuals who make dual or multiple declarations of English, French and non-official languages as either first language learned or language used in the home. Indeed, table 6 reflects the method of distribution used by Statistics Canada which allocates half of dual declarations to each of the relevant language groups. Traditionally, such dual declarations were more common for first-official-language-spoken respondents than they were on the basis of language spoken most often at home or mother tongue.

Table 6
Quebec Anglophones, by Single and Multiple Declarations
of Mother Tongue, Language Spoken Most Often at Home
and First Official Language Spoken, Quebec, 2006

Mother Tongue/ Language	English Only	English and French Only	English and Other
Mother tongue	575,555	43,335	16,200
Home language	744,430	52,325	26,560
First official language	885,445	218,555	n/a

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006.

It is worth noting that the use of inclusive criteria has a particularly significant bearing on the Montreal population with its high concentration of immigrants. Hence, a more limited definition of the group in Montreal, and for that matter elsewhere in Quebec, would substantially reduce the size and weight of the ESCQ. In Montreal in 2006, some 425,000 persons reported their mother tongue as English while approximately 592,000 reported it as their language spoken at home.

Outside the Montreal region in 2006, there were nearly the same number of persons of English mother tongue (149,920) as there were individuals who most often spoke English at home (152,305). Furthermore, in the rest of Quebec (ROQ), nearly 20% of English mother tongue individuals (27,290) spoke French most often at home. A demographic decline of Anglophones in the regions was averted because of the transfer of some 20,000 persons whose mother tongue was French but spoke English most often at home. Taken together, these recent patterns suggest that the drawing power of English relative to French is declining in the regions of Quebec.

Table 7

**Quebec Anglophones, Based on English Spoken at Home
(Only, Mostly, Equally and Regularly), Province of Quebec,
Montreal Region Only, and the Rest of Quebec (ROQ), 2001**

Language Spoken at Home	Province of Quebec	Montreal Region Only	Rest of Quebec
Only English	480,400	376,720	103,780
	40.0%	42.5%	34.1%
Mostly English	220,850	175,990	44,860
	18.6%	19.9%	14.7%
English and French equally	95,970	74,350	25,620
	8.1%	8.3%	8.3%
English regularly	393,575	202,465	191,110
	33.1%	22.9%	62.8%
Total	1,190,435	886,050	304,385

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001.

Offering a wider range of responses to the question on language spoken at home in the 2001 census shed important light on the linguistic diversity of Quebec's English-speakers. The principal motivation of the modifications to the census question was to better understand the number of persons that speak French at home outside of Quebec. The revised question includes persons that "only, mostly, equally or regularly" spoke an official language at home. As applied to Quebec's English speakers, the revised census question on language spoken at home modifies the linguistic profile of the ESCQ. According to the 2001 home language question, nearly 1.2 million Quebecers spoke some English in their homes (See table 7). Province-wide, nearly 60% of mother tongue Anglophones speak English *only*, or *mostly* at home, with some 63% of Montrealers doing so. However in the ROQ, only 49% of English mother-tongue individuals speak English *only*, or *mostly*, at home, though as many as 63% of these Anglophones report using English *regularly* at home. In contrast, in the Montreal region, only 23% of Anglophones report using English *regularly* at home. Note that the equal use of English and French at home is low (8.3%) in both the Montreal region and in the ROC.

Considering only Quebec citizens who report using English at home, table 8 shows that as many such individuals reported speaking *only* English at home (40.3%), as those who reported using English and French *only* at home (40.1%). In Montreal, more individuals reported using English *only* at home (42.5%) than in the rest of Quebec (ROQ: 34%). However, note that in the rest of Quebec (ROQ) more individuals report using French and English *only* at home (59.5%) than in the Montreal region (33.5%). This result reflects the more linguistically homogeneous environment of the regions and the impact of mixed marriages (exogamy) between English and French Quebecers in the ROQ. The classification of such persons is of considerable importance in estimating the size of the ESCQ in the regions.

Table 8
Quebec Population by Language Spoken at Home
(English Only, and in Combination with French and Other Languages),
Province of Quebec, Montreal Region Only,
and the Rest of Quebec (ROQ), 2001

Language Spoken at Home	Province of Quebec	Montreal Region Only	Rest of Quebec
English only	480,040	376,620	103,460
	40.3%	42.5%	34.0%
English and French only	477,960	296,915	181,045
	40.1%	33.5%	59.5%
English and other only	164,515	150,600	13,915
	13.8%	17.0%	4.6%
English, French and other	67,920	61,915	6,005
	5.7%	7.0%	2.0%
Total	1,190,435	886,050	304,385

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001.

As seen in table 8, the multilingual/multicultural environment of Montreal is reflected in results showing that more individuals reported using *English and another language* in Montreal (17%) than in the ROQ (4.6%). Likewise trilingualism in the home was more prevalent in Montreal (7%) than in the ROC (2%). Based on absolute numbers presented in table 8, over 90% of persons who speak English and

another language at home are concentrated in Montreal, largely arising from the greater opportunities for interaction between Anglophones and Allophones in this cosmopolitan region. It is the mix of English and non-official languages that is more prevalent for Anglophones residing in the Montreal region. It is this linguistic diversity that shapes the demographic evolution and distinctive identity of Montreal Anglophones. From a community development policy standpoint, the greater cultural diversity of Anglophones residing in the Montreal region implies greater responsibility for the Montreal Anglophone leadership in addressing the needs of its more multilingual and multiethnic membership. However, this may run counter to the policy objectives of provincial authorities.

2.2 The Effect of Mixed Marriages on Quebec Anglophone Demography

Apart from divergent immigrant settlement patterns, the difference in the composition of the English-speaking population residing within and outside Montreal is primarily attributable to marriages between Anglophones and non-Anglophones. Of the nearly 40% of Anglophones married to non-Anglophones, just over 25% have spouses who are Francophone, while the majority have Allophone partners. In this regard, there is considerable variation between Montreal and the rest of Quebec. In Montreal, of those married outside their linguistic community, some 66% are married to Francophone partners. Of the Anglophones in exogamous relations in the ROQ, as many as 94% are in mixed-marriage relationships with Francophones. Exogamy between English and French speakers is reshaping the social identity of English-speaking communities of Quebec. A CROP survey of some 3,000 Quebec Anglophones conducted in 2005 revealed that, when asked about their language identity, 25% responded that they identified as both French and English.

There is variation in the extent to which language shifts occur amongst mother tongue Anglophones in the Montreal region compared to those residing in the rest of Quebec (ROQ). For instance, according to the 2006 census, in the Quebec City area, mother tongue Anglophones are just slightly more inclined to speak English (5,015) than French at home (4,850). It is interesting to note the

increasing number of Anglophones using French at home in Quebec City, though this trend is somewhat offset by nearly 1,500 mother tongue Francophones who adopted English as their home language. In Sherbrooke, of the 8,850 mother tongue Anglophones, some 1,935 used French most often at home, while 1,000 mother tongue Francophones adopted English as the language of the home. Given their demographic dispersion in the ROQ, Anglophone minorities residing in regional cities of the province have a greater tendency to adopt French as their home language than Anglophones residing in the Montreal region, where its population is more concentrated.

2.3 The Effect of International Migration on Quebec Anglophone Demography

In the province of Quebec, Reed Scowen (2007) contends that the two specific applications of the more narrow definition of English-speaking Quebecers can be found in the provincial legislation on immigration and education. Immigrant selection and integration as well as restricted access to enrolment in English schools are perhaps the two principal areas where the criteria for language categorization have had the greatest impact on the vitality of the ESCQ. They are areas where the zero-sum view of language categorizations is most obvious in Quebec.

2.3.1 Linguistic Classification of Immigrants

Traditionally, immigration has played a vital role in support of the vitality of the English speaking communities, in particular in the Montreal area. Between the Second World War and the early 1970s, the growth of the ESCQ was primarily attributable to an influx of immigrants arriving from Europe, and their children, who for the most part were integrated in English-language schools and health and social services.

In the case of international immigrant integration, the drawing power of English as the principal second language of first and second generation immigrants is widely seen by the Quebec government and Francophone language activists as a threat to the demographic vitality of the Francophone majority population. In the case of immigrant selection and the classification system, the immigrant's language

background is crucial given the Quebec government's stated objective of ensuring that the majority of entrants know French upon arrival in the province.

Since the 1970s, the percentage of mother-tongue-English immigrants as a proportion of Quebec's total immigration has declined in both numbers and percentage. Once accounting for as much as 20% of all Quebec immigrants, today, on the basis of mother tongue, it is closer to 2.5% of new arrivals in the province. Most Quebec immigrants are of neither English nor French mother tongue and in 2006, they represented some 83% of new arrivals.

The language classification of these entrants is critical for the Quebec government to reach its goal of accepting a majority of immigrants who are Francophones annually. As seen in table 9, government data on the language knowledge of immigrants upon arrival includes five categories: 1) knowledge of French *only*; 2) knowledge of English *only*; 3) knowledge of English and French; 4) knowledge of neither English nor French; and 5) a combination of those speaking French with knowledge of French *and* English resulting in a combined *knowledge of French* category.

Though the Quebec government has some control in selecting the linguistic background of its immigrants accepted in the "independent" category using the Quebec version of the Canadian point system, the province has little control in selecting the linguistic background of its immigrants accepted in the "family reunification" and "refugee claimant" categories. Thus the capacity of the Quebec government in selecting the linguistic background of its immigrants as a way of reaching its language planning goals in favour of French is not complete. This difficulty is partially compensated by offering immigrants remunerated French-language courses they can take within their first three years of settlement in Quebec.

As seen in table 9, the proportion of immigrants settled in Quebec who declared knowledge of French *only* was quite stable from 1997 to 2006, remaining in the 24% range. Likewise the proportion of immigrants settled in Quebec who declared knowledge of English *only* remained somewhat stable ranging from 21.4% in 1997, dipping to 15.8% in 2002, and reaching 19.7% in 2006. However, the proportion of immigrants declaring no knowledge of French or English

Table 9
Knowledge of French and/or English Among Immigrants
Admitted to Quebec, According to Five Language Categories
Used by the Quebec Government, 1997-2006

Year	French Only	French and English	Knowledge of French	English only	Neither French nor English
1997	6,927	3,013	9,940	5,984	12,011
	24.8%	10.8%	35.6%	21.4%	43.0%
1998	7,140	3,538	10,678	4,641	11,190
	26.9%	13.3%	40.3%	17.5%	42.2%
1999	8,087	4,428	12,515	5,557	11,142
	27.7%	15.2%	42.8%	19.0%	38.1%
2000	8,735	5,965	14,700	5,994	11,808
	26.9%	18.4%	45.2%	18.4%	36.3%
2001	9,538	8,098	17,636	5,982	13,919
	25.4%	21.6%	47.0%	15.9%	37.1%
2002	9,181	9,291	18,472	5,953	13,194
	24.4%	24.7%	49.1%	15.8%	35.1%
2003	8,613	11,488	20,101	6,638	12,814
	21.8%	29.0%	50.8%	16.8%	32.4%
2004	9,732	14,741	24,473	7,841	11,929
	22.0%	33.3%	55.3%	17.7%	27.0%
2005	10,239	14,599	24,838	8,045	10,429
	23.6%	33.7%	57.3%	18.6%	24.1%
2006	10,697	15,098	25,795	8,793	10,089
	23.9%	33.8%	57.7%	19.7%	22.6%

Source: Government of Quebec, Tables of Immigration, Minister of Relations with Citizens and Immigration, 2007.

dropped from 43% in 1997 to only 22.6% in 2006. In contrast, the proportion of immigrants declaring a knowledge of both French and English increased from 10.8% in 1997 to 33.8% in 2006.

Interestingly, immigrants labelled as having a *knowledge of French* using the combined measure, akin to a first official language classification, increased from 35.6% in 1997 to 57.7% in 2006. Thus

the Quebec government could make the claim that nearly 60% of its immigration was French-speaking in 2006. Though not inaccurate, this declaration risks obscuring the fact that, by employing the same classification scheme, one could also highlight the prevalence of English language amongst immigrants settled in the province. Thus, in line with this classification procedure, as many as 53% of immigrants who arrived in Quebec in 2006 were English speakers (19.7% spoke English *only* and 33.8% spoke both English *and* French). On the basis of this first official language classification, census figures show that between 1997 and 2006, as many as 100,000 immigrants who settled in Quebec may be categorized as members of the ESCQ. This boost in the number of immigrants labelled as Anglophones is obtained by combining the numbers of immigrants who spoke English only upon arrival plus those declaring knowledge of English and French upon arrival divided by half. Indeed, on the basis of the federal system of classification, those declaring knowledge of both English and French would be divided as such.

In the 2001 census, as many as 138,000 immigrants possessed knowledge of English as a second language: the difference between first official language spoken at 225,000 persons and mother tongue at 87,000 persons. As seen in table 10, in addition to the near 225,000 immigrants with English as first official language spoken, another 119,000 declared speaking both English and French upon arrival. Using this method for distributing such individuals, another 60,000 would be identified as English-language immigrants, thus increasing the number of individuals included as members of the ESCQ.

Given that immigrant integration in Quebec is a provincial responsibility, the government's definition of language categories will prevail when it comes to providing settlement and integration services including paid French-language courses (\$30-\$115 per week). This does not imply that an English-speaking immigrant cannot secure services from minority language organizations including English speaking ones. However, immigrants, whatever their linguistic background, are not counted by the provincial government as English-speaking Quebecers and as such cannot be included in the tabulations for providing additional support to English-speaking institutions.

Table 10
Language Status of Immigrants and Non-Immigrants,
Defined According to Mother Tongue
or First Official Language Spoken (FOLS), Quebec, 2001

Status	FOLS – English	FOLS – English and French	Mother Tongue English	Mother Tongue English and French
Non-immigrant	588,785	57,860	482,400	41,350
	72.3%	32.7%	87.4%	93.7%
Immigrant	224,870	118,490	69,685	2,795
	27.7%	67.3%	12.6%	6.3%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001.

Table 11
Category of Immigrants by Knowledge of Official Languages,
Quebec, Total for 2002-2006

Language Background of Immigrants	Independents (Economic Immigration)	Family Reunification	Refugee Claimants	Other	Total
French only	27,264	10,993	8,937	1,277	48,471
	56.2%	22.7%	18.4%	2.6%	100.0%
English and French	54,967	6,869	2,851	544	65,231
	84.3%	10.5%	4.4%	0.8%	100.0%
English only	15,559	11,831	9,040	841	37,271
	41.7%	31.7%	24.3%	2.2%	100.0%
Neither English nor French	28,321	16,425	13,449	288	58,483
	48.4%	28.0%	22.9%	0.5%	100.0%
Total	126,111	46,118	34,277	2,950	209,456

Source: Government of Quebec, Tables of Immigration, Minister of Relations with Citizens and Immigration, 2007.

For the Quebec government responding to Francophone majority pressures, there are important challenges associated with the integration of immigrants arriving in Quebec whose first or second language is English. A majority of the immigrants who report knowledge of *English only* upon arrival fall into the family and refugee classes. As

observed in table 11, between 2002 and 2006, of the immigrants settling in Quebec who declared speaking *English only* upon arrival, 24.3% were refugees compared to the 10% of the general immigrant population admitted as refugees in the province. Likewise, 31.7% of the immigrants accepted under family reunification declared speaking *English only*, though 20% of immigrants were admitted in this category in the province. Given the disproportionately greater share of immigrants in the refugee and family class who speak *English only* upon arrival in Quebec, it is likely that agencies serving such newcomers will face a relatively important segment of vulnerable minority language newcomers. Such newcomers may require greater support from government and community support groups to facilitate their successful adjustment within Quebec society. It is unclear whether community organizations that offer services in the English language for immigrants are adequately equipped to meet the challenges such newcomers face as they seek to adapt to a French-speaking majority society.

2.3.2 Immigrant Access to English Schooling

In the Quebec primary and secondary school system, any immigrant enrolment in the English-language sector is viewed by many Francophones as undercutting enrolment in the French-language sector, thus reducing the prospect of integrating immigrants within the French host society (Bourhis, 2001; Bourhis & Lepic, 2004). In the case of education, there are important limits in access to English-language schools for the children of international immigrants regardless of whether their mother tongue is English or not (Lamarre, 2007; Lamarre this study). Following a Canadian Supreme Court ruling in 1984, the Quebec government must accept the “Canada clause” as regards access of out-of-province Anglophones to English schooling in Quebec.

A pillar of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) was its provisions limiting the access of immigrants to the English school system of Quebec. Bill 101 had the intended effect of reducing enrolment in the English school system: enrolment in English schools dropped from 248,000 in 1971 to just under 108,000 in 2005, a 56% drop for the system as a whole. The out-migration of Quebec Anglophones

following the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976, low fertility rates and limits on immigrant pupil enrolment in the English school system accounts for this decline.

As can be seen in table 12, today's school enrolment in the French and English sectors of the Quebec school system reflects the current mother tongue population of Quebec. French mother tongue school enrolment remains at around 80% in the 2002 to 2007 period, though a drop in absolute numbers reflects the declining fertility of Quebec Francophones. English mother tongue enrolment remains stable at 8.5% during this period, though a decline in absolute number of pupils is also evident. Reflecting continuing immigration patterns, Allophones in the school system increased from 108,213 to 119,369 in the 2002 to 2007 period, representing 11% of school enrolment in the province.

Table 12
School Enrolments by Mother Tongue, Quebec, 2002-2003 to 2006-2007

Mother Tongue	2002-2003	2006-2007
French	903,470	851,454
	80.9%	79.4%
English	94,327	91,807
	8.5%	8.6%
Aboriginals languages	10,223	9,228
	0.9%	0.9%
Other languages	108,213	119,369
	9.7%	11.1%
Total	1,116,233	1,071,858
	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Government of Quebec (2007). "L'effectif scolaire à temps plein et à temps partiel du secteur des jeunes (2002-2003 à 2006-2007)", Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.

Thus, since the adoption of Bill 101, the numbers and composition of the province's English and French-language schools have evolved considerably and the changes are particularly apparent in Montreal. Citing the 56% decline in enrolment in the English sector, a Task Force on English Education in Quebec (the Chambers Report) presented

a rather dismal forecast of the future of the English-language school system in the absence of measures aimed at widening access to that sector. It is worth noting that enrolment in the French-language sector declined by 24% over the same period. Over the period 1991-2006, the English school system declined by another 18%. As observed in table 13, the numbers of immigrants in English-language schools continues to decline. Thus the proportion of pupils born in the rest of Canada (ROC) declined from 8.7% in 2003 to 8.1% in 2007.

Table 13
International Immigrants and Immigrants
From the Rest of Canada (ROC)
in the English School System of Quebec,
2002-2003 and 2006-2007

English Language System	2002-2003	2006-2007
International immigrant pupils born outside of Canada	6,240 5.1%	6,014 5.0%
Total pupils born in Canada	116,287 94.9%	113,418 95.0%
Total pupils born outside of Quebec from the rest of Canada (ROC)	10,712 8.7%	9,723 8.1%
Total pupils born in Quebec	105,575 86.1%	103,695 86.9%
Total enrolment in the English school sector in Quebec	122,527 100.0%	119,432 100.0%

Source: Government of Quebec (2007). L'effectif scolaire à temps plein et à temps partiel du secteur des jeunes (2002-2003 à 2006-2007). Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.

There is a continued erosion in the share that international immigrants represent in the English school sector. While such immigrants constituted 9.7% of pupils in 2003 (6,240), this proportion dropped to 8.3% in 2007 (6014) and will likely drop below 7% by 2012. In contrast, pupils born outside Canada enrolled in the French sector numbered 63,997 in 2003 and increased to 72,086 in 2007.

Further eroding enrolment in the English school system is the rising presence of students of English mother tongue enrolled in the French-language system: 17,801 in 2002 (1.8% of the French school

system) and 19,617 in 2006 (2.1% of the French school system). Consequently, between the years 2002 and 2006, students of English mother tongue represented 62.4% of the English-language school system (76,495) and dropped to 60.4% (72,163) of the sector in 2006. Taken together, these factors account for the sustained drop in enrolment in the English school system which eroded the institutional support of English schooling in Quebec, thus contributing to the decline in the overall vitality of the ESCQ in the province.

2.4 Equitable Representation of Anglophones in the Quebec Public Administration

In 2003, the Quebec Treasury Board issued an Action Plan aimed at increasing the representation of cultural communities, Aboriginals and Anglophones in the Quebec provincial civil service (Quebec, 2003). Cultural communities were defined as members of visible minorities and persons whose mother tongues were neither English nor French (Allophones), whereas Anglophones were described as persons whose mother tongue is English. For the year 2002, some 394 Anglophones were part of the Quebec public service representing 0.7% of total employees. Members of cultural communities represented 2.3% of the civil service, a total of 1,328 persons. Independent of the definition of the English-speaking population, the gap between the percentage of ESCQ members and their share of the civil service is substantial, reflecting patterns obtained in earlier studies conducted by the Quebec Human Rights Commission (Quebec, 1998) and the *Conseil des relations interculturelles* (Quebec, 1999). Thus Anglophones and cultural communities share in common their non-inclusion in the Quebec public administration, the biggest employer in the province.

As seen in table 14, results from a recent CHSSN-CROP survey conducted with a representative sample of the Quebec Anglophone population showed that Anglophones were acutely aware of their disadvantaged position as regards employment in the Quebec public administration. Quebec Anglophone responses were compared using different definitions of being an Anglophone including: having English as a mother tongue, having English as the home language, identifying as an Anglophone, and declaring English as one's language of work or school. Responses to the issue of equitable inclusion in

Table 14
Quebec Anglophone Responses to the Question:
“Do You Believe that Anglophones Have Equal Access
to Jobs with the Government of Quebec?” (%), 2005

Answer	English as Mother Tongue	English as Home Language	English Language Identification as Anglophone	English as Language of Work or School
Yes	15.3	16.5	15.2	16.2
No	76.2	75.6	77.2	78.0
Don't know/ Refuse to answer	8.4	7.9	7.7	5.8

Source: “Survey of Quebec Anglophones”, Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) – CROP, October, 2005.

the Quebec public administration were consistent across these definitions of Quebec Anglophone. Results showed that the vast majority of respondents (75% to 78%) felt that Anglophones did not have access to jobs within the government of Quebec. As seen in table 15, the same CHSSN-CROP survey also showed that the majority of Quebec Anglophones (50.1% to 58%) believed that Anglophones did not have equal access to jobs within the government of Quebec.

Table 15
Quebec Anglophone Responses to the Question:
“Do You Believe that Anglophones Have Equal Access
to Jobs with the Government of Canada?” (%), 2005

Answer	English as Mother Tongue	English as Home Language	English Language Identification as Anglophone	English as Language of Work or School
Yes	37.9	39.7	37.8	45.5
No	57.8	56.0	58.4	50.1
Already works for government	2.2	2.2	1.7	2.3
Don't know/ Refuse to answer	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1

Source: “Survey of Quebec Anglophones”, Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) – CROP, October, 2005.

According to Reed Scowen (2007), the most critical single factor in keeping a healthy English-speaking community in Quebec is its representation in the provincial public service. If English-speaking Quebecers are to feel they are a part of Quebec society, it is axiomatic that they must see themselves reflected in their own public administration. If English Quebecers are to retain the right to manage their own institutions, much of this management will have to be done from within the public service.

3. Concluding Notes

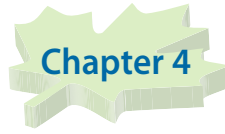
Definitions of the ESCQ by the federal and provincial governments have an important impact, not only on the perception of the community's vitality, but also on its identity. Clearly, the federal government counts as members of the ECSQ persons that do not qualify as such in the definition employed by several Quebec provincial bodies. Consistent with its commitment to support the vitality of the ESCQ, the federal government has employed a more inclusive notion of membership. However, its capacity to act in favour of ESCQ vitality are yet limited by the areas of federal-provincial jurisdiction in which it can have an effect in improving the community's condition. It is the province of Quebec that has more influence on those areas that are critical to Anglophone vitality and community identity (i.e., education, immigration, employment equity). Given that the Quebec government uses a more limiting definition of who is a member of the ESCQ, opportunity for the promotion of community vitality is often constrained by the institutional and definitional framework established by the Quebec State. Since members of the ESCQ are severely under-represented in the provincial civil service, the provincial government risks being seen as having a negative impact on the vitality of the ESCQ. From a policy perspective, in the absence of changes to provincial criteria in defining the ESCQ, when it comes to strengthening identification with the English-speaking community, the municipalities and the non-governmental community sector are areas that may be more likely to enhance such vitality.

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The Socio-Economic Status of English-Speaking Quebec: Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed

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“The ultimate goal of the Charter of the French language was to insure that more and more Francophones seize power in business, that they become the directors and CEOs, and that the Québécois economy be at last controlled by them.”

– Camille Laurin, 1998²

1. Introduction

Canadian research studying the socio-economic status of Quebec citizens from the years of Quebec’s Quiet Revolution until today has been largely preoccupied with the status of its French-speaking majority. Less attention has been given to the impact of this shift in

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1. The views expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the Department of Canadian Heritage.
 2. Comment by Camille Laurin, the architect of Bill 101, interviewed in December 1998, a year before his death. The original quote in French read: “Le but ultime de la Charte de la langue française, c’était que de plus en plus de francophones prennent le pouvoir dans les entreprises, qu’ils en deviennent les cadres et les dirigeants, et que l’économie québécoise soit enfin contrôlée par eux”. (Picard, 2003, p. 247-248)

status upon Quebec Anglophones, those citizens who are identified, and identify themselves, with the language minority communities who co-exist alongside the Francophone majority and are profoundly affected by the social policy and public institutions designed largely on its behalf. This chapter considers trends in the socio-economic stratification of the Quebec population with a focus on changes in the situation of its English-speaking minority communities across the province. The beginning of this research trajectory is located with such classics as the Milners' study in the 1970s which examines income disparities and concludes that: "the French Canadian within Quebec is greatly disadvantaged". Low levels of education, underemployment and the tendency to be employed in low-paying industries were characteristics which, during that era, were more present among Francophones when compared to Anglophones, thereby rendering them "an oppressed majority" (Milner and Milner, 1973: 67).

This is followed by the literature of the 1980s and early 1990s where the rise of a French-speaking middle class and the concomitant increased control of Quebec's economy and public institutions by this group is well documented (Fournier, 1984; Renaud, 1984; Shapiro & Stelcner, 1987). For example, looking at the trend from 1970 to 1980, Shapiro and Stelcner were able to confirm that the earnings disparities between Quebec Anglophones and Francophones had been "substantially reduced, if not eliminated, over the decade" (Shapiro & Stelcner, 1987: 98). This change is attributed, at least in part, to language legislation interventions, such as the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) adopted in 1977 as the first legislative act of the newly elected Parti Québécois government (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 1984, 2001; Corbeil, 2007).

As seen in the Camille Laurin citation offered at the beginning of this chapter, Bill 101 was in part designed to respond to language-based economic disparity by increasing the use of French in commerce, business and the professions, and as a long term consequence, improve the socio-economic position of the Francophone majority in the province. These provisions are likely to have played a role in the increased demand for French speakers and the recruitment of Francophones into high-wage occupations. An interesting case in point is the much cited expansion of the state bureaucratic apparatus during Quebec's

modernization and the high number of French speakers who were recruited to fill new positions when compared to non-Francophones. Between 1960 and 1971 the number of people employed in Quebec's public and para-public sectors increased from 36,000 to 350,000, thus increasing government employees from 2% to 15% of the total labour force in the province (Renaud, 1984: 151).

As early as the mid 1990s a Quebec government commission mandated to assess the position of French in Quebec arrived at the following conclusion concerning the improved position of Francophones in the provincial economy:

The sociolinguistic situation of Francophone workers in the early 1970s was largely corrected by the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977, a language law viewed by its authors as a measure to restore "social justice", though other factors in Quebec also contributed to this correction. Income disparities suffered by Francophones have been reduced from 16% to 3%. French mother tongue speakers are taking their rightful place in the provincial labour market. We can no longer pretend that the labour market is structured such that French predominates at the bottom of the ladder, that bilingualism prevails in the middle ranks, and that English dominates at the top (Quebec, 1996, p. 70-71). Free translation.³

Most recently, reports like that of the *Commission des États généraux* (Quebec, 2001) observe the improved state of the French language and French speakers across Quebec. A recent study for the C.D Howe Institute provides ample evidence of the reversal of the economic inequalities that have long been a central issue in the language conflict in Quebec and Canada (Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt, 2007). Today, evidence tells us that in forty years the tables have been turned and French-speaking citizens are now an advantaged majority within

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3. Original citation in French: "On voit que la situation dans laquelle se trouvaient les travailleurs francophones au début des années 1970, qui avait amené les auteurs de l'énoncé de politique de 1977 (loi 101) à en faire une 'question de justice sociale' a été largement corrigée, ce qui peut être attribué aussi à d'autres facteurs que la Charte. Les disparités salariales défavorables aux francophones ont été réduites de 16 % à 3 %. Les travailleurs de langue maternelle française occupent de plus en plus leur place sur le marché du travail. Et on ne peut plus prétendre que celui-ci est structuré de sorte que le français domine au bas de l'échelle, que le bilinguisme s'impose au palier moyen et que l'anglais domine au faite de l'échelle". (Quebec, 1996, p. 70-71)

Quebec with respect to level of income, employability and decision-making power within its institutions (Vaillancourt & Vaillancourt, 2005). It may be concluded that Camille Laurin, as the father of Bill 101, achieved his goal of empowering the Québécois as the dominant majority of the province (Bourhis, this study). It follows from this that the time, now overdue, has come to shift from a preoccupation with strategies for “empowering the majority” to consideration of the “quality of the power” the Francophone majority exercises, and seeks to exercise, as the result of its political and economic success.

The portrait of Quebec’s English-speaking communities provided in this chapter should facilitate dialogue regarding the place of linguistic and cultural minorities within Quebec society, now that Francophones have asserted themselves as the dominant majority in the province. In line with the political values and norms that prevail in Western societies, dominant majorities must also consider the rightful place of their minorities in all spheres of society including employment and promotion in private business and public administration. Change in the established social hierarchy brings about the need to think through the new limits and possibilities that restructuring entails for both the dominant majority and its linguistic and cultural minorities. In his insightful essay, Raymond Breton foresaw that the eventual achievement of majority status by Quebec Francophones would require redefining its collective identity in such a way “as to incorporate the people of non-French origins who are legally members of the polity” (Breton, 1988: 98). While as a subordinated majority, organizing its collective identity around the French language and culture was an effective means of mobilization for national empowerment, Breton predicted that Francophones as an arrived dominant majority could “run into serious problems of legitimacy and loyalty unless it permits and supports full participation of minorities in its economy and polity and does not make them feel alien, as not having the “right stuff”, as second class citizens” (Breton, 1988: 98).

Some ten years later, Salée observed that the impression held by non-Francophones and new Quebecers is that “they are strangers in their own house”. In his words, “They are invited to partake in *la nation Québécoise* but according to terms and parameters upon which they have little or no control. They can be *in* the nation, if they wish;

somehow, they will never really be *of* the nation” (Salée, 1997: 9). For some forty years our focus has been on the struggle of Quebec’s majority to become *maître chez eux*. The time has come for the master to consider the situation of those who, in the course of the struggle, have been cast into the role of strangers in a house to which they have a rightful claim as citizens. In this chapter, we examine the persistent perception of Quebec’s Anglophone communities as a privileged elite minority enjoying superior socio-economic status when compared with the Francophone majority of Quebec. Current evidence suggests this portrait is increasingly out-of-step with the lived realities of Quebec’s minority-language population.

The chapter examines the inter-regional dimensions of socio-economic status and the selective nature of Anglophone out-migration over the past generation, which has contributed to a bi-modal population profile of the Quebec Anglophone group which is over-represented at both the lower and upper ends of the socio-economic spectrum. The chapter will consider the emergence of a growing under-class in the Anglophone population which is noticeably characterized by a sizable visible minority, immigrant group in urban settings. In rural settings this Anglophone underclass emerges as a somewhat marginalized, “left-behind” community.

The analyses presented in this chapter are drawn from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Canadian Census, considering variables such as age, language, education levels, labour force participation, and income. The analyses are also based on the participation of Anglophones in various industries, occupational groups and in the Quebec public administration.

2. Socio-Economic Characteristics of Quebec Anglophones

For the purpose of this chapter on the relative economic position of Quebec Anglophones, we consider selective comparisons between four language collectivities in Canada: the two majority collectivities are made-up of Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones living outside Quebec in the rest of Canada (ROC); while minority communities are Francophones living in the rest of Canada (ROC) and Anglophones living in Quebec.

Socio-economic status is generally measured in terms of income and labour force participation which in turn are understood to be heavily influenced by educational status. An examination of the relative socio-economic status of Quebec Anglophones quickly reveals a puzzling phenomenon. On the one hand, Quebec Anglophones exhibit a higher tendency to be at the upper end of the educational spectrum: they are 17% more likely than other Canadians to hold a post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree. They also have the lowest tendency to be without a high school graduate certificate: 14% less likely when compared to the Canadian national average. However, it is the Quebec Anglophones who show the highest level of unemployment among Canada's four language collectivities. In the section that follows, we will seek to explain this phenomenon by examining the generational and regional dimensions of socio-economic status.

2.1 The Unemployment Rate of Quebec Anglophones

According to the 2001 census, Quebec Anglophones experienced the highest level of unemployment among Canada's official language collectivities, at 9.4% compared to the national average of 7.4% for all Canadians and 8.0% for Francophone Quebecers. Quebec Anglophones were also more likely than other Canadians to be out of the labour force so there is evidence of a double gap in terms of labour force participation. Using the Relative to National Index, (rni), which compares the characteristic of a given population with that found in the entire Canadian population, we find that the rni for unemployment among Quebec Anglophones was 1.12 in 2001, which means that their unemployment rate was 12% higher than the Canadian national average in relative terms.

Closer analysis of census data also reveals important regional differences in the tendency of Quebec Anglophones to participate in the labour force. As table 1 illustrates, in seven of seventeen administrative regions we find double digit unemployment among Anglophone regional communities, while in three of those we find unemployment rates in excess of 20% (Côte-Nord, Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Bas-Saint-Laurent).

Table 1
Unemployment Rate of Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities (%),
by Age Group, by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001

Administrative Region	Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	29.2	35.9	30.5	27.7	0.0
Bas-Saint-Laurent	20.0	18.2	20.3	15.9	0.0
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	7.6	16.4	6.5	6.6	7.7
Chaudière – Appalaches	7.1	21.9	4.4	3.8	25.0
Estrie	8.1	16.9	6.0	7.3	5.3
Centre-du-Québec	6.1	16.3	5.4	2.8	100.0
Montréal	7.6	13.9	7.6	5.3	5.8
Montréal	9.6	14.4	9.6	7.6	4.8
Laval	7.3	10.3	6.3	7.7	7.0
Lanaudière	8.7	18.7	9.0	5.0	18.2
Laurentides	9.2	16.3	8.5	7.7	3.2
Outaouais	7.9	14.6	7.1	5.6	11.6
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	15.1	29.2	11.5	16.4	0.0
Mauricie	11.1	15.7	15.2	5.8	0.0
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	17.1	23.5	17.0	17.8	0.0
Côte-Nord	30.9	40.9	32.2	26.5	66.7
Nord-du-Québec	16.6	27.4	16.3	9.0	0.0
Total: Province of Quebec	9.4	14.9	9.3	7.4	5.6

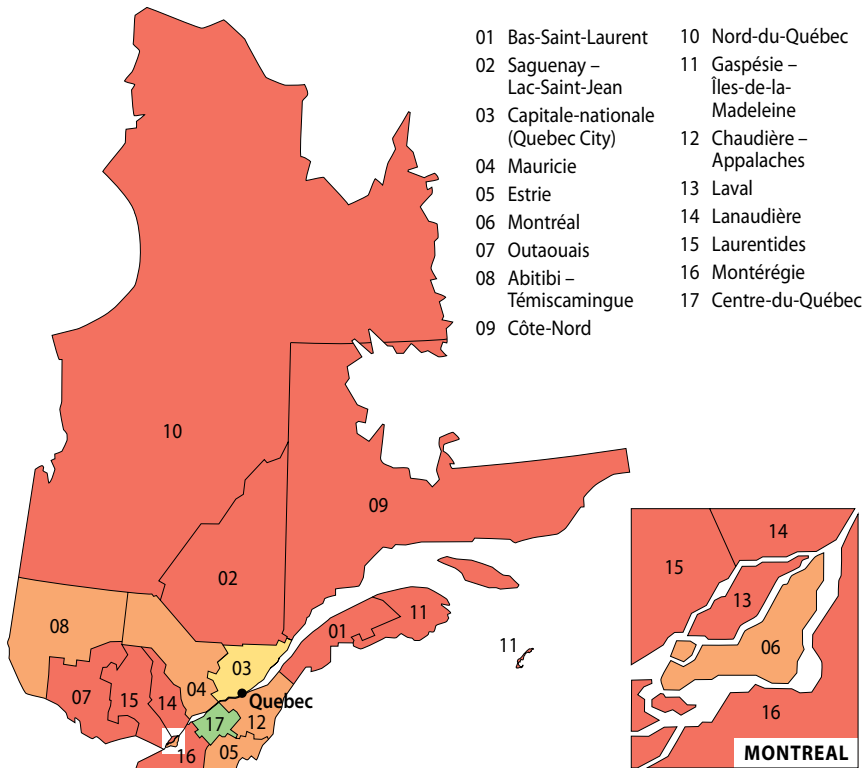
Notes: Language definition is first official language spoken (FOLS) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

As map 1 and table 2 demonstrate, although region matters, unemployment rates are not simply explained by regional factors. In the accompanying map, the unemployment rate is expressed as a minority-majority index which compares the rate for the minority Anglophone community to that of the majority Francophone community across generations in the regional Quebec communities. Most areas on the map show substantially higher rates of unemployment (greater than 20% in relative terms) in the minority Anglophone group than in the majority Francophone group.

Map 1

Population (15+) Unemployed in Official-Language Minority Communities, Relative to that of the Majority Community (FOLS*), by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001



* First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) is a derived variable based on the responses to language questions in the Census of Canada.

** The Minority-Majority Index compares the value for minority community with that of the majority community.

Source: Research Team, Official Languages Support Programs, Canadian Heritage, September 2007. Based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

Minority-Majority Index**

- Very low (less than 0.80)
- Low (0.80 to 0.95)
- Similar (0.95 to 1.05)
- High (1.05 to 1.20)
- Very high (1.20 or more)

Table 2
Unemployment Rate of Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities
(Minority-Majority Index), by Age Group, by Administrative Region,
Quebec, 2001

Administrative Region	Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	1.34	1.17	1.55	1.24	0.00
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.51	0.99	1.78	1.17	0.00
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	1.00	1.26	0.99	1.02	0.72
Chaudière – Appalaches	1.18	2.49	0.87	0.63	2.57
Estrie	1.19	1.40	1.09	1.27	0.60
Centre-du-Québec	0.85	1.45	0.88	0.43	15.06
Montréal	1.29	1.30	1.52	1.08	0.70
Montréal	1.06	1.14	1.08	1.06	0.57
Laval	1.38	0.97	1.54	1.72	0.81
Lanaudière	1.29	1.65	1.56	0.83	2.33
Laurentides	1.35	1.53	1.46	1.16	0.53
Outaouais	1.33	1.36	1.46	1.10	1.32
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	1.08	1.33	0.91	1.31	0.00
Mauricie	1.10	0.88	1.73	0.66	0.00
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	1.25	0.98	1.38	1.71	0.00
Côte-Nord	2.09	1.56	2.48	2.04	3.46
Nord-du-Québec	1.23	1.31	1.34	0.73	—
Total: Province of Quebec	1.17	1.15	1.30	1.06	0.61

Notes: Language definition is first official language spoken (FOLS) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

As seen in map 1, we find that the unemployment rate in 2001 is higher in the Anglophone minority group than for the Francophone majority in most regions across Quebec. Note that the *MMI* is the minority-majority index which compares a characteristic of the minority with the majority with whom it shares a territory. In our case in this chapter, we usually compare the fate of the Anglophone minority in Quebec with that of the Francophone majority in the province.

As seen in table 2, the minority-majority gap in unemployment rates is particularly high for Anglophone populations in Côte-Nord (MMI = 2.09), Bas-Saint-Laurent (MMI = 1.51), Laval (MMI = 1.38), Laurentides (MMI = 1.35) and the Outaouais (MMI = 1.33). However note that in Centre-du-Québec, the unemployment rate is lower for Anglophones than for Francophones, while in the Capitale-nationale (Quebec City), the rate is the same for both linguistic groups.

When the age cohorts of Anglophones are examined in table 2, it becomes clear that the unemployment gap is greater among the younger cohorts than for the older groups. The minority-majority index or MMI is 1.15 for the 15-24 years group and 1.30 for those aged 25-44). In eleven of seventeen administrative regions we find an MMI greater than 1.30 for the 25-44 cohort which is essentially the younger half of the Anglophone working population. These trends do not bode well for the economic prospects of the English-speaking minority in the province.

2.2 Anglophones Who Are Out of the Labour Force

As can be seen in the bottom row of table 3a, more than one-third (37%) of Quebec Anglophones aged 15 and over were out of the labour force in 2001. In some regions of the province over half the Quebec Anglophone population aged 15 and over was out of the work force in 2001: this was the case in Gaspésie (52.9%) and in the Mauricie (51.1%). As regards Anglophones in the younger working age population (age 25-44), many were out of the labour force in Côte-Nord (58.4%), Estrie (47.4%) and in Quebec city (44.4%) the national capital and the heart of the Quebec public administration, the largest employer in the Province.

A closer examination of the “out of the labour force” data across generations does reveal some troubling indications for the Quebec Anglophone minority. Table 3b shows that the younger half of the Anglophone working population (persons aged 25-44) were 38% more likely than their Francophone counterparts to be out of the labour force in the province as a whole (MMI = 1.38). On a regional basis, Anglophones aged 25-44 were most likely to be out of the labour force compared to the Francophone majority in the following regions: Centre-du-Québec (MMI = 1.73), Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean (MMI =

Table 3a
Out of Labour Force Rate of Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities (%), by Age Group, by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001

Administrative Region	Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	52.9	60.5	27.7	44.4	95.9
Bas-Saint-Laurent	41.5	25.0	25.7	42.6	85.2
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	37.3	44.4	16.9	28.2	92.6
Chaudière – Appalaches	28.8	28.8	8.3	30.7	87.7
Estrie	44.4	47.4	18.1	34.6	91.6
Centre-du-Québec	39.8	36.1	20.9	36.0	93.5
Montréal	36.6	44.1	19.1	27.7	88.6
Laval	31.4	37.8	13.9	27.4	90.0
Lanaudière	40.4	44.6	17.8	35.5	96.9
Laurentides	40.7	42.9	17.1	32.0	90.5
Outaouais	32.9	37.1	14.7	30.5	89.6
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	43.7	59.4	19.4	38.8	91.7
Mauricie	51.1	58.3	24.7	45.2	96.0
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	44.7	49.2	29.5	37.8	91.2
Côte-Nord	39.6	58.4	16.3	37.0	96.5
Nord-du-Québec	36.4	58.8	26.1	26.0	84.5
Total: Province of Quebec	37.0	44.1	18.3	29.3	89.7

Notes: Language definition is first official language spoken (FOLS) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

1.68), Nord-du-Quebec (MMI = 1.68), Bas-Saint-Laurent (MMI = 1.67), Estrie (MMI = 1.57) and Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine (MMI = 1.42). This younger Anglophone working age population was also more likely to be out of the work force than Francophones even in city regions such as Montreal (MMI = 1.29) and Laval (MMI = 1.33). Anglophones in this work cohort were less likely to be out of the labour force than Francophones in only one of the seventeen regions of Quebec, namely Chaudière – Appalache (MMI = 0.77). As seen in

Table 3b
Out of Labour Force Rate of Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities
(Minority-Majority Index), by Age Group, by Administrative Region,
Quebec, 2001

Administrative Region	Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	1.16	1.01	1.42	1.11	0.99
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.01	0.54	1.67	1.17	0.89
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	1.03	1.20	1.42	0.84	0.97
Chaudière – Appalaches	0.84	0.78	0.77	0.99	0.93
Estrie	1.28	1.36	1.57	1.09	0.98
Centre-du-Québec	1.12	0.99	1.73	1.11	0.99
Montréal	1.01	1.23	1.29	0.89	0.95
Montréal	1.01	1.23	1.29	0.89	0.95
Laval	0.96	1.12	1.33	0.95	0.96
Lanaudière	1.18	1.16	1.30	1.05	1.02
Laurentides	1.25	1.23	1.37	0.97	0.97
Outaouais	1.05	1.15	1.27	0.93	0.95
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	1.13	1.28	1.16	1.07	0.96
Mauricie	1.21	1.33	1.54	1.18	1.00
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	1.09	1.06	1.68	0.97	0.95
Côte-Nord	1.05	1.17	0.93	1.05	1.02
Nord-du-Québec	1.14	1.13	1.68	0.92	0.91
Total: Province of Quebec	1.05	1.17	1.38	0.90	0.95

Notes: Language definition is first official language spoken (FOLS) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

table 3b, the situation is quite different across generations with younger Anglophones faring much worse relative to their Francophone peers than do older Anglophones. Quebec Anglophones in the 45-65 age cohort were less likely to be out of the labour force than Francophones in Quebec.

2.3 The Income of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec

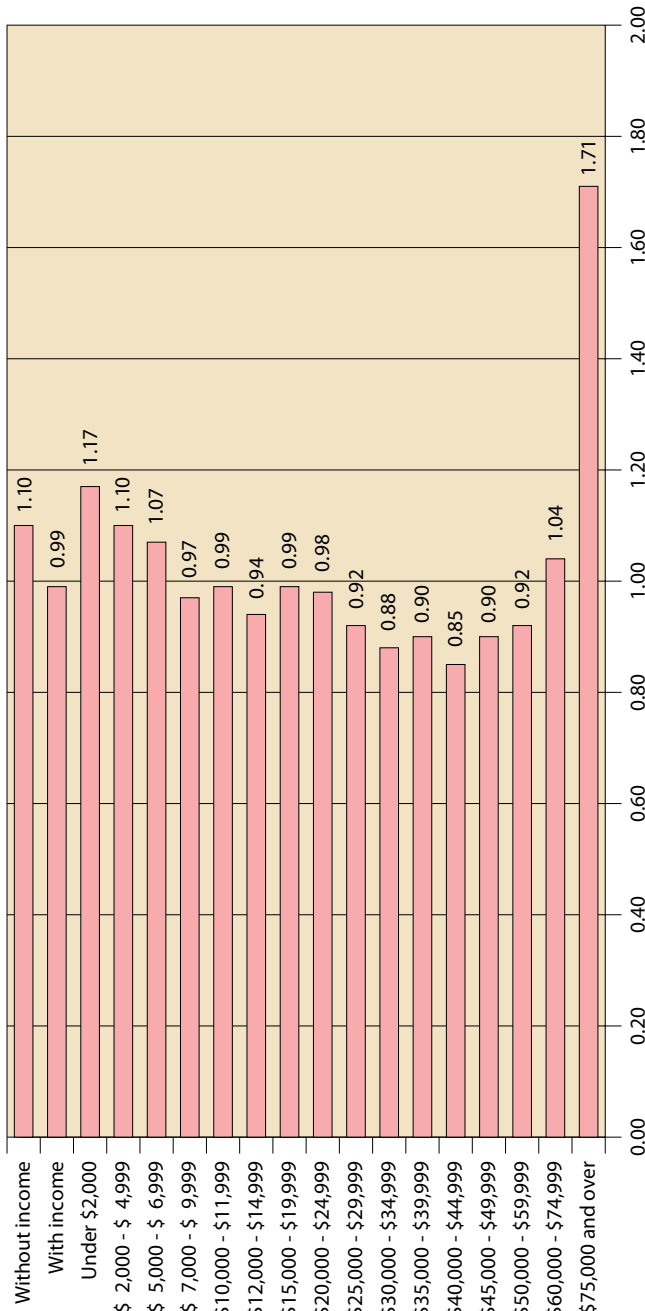
The relative earnings of Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec has garnered much interest in both academic and political circles, especially since the disadvantaged socio-economic status of Francophones in Canada was brought to public attention, most notably in the Royal *Commission on Bilingualism and Bilingualism* in the 1960s (Laurendeau-Dunton Commission). For the most part, analyses of income and language groups have focused on the average wages of workers, with many focusing on the wages of male workers (Vaillancourt, 1992; Vaillancourt & Touchette, 2001).

The choice of *mean* income versus *median* income as the income indicator has an important influence on the relative income situation of language groups. According to the 2001 census, the mean income of Quebec Anglophones was \$32,518, which is significantly higher than the \$29,140 reported by Quebec Francophones.⁴ However, when we examine the median, the mid-point income where half the population earns more and half earns less, we find that the Anglophone minority have a slightly lower median income (\$20,612) than that of their Quebec Francophone counterparts (\$20,924). Although both mean and median income have their place in the analysis of socio-economic status, another way of looking at the data is to consider the income strata in which members of a particular linguistic collectivity are located. This approach is useful in understanding the status of a community since it reveals the proportion of persons in various income slices.

As can be seen in figure 1, when compared to their Francophone counterparts through a minority-majority index, Quebec Anglophones are substantially over-represented ($IMM = 1.71$) in the highest income grouping (\$75k plus), but are also over-represented at the lower

4. Figures reported for median income are for FOLS single responses (either English or French) as persons with dual English-French FOLS not apportioned to the English FOLS and French FOLS groups as is normally done due to the nature of the data available. Given that the median and average income figures for the dual English/French FOLS group are lower (\$17,241 and \$24,821 respectively), the relative position of the English FOLS group would be reduced relative to its French FOLS counterpart.

Figure 1
Anglophone* Population by Income Groups (Minority-Majority Index**), Quebec, 2001



* First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) is a derived variable based on the responses to language questions in the Census of Canada.
** The minority-majority index (MMI) compares the value for the minority community with that of the majority community.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, February 2004, based on 2001 Census, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

end of the income spectrum, being 10% more likely to be “without income” ($IMM = 1.10$). The Anglophone minority are also more likely to have low incomes relative to the Francophone majority: they are 17% more likely to have earned under \$2k, 10% more likely to be in the \$2-5k range and 7% more likely to be in the \$5-7k range. While the classic stereotype of the rich Anglophone is supported by their over-representation in the + \$75k income group, this pattern is also undermined by the observation that just 6% (42,758 individuals) of the Anglophone group enjoys that high income status, while 25% of Quebec Anglophones earned less than \$7k in 2001 (181,100 individuals).

As table 4 illustrates, the tendency to be without income is not constant when comparing Anglophones to Francophones across generations or between regions. For Quebec as a whole, older Anglophones (45-64 and 65+) are 10% less likely than their Francophone peers to be without income ($MMI = 0.90$). However, the Anglophone younger cohorts, particularly the 25-44 cohort, are more likely to be without income relative to Francophones ($MMI = 2.29$). On a regional basis, we find higher than normal minority-majority gaps, with more Anglophones than Francophones who lack income, especially in regions such as Montérégie, Montreal, Mauricie, Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean and Estrie.

While the rate for low income (less than \$20k) is similar among Anglophone and Francophone groups in Quebec ($MMI = 1.02$), table 5 shows that this low income profile is rising across generations for Anglophones relative to their Francophone peers. Anglophones in Quebec aged 25-44 were 16% more likely to show low income than Francophones in the same age group ($MMI = 1.16$). On a regional basis, the tendency to show low income relative to Francophones is more pronounced for Anglophones in Côte-Nord, Nord-du-Québec, Estrie, Bas-Saint-Laurent and Laval.

On a provincial basis, table 6 shows that Quebec Anglophones are substantially more likely than their Francophone counterparts to report high incomes, with a 16% greater likelihood of earning at least \$50k annually ($IMM = 1.16$). This characteristic is more pronounced in the older cohorts than the younger cohort and varies across regions. The gap between Anglophones and Francophones is

Table 4
Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities with No Income
(Minority-Majority Index), by Age Group, by Administrative Region,
Quebec, 2001

Administrative Region	Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	1.13	1.12	0.42	1.16	—
Bas-Saint-Laurent	0.52	0.00	0.00	0.69	0.00
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	1.11	1.23	2.09	1.14	0.00
Chaudière – Appalaches	0.59	0.94	1.40	0.13	0.00
Estrie	1.20	1.38	2.64	1.12	0.00
Centre-du-Québec	0.94	1.16	2.52	1.87	0.00
Montréal	1.28	1.31	2.29	1.13	0.56
Montréal	1.26	1.20	1.62	1.18	1.13
Laval	1.15	1.17	1.69	1.05	0.00
Lanaudière	1.06	1.24	1.32	1.37	0.00
Laurentides	1.16	1.27	2.20	0.97	0.00
Outaouais	1.09	1.13	1.56	0.89	1.48
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	0.89	1.19	0.46	0.65	—
Mauricie	1.38	1.63	3.34	1.73	0.00
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	1.32	1.32	6.79	1.34	0.00
Côte-Nord	1.05	1.29	0.33	0.92	0.00
Nord-du-Québec	0.79	0.81	0.69	0.27	0.00
Total: Province of Quebec	1.10	1.10	2.29	0.90	0,90

Notes: Language definition is first official language spoken (FOLS) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

advantageous for the Anglophone group in the Chaudière – Appalaches, Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean, Capitale-nationale (Quebec City), Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Mauricie and Centre-du-Québec regions. At the other end of the spectrum, Anglophones in the Côte-Nord, Estrie, Laval, Nord-du-Québec and Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine regions were less likely than their Francophone counterparts in these regions to fall in the higher income ranges.

Table 5
Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities with Low Income (< \$20 K)
(Minority-Majority Index), by Age Group, by Administrative Region,
Quebec, 2001

Administrative Region	Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	1.08	0.94	1.25	1.12	0.90
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.16	1.20	1.23	1.32	0.87
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	0.96	0.97	1.15	0.96	0.81
Chaudière – Appalaches	0.89	1.14	0.89	0.93	0.85
Estrie	1.11	0.95	1.26	1.26	0.86
Centre-du-Québec	1.07	1.12	1.22	1.12	0.98
Montréal	1.05	0.97	1.21	1.07	0.86
Montréal	0.99	0.99	1.12	1.00	0.83
Laval	1.12	0.98	1.23	1.35	1.03
Lanaudière	0.99	0.91	1.08	0.90	1.01
Laurentides	1.04	0.98	1.12	1.01	0.85
Outaouais	1.07	0.99	1.23	1.10	0.90
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	1.05	0.98	1.12	1.21	0.82
Mauricie	0.86	0.87	1.16	0.81	0.62
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	0.95	0.74	1.15	0.92	0.81
Côte-Nord	1.16	0.91	1.21	1.28	1.16
Nord-du-Québec	1.25	1.11	1.38	1.21	1.01
Total: Province of Quebec	1.02	0.99	1.16	1.04	0.82

Notes: Language definition is first official language spoken (FOLS) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

Table 6

**Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities with High Income (> \$50 K)
(Minority-Majority Index), by Age Group, by Administrative Region,
Quebec, 2001**

Administrative Region	Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	0.91	0.00	0.81	1.02	1.33
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.04	0.00	0.23	1.58	3.12
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	1.40	0.00	1.23	1.45	1.39
Chaudière – Appalaches	1.67	0.00	1.44	1.55	3.05
Estrie	0.89	0.96	0.72	0.92	1.77
Centre-du-Québec	1.30	0.00	1.17	1.24	2.23
Montréal	1.06	0.82	1.00	1.09	1.62
Montréal	1.18	1.12	1.01	1.21	2.22
Laval	0.77	0.26	0.74	0.77	1.03
Lanaudière	1.21	0.00	1.22	1.13	1.87
Laurentides	1.12	2.09	1.03	1.17	2.37
Outaouais	0.99	1.28	0.90	1.04	1.73
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	1.32	0.00	1.37	1.19	4.67
Mauricie	1.31	0.00	1.06	1.24	3.36
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	1.42	0.00	1.00	1.45	2.72
Côte-Nord	0.48	0.00	0.53	0.52	0.66
Nord-du-Québec	0.38	0.34	0.30	0.62	1.09
Total: Province of Quebec	1.16	1.33	1.02	1.19	2.50

Notes: Language definition is first official language spoken (FOLS) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

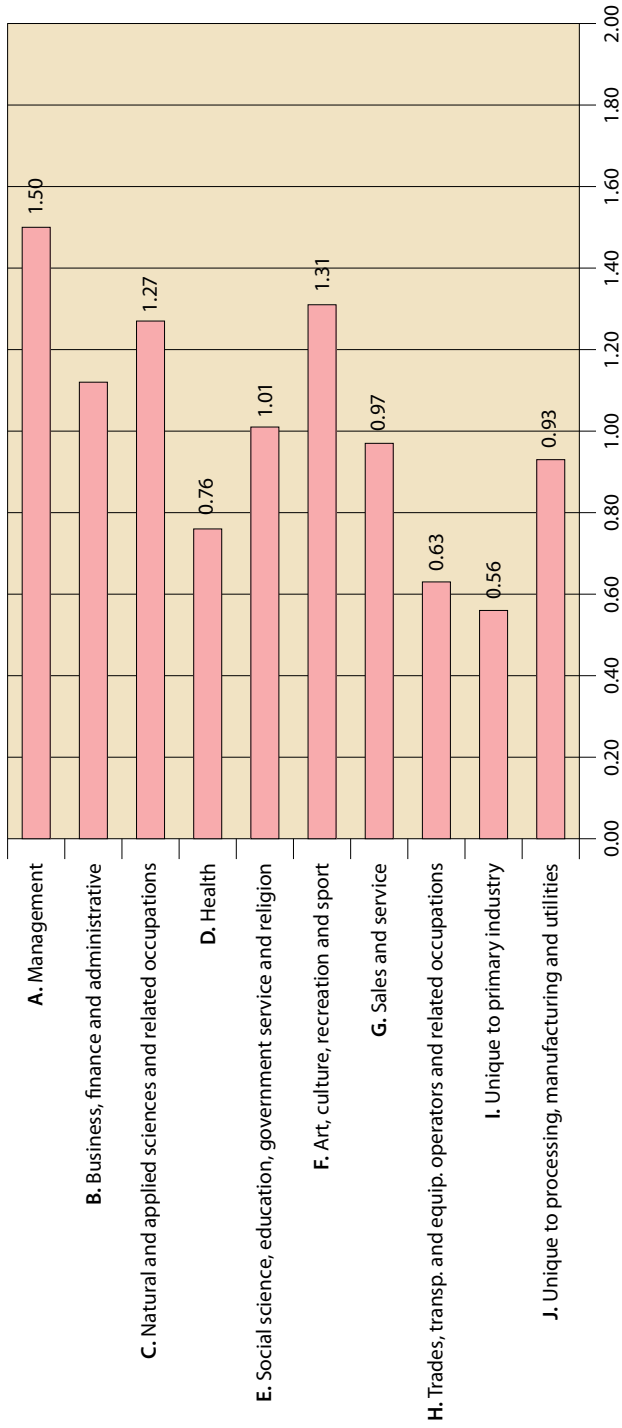
2.4 The Occupational Status of Anglophones and Francophones

Figure 2 shows the Quebec Anglophone presence in different occupational groups expressed using the minority-majority index. When the occupations of Anglophones and Francophones are compared, Anglophones are more present in the fields of management, arts/culture/recreation/sport and natural and applied sciences. Conversely, Anglophones are less present than Francophones in primary industry, trades/transport and equipment operators and health professions. Overall, the Anglophone minority is less likely than Francophones to be in occupations unique to primary industry, in the trades and transport occupations and in health occupations. As Anglophone higher-than-average participation in the management occupations (MMI = 1.50) illustrates, their location in the labour force is consistent with the traditional image of Quebec Anglophones. Although age cohort data for language groups in their occupations is not available for the current study, it is possible to observe that the relative proportion of Anglophones working in management occupations increased in the 1996-2001 period rising from an MMI of 1.33 in 1996 to an MMI of 1.50 in 2001.

2.5 Anglophones and Francophones Across Industrial Sectors

As shown in figure 3, the participation of Anglophones in different industries varies substantially when compared to Francophone employees. At a provincial level, Anglophones are over-represented in the management, manufacturing and professional/scientific/technical services. However, Quebec Anglophones are under-represented in the utilities, public administration, agricultural, forestry, fishing, hunting, mining and oil-gas extraction industries. It should be noted that Anglophones working in the industry classed as “Management of Companies and Enterprises” with the high MMI of 2.04 amount to only 680 persons, the vast majority of whom live in the greater Montreal area.

Figure 2
Total Anglophone Labour Force Population (15+) by Occupation (2001 National Occupational Classification for Statistics)
(Minority-Majority Index), Quebec, 2001**

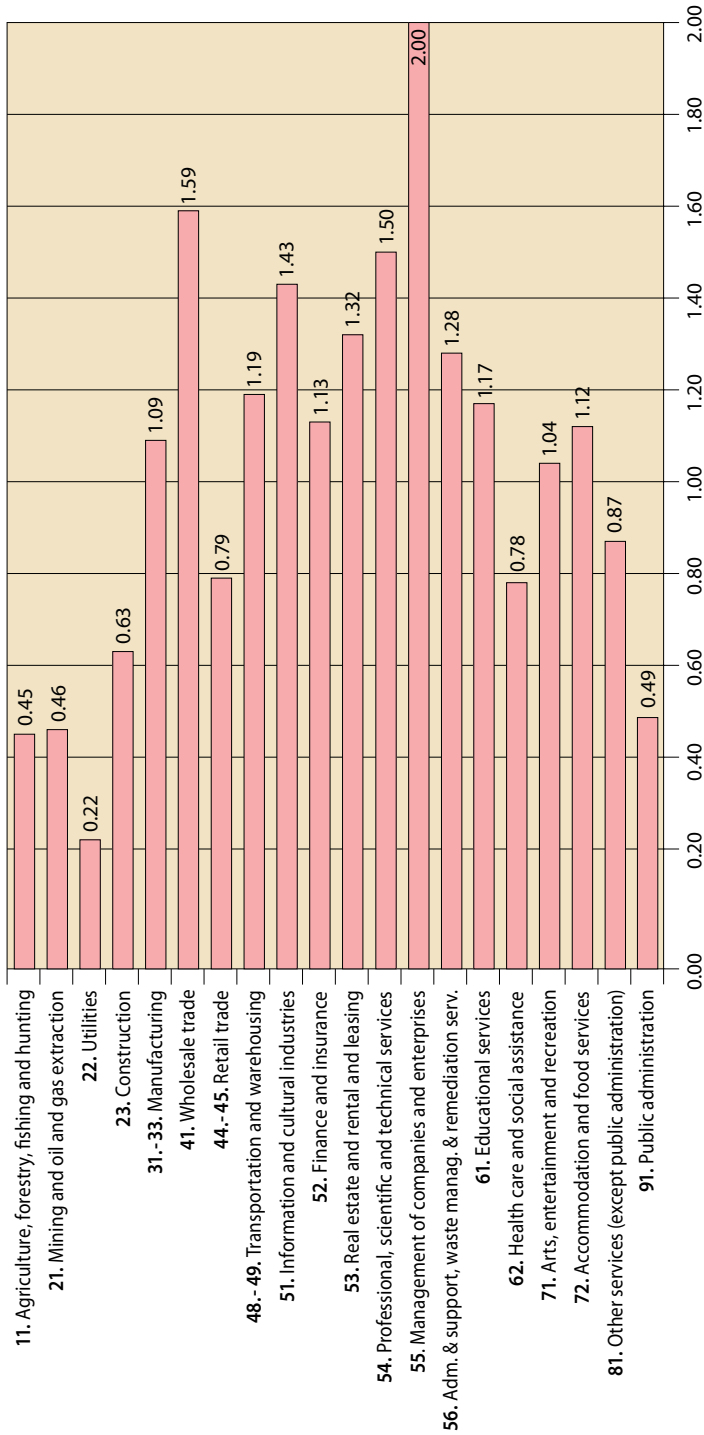


* First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) is a derived variable based on the responses to language questions in the Census of Canada.

** The minority-majority index (MMI) compares the value for the minority community with that of the majority community.

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, February 2004, based on 2001 Census, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

Figure 3
Total Anglophone Labour Force Population (15+) by Industry (1997 North American Industry Classification System)
(Minority-Majority Index*), Quebec, 2001



* The minority-majority index (MMI) compares the value for the minority community with that of the majority community.
Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, February 2004, based on 2001 Census, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

2.6 Concluding Notes on the Economic Profile of Quebec Anglophones

The foregoing section explored the various socio-economic features of the Quebec Anglophone minority, comparing their various age and regional segments with their Francophone counterparts, focusing on key characteristics such as labour force participation, income and presence in various industries and occupations. Three major observations emerge from this analysis. The first is that Anglophones tend to be over-represented at both the upper and lower ends of the socio-economic spectrum. This bi-modal or “missing middle” representation of the Quebec Anglophone population has great potential to explain its distinctive economic profile, and underlines the importance of qualifying any generalization of Anglophones as a privileged minority in Quebec. The second key observation is that the occupational status of the Anglophone minority appears to be declining across generations relative to their Francophone counterparts in the province. Thirdly, the analysis demonstrates that there is an important regional dimension to socio-economic status, with greater vulnerabilities in the Anglophone minorities residing in the eastern and rural parts of the province. The next section of this chapter attempts to explain the bi-modal nature of the Quebec Anglophone minority through an examination of inter-provincial mobility for the 1971-2001 period.

3. Quebec Anglophones: Those Who Left, Those Who Stayed

The second half of the 20th century was a dynamic period where language relations in Canada were concerned. Quebec’s Quiet Revolution, the adoption of official languages legislation at the federal level and in many provincial/territorial jurisdictions all marked this period as one of great ferment in Canadian society (Bourhis, 1994). More specifically, Canada witnessed important changes in the status and circumstances of its citizens living as members of official-language minorities (Fraser, 2006). Through the explicit recognition of the right to manage elementary and secondary level education in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), Francophones living outside Quebec gained access to a key lever for community vitality (Fortier, 1994; Landry & Rousselle, 2003). Francophone minorities in the ROC also

made great strides toward reducing the gap in socio-economic status which they had previously experienced vis-à-vis their Anglophone counterparts (Canada, 2004). Many of these Francophone communities in the ROC continue to struggle with the effects of language transfer and low intergenerational transmission of French (Johnson & Doucet, 2006).

For their part, the Anglophones of Quebec experienced a declining vitality through weakening of their institutional base and substantial demographic decline as increasing numbers of Anglophones born in Quebec have re-located to other provinces (Bourhis, 2001; Jedwab, 2004 and this study). Quebec Anglophones were traditionally understood as a highly mobile population with an ability to replenish its population losses through inter-provincial migration and international immigration. In this section we offer a study of inter-provincial migration, taking as a time frame the 1971-2001 period, and we address the question of whether the scope or nature of mobility has changed over this period (Floch, 2005).

In general, population growth depends on the net effects of mobility and on the difference between birth and mortality rates. In the case of linguistic minorities, we add some linguistic factors variously represented as assimilation or language transfer. For instance, the assimilation/language transfer of Francophone communities outside of Quebec has been, and continues to be, a topic of intense research interest (O'Keefe, 2001; de Vries, 1994; Landry & Rousselle, 2003; Marmen & Corbeil, 2004). However, little attention has been paid to inter-provincial mobility and even less to its cumulative effects, which, as will be shown, have had an important impact on the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ).

The following section seeks to deepen our understanding of the scope and nature of the inter-provincial migratory trends affecting language groups in Canada with an emphasis on Quebec Anglophones. Based on mother tongue census data, Marmen & Corbeil (2004) conclude that: "The proportion of Anglophones has declined continuously, dropping from 14% in 1951 to 8% in 2001. This has resulted largely from the English mother tongue population leaving Quebec to live in other provinces, particularly during the 1970s". More specifically, we will consider whether there are socio-economic differences

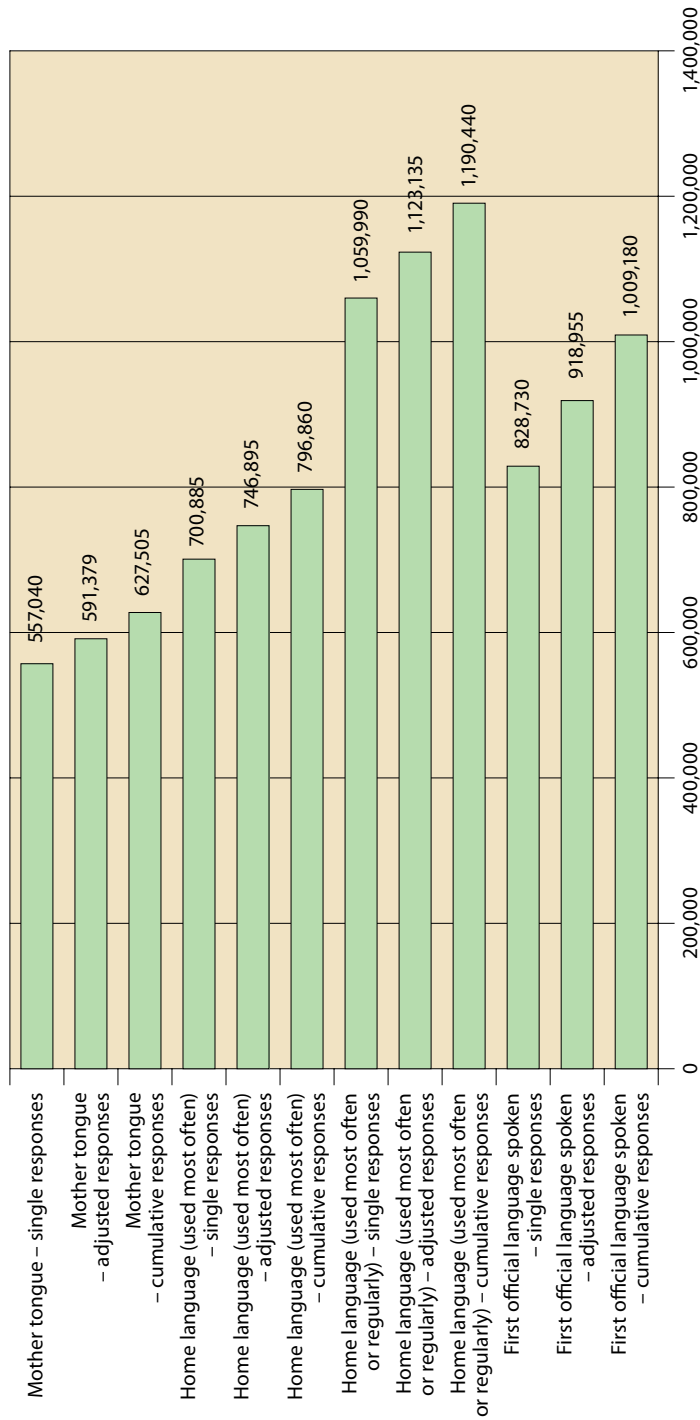
between the group of Anglophones born in Quebec and still living in the province and the group of Anglophones who have left their province of birth to settle in the ROC. We will test the key hypothesis that out-migration is selective. We will also briefly reflect on the impacts these migration trends have on the Anglophone minority of Quebec by examining the situation over the past generation.

Compared to other national censuses around the world, the Canadian census is particularly rich in the language measures and concepts that it contains. For the time span under consideration herein (1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001), each census contained questions for mother tongue, home language and knowledge of official languages. The 2001 census contained a supplementary home language question relating to “regular language use” while it also included a new two-part question on the “language of work”.

Researchers and policy makers have worked with the data generated from these questions to develop an understanding of the status and usage of languages in Canadian society and to track the evolution of linguistic groups in various regions of the country. The wealth of language data and the various methods of calculation give rise to a number of options for estimating the size and proportion of various language groups, in turn stimulating some interesting public policy discussions (Jedwab, this study). Figure 4 provides the number of Anglophones living in Quebec in 2001 based on four linguistic definitions: mother tongue; home language used most often; home language used most often or regularly; and first official language spoken. Census data monitoring these questions are analyzed using three methods of calculation: single responses only; multiple responses distributed among declared languages; and multiple responses assigned to the minority group.

Since the 1981 census, Statistics Canada has published data providing for the possibility of multiple responses to the mother tongue and home language question. In keeping with established practices among researchers, those declaring multiple responses are divided proportionally among declared responses. The population being considered here consists of those persons born in Quebec having English as their mother tongue and are referred to as the “*EMT born-in-Quebec*”

Figure 4
Various Methods for Counting Official-Language Communities, Anglophones, Quebec, 2001



Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, February 2004, based on 2001 Census, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

population. This population is then divided into two groups, those who continue to live in Quebec at the time of a given census-taking (the “stayers”) and those who moved from their province of birth to another Canadian province or territory (“the leavers”). To provide a context for understanding this target population, we will also examine the trends affecting Francophone Quebecers with French as a mother tongue, as well as the Anglophone and Francophone groups living outside Quebec in the rest of Canada (ROC).

Unless otherwise stated, the data presented in this analysis is drawn from the Public Use Micro-data Files (PUMFs) for the Census of Canada. In these analyses, the language definition used for mother tongue with multiple responses is distributed equally among declared languages. The choice of adjusted mother tongue as the language variable for this analysis is consistent with the bulk of socio-economic analyses which cover census periods prior to 1986. It should be noted that the sample used for our analysis does not include those born in Canada who may now be living outside Canada, since the census does not capture such international emigrants. It is likely that the trends observed in the out-migration patterns to other Canadian provinces would also be present as regards international out-migration. Accordingly, the impact of the trends observed in this analysis would likely be even greater if data on international out-migrants were available.

It must be noted that the Quebec English Mother Tongue (EMT) minority experienced a substantial demographic decline in the 1971-2001 period, experiencing a loss both in absolute numbers (from 788,800 in 1971 down to 591,365 in 2001) and as a proportion of the Quebec population (from 13.1% down to 8.3%). However, the Anglophone EMT population did increase in absolute number in 2006, rising to 607,165, though still constituting 8.2% of the Quebec population. Over this same period, the French Mother Tongue (FMT) population increased by nearly a million, from 4,866,030 in 1971 (81% of the population) to 5,802,020 in 2001 (81.4%) and up again to 5,916,840 in 2006 (79.6%). With the rise of immigration, the number of Quebecers with mother tongues other than English or French (Allophones) more than doubled in this thirty-year period, rising from 372,900 in 1971 (6%) to 752,980 in 2001 (10.3%) and rising

again to 886,000 in 2006 (11.9%). Though linguistically diversified, Allophones have consolidated their position as a larger language group in the province than the EMT Anglophone minority.

3.1 Retention Rate: Anglophones in Quebec

The first aspect to be considered in our analysis of the cumulative effects of inter-provincial mobility patterns is that of retention rate, which is the proportion of a particular mother tongue group that continues to reside in the province of birth at the time of a census. However, note that some persons have undoubtedly left their province of birth and then returned. The census provides the capacity for cross-sectional analysis but does not provide longitudinal data which would allow close analysis of this “coming and going” phenomenon.

Table 7 presents retention rates for 2001 by province/territory and reveals considerable variation in the capacity of various provinces and territories to retain their populations. For Francophone minority communities in the ROC, a number of jurisdictions show retention rates of 70-75%: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta. However, the Francophone minority retention rate is only 30.5% in Newfoundland-Labrador and 49.4% in Saskatchewan. The Anglophone retention rate in Quebec is only 50.1%. For the Anglophone majority language groups in the ROC, the provinces of Ontario (89%), British Columbia (86%) and Alberta (76%) have the highest retention rates while Saskatchewan (53%) and Manitoba (61%) show the lowest rates. The Francophone majority in Quebec has the highest retention in the country: 96%.

When we compare the retention rates for the minority and majority groups, expressed as the minority-majority index (MMI), we note that the Francophone minority in Newfoundland-Labrador (MMI = 0.45) and the Anglophone minority in Quebec (MMI = 0.52) have the lowest retention rate relative to their respective majority-language group (table 7). Thus Francophones in Newfoundland (30.5%) and Anglophones in Quebec (50.1%) are approximately half as likely at their respective majorities to remain in their province of birth. At the other end of the spectrum, we find that a number of provinces (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba) show stronger retention in the minority Francophone population than in

Table 7
Francophone and Anglophone Retention Rate (%), by Province
and Territories and by Minority-Majority Index*, Canada, 2001

Region	Minority	Majority	MMI
Newfoundland and Labrador	30.5	67.1	0.45
Prince Edward Island	66.9	66.1	1.01
Nova Scotia	75.9	70.7	1.07
New Brunswick	75.4	68.0	1.11
Quebec	50.1	96.3	0.52
Ontario	74.9	89.4	0.84
Manitoba	71.1	61.4	1.16
Saskatchewan	49.4	53.4	0.93
Alberta	71.4	76.1	0.94
British Columbia	63.0	85.8	0.73
Canada, less Quebec	84.2	99.3	0.85

* The minority-majority index (MMI) compares the retention rate for the minority language group (Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the rest of Canada) with that of the majority-language group (Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones in the rest of Canada). An MMI less than 1.00 indicates that the minority has a lower retention rate than its corresponding majority.

Source: Calculations by Floch & Pocock (2008) based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

the Anglophone majority. In these cases, members of the Francophone minority group were more likely to have remained in their province of birth than were the members of the Anglophone majority group.

Another frame of analysis that can be applied to this data is to divide the country into two large regions (Quebec and the rest of Canada) which permits the examination of Anglophones and Francophones as four linguistic groups, namely: Francophones (FMT) in a minority situation, Francophones (FMT) in a majority situation, Anglophones (EMT) in a minority situation and Anglophones (EMT) in a majority situation. Using this framework, table 8a reveals a particularly problematic situation for the Anglophone minority group in Quebec. The provincial retention rate of Quebec Anglophones is only 50% in 2001, down from 69% in 1971. In contrast, table 8a shows that the retention rate for the other three language groups has remained remarkably strong and constant for the 1971-2001 period including the steady 96% retention rate of Quebec Francophones from 1971 to 2001.

Table 8a
Provincial Retention Rate for Anglophones and Francophones (%),
Quebec and Rest of Canada (ROC), 1971-2001

Language Group	Retention Rate			
	1971	1981	1991	2001
Francophone - minority in ROC	85.0	85.0	84.0	84.0
Francophone - majority in Quebec	96.0	96.0	96.0	96.0
Anglophone - minority in Quebec	69.0	58.0	52.0	50.0
Anglophone - majority in ROC	98.0	99.0	98.0	99.0

Source: Calculations by Floch & Pocock (2008) based on data from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

Table 8b shows the provincial retention rate for the same four basic groups as in table 8a, but this time broken down by age cohorts in the 2001 census. Table 8b shows that the retention rate of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada (84%) and of the Francophone majority in Quebec (96%) is very high and very constant in the four age cohorts. Likewise, the provincial retention rate for the Anglophone majorities in the ROC are also very high and constant across age cohorts (99%). In contrast, the trend for Quebec Anglophone (EMT) is quite problematic: it is Anglophones at the peak of their working age who are most likely to leave their province of birth. The provincial retention rate of Quebec Anglophones in the 25-44 age range is only 46%, while that for Anglophones in the 45-64 age range is even lower: 43%. This exodus of Quebec Anglophones during their best working

Table 8b
Provincial Retention Rate for Anglophones and Francophones (%),
by Age Cohort, Quebec and Rest of Canada (ROC), 2001

Language Group	Retention Rate			
	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Francophone - minority in ROC	83.0	84.0	85.0	84.0
Francophone - majority in Quebec	98.0	96.0	96.0	96.0
Anglophone - minority in Quebec	74.0	46.0	43.0	52.0
Anglophone - majority in ROC	99.0	99.0	99.0	99.0

Source: Calculations by the Floch & Pocock (2008) based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

years constitutes a real loss of human capital for the English-speaking communities of Quebec, and also a loss of know-how for Quebec society as a whole. The profile of Anglophones who left Quebec compared to those who stayed suggests further deterioration of the community vitality of Quebec Anglophones. Consideration of variables such as bilingualism, level of schooling, employment status and income distinguishing Anglophones who left Quebec compared to those who stayed are presented in the following section.

3.2 English-French Bilingualism: Those Who Stayed and Those Who Left

In support of the observation that it is the upwardly mobile Anglophones who are more likely to be outwardly mobile, table 9 shows that 58% of Anglophones who left Quebec in the 1996-2001 period had a post-secondary degree compared to only 42% amongst Anglophones who stayed in the province.

As regards bilingualism, table 9 shows that overall, Anglophones who left Quebec in this period (15 years and older) were slightly less likely to be bilingual (61.4%) than those who stayed (70.7%). However, it is noteworthy that while 39.9% of Anglophones who left Quebec without a high school diploma were bilingual, as many as 69.8% of Anglophones who left the province with a post-secondary degree were bilingual. Other Canadian census results show that the bilingualism rate among departing Quebec Anglophones is higher than that found among international immigrants who arrived during this period. The departure of highly educated bilingual Anglophones is a loss of human capital for both the ESCQ and for Quebec society as a whole.

3.3 Educational Achievement of Anglophones Who Left and Those Who Stayed

Relative to the other Canadians, Anglophone EMT born-in-Quebec individuals tends to be highly educated. Quebec Anglophones are much more likely to have graduated from university (+46%), to have a Master's degree (+51%) and are substantially more likely to hold a doctoral degree (+32%) than other Canadians in the ROC. They are

Table 9
Anglophone Bilingualism (English-French) Among Stayers
or Leavers*, by Highest Level of Schooling, Quebec, 2001

Highest Level of Schooling	Stayers		Leavers	
	Number	Bilingual	Number	Bilingual
Population 15+	431,322	70.7%	42,774	61.4%
Without Secondary-high school graduation certificate	119,790	55.2%	7,515	39.9%
Secondary-high school graduation certificate	67,707	70.1%	4,830	50.2%
Trades Certificate or Diploma	10,681	63.9%	610	45.4%
Post Secondary: Without Certificate, Diploma or Degree	54,169	77.7%	4,867	65.0%
Post Secondary: With Certificate, Diploma or Degree	178,975	79.6%	24,952	69.8%

* In this table, "stayers" refers to those who lived in Quebec in both 1996 and 2001, and "leavers" refers to those who lived in Quebec in 1996 but lived in another Canadian province in 2001.

Note: Language definition is mother tongue with multiple responses distributed among declared languages.

Source: Calculations by Floch & Pocock (2008), based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada.

also much less likely than other Canadians to be without a high school graduation certificate. As will be seen in the following analysis, the contributions of this highly educated group of Quebec Anglophones are being experienced more in other provinces than in their province of birth, namely Quebec.

In 1971, before the adoption of Bill 101, Quebec Anglophones (EMT born-in-Quebec) had higher educational achievement both with respect to their Quebec Francophone counterparts and to the Canadian population as a whole. This was true for both leavers and stayers. Those who had left Quebec by 1971 were 81% more likely than other Canadians to possess a post-secondary degree and were 19% less likely to be without a high school graduation certificate. Quebec Anglophones still living in Quebec in 1971 were 27% more likely than other Canadians to possess a post-secondary degree and were slightly less likely to be without a high school graduation certificate. By the 2001 census, Anglophones who left Quebec continued to show an educational advantage, being 36% more likely to have post-secondary

credentials and 44% less likely to be without high school certification relative to Canadians in the ROC. In contrast, Anglophones who stayed in Quebec were slightly less likely than other Canadians to have post-secondary qualifications and were also less likely to be without high school certification. Clearly, the education advantage held by Quebec Anglophones in 1971 had disappeared for those still living in Quebec in 2001. Anglophones who left Quebec continued to show higher educational attainment relative to other Canadians in 2001.

When we compare the educational status of Anglophone stayers and leavers (EMT born-in-Quebec) over the 1971 to 2001 period, we note that those who have departed show higher levels of schooling than those who have stayed. In each of the census periods under consideration, the chances that an Anglophone individual will have a post-secondary degree are substantially higher for those who left than for those who stayed. At the other end of the spectrum, for each census period, there is a lesser chance that the leavers will be at the lower end of the education spectrum.

As table 10 illustrates, the Quebec Anglophone (EMT) group is a well-educated cohort relative the Canadian population. Relative to Canadians in the ROC, Anglophones born in Quebec are more likely to hold a university first degree such as B.A or B.Sc. (15.3% in Quebec to 10.6% Canada as a whole). Quebec Anglophones are also more likely to hold a Master's degree than the Canadian population as a whole (4.1% to 2.7%). Furthermore, Anglophones who left Quebec and are now living in other provinces, are more than twice as likely as the Canadian population to hold a Master's (5.4% vs 2.7%) or doctoral degree (1% vs 0.5%). In contrast, Quebec Anglophones who stayed in the province have educational achievements much closer to the Canadian norm, albeit still slightly higher. However, other analyses have shown that the educational strength of Quebec Anglophones still in Quebec is diminishing across generations, with higher educational levels observed in the older age cohorts (45-64 and 65+) and lower educational levels seen in the younger cohorts (15-24 and 25-44) (Floch, 2004a).

Anglophone (EMT) individuals arriving from other provinces to Quebec are also a highly educated cohort as 15.5% hold a bachelor's degree, compared to 10.6% for in the Canadian population as a whole

Table 10
Anglophones in Quebec (EMT) vs Anglophones in Rest of Canada (ROC),
by Highest Level of Schooling and Place of Birth (Number and %), 2001

	Total - Population 15+	No High School Graduation or Additional Training	High School Graduation	Trades Certificate or Diploma	Post- Secondary - No Degree, Certificate or Diploma	Post- Secondary with Certificate or Diploma (No Degree)	University with Bachelor or First Professional Degree	University Certificate Above Bachelor	University with Master's Degree	University Earned Doctorate	University Graduates
Based on Canadian total population (15+)	23,901,360	7,476,900	3,367,900	2,598,925	2,590,165	4,179,825	2,534,010	382,955	642,055	128,625	3,687,645
Anglophones (EMT) born in Quebec	609,395	142,674	84,897	51,246	77,532	116,137	93,100	14,711	24,789	4,343	136,943
Anglophones born in Quebec, still living in Quebec	305,513	86,232	49,663	23,695	39,644	54,178	36,270	6,275	8,388	1,170	52,103
Anglophones born in another Canadian province, now living in Quebec	85,997	19,707	12,190	6,648	11,432	14,143	13,368	2,188	5,100	1,225	21,881
Anglophones born in Quebec, now living in another Canadian province	303,882	56,442	35,234	27,551	37,888	61,959	56,830	8,436	16,401	3,173	84,840
Anglophones net interprovincial migration, cumulative as of 2001	-217,885	-36,735	-23,044	-20,903	-26,456	-47,816	-43,462	-6,248	-11,301	-1,948	-62,959
Based on Canadian total population (15+)	100.0%	31.3%	14.1%	10.9%	10.8%	17.5%	10.6%	1.6%	2.7%	0.5%	15.4%
Anglophones (EMT) born in Quebec	100.0%	23.4%	13.9%	8.4%	12.7%	19.1%	15.3%	2.4%	4.1%	0.7%	22.5%
Anglophones born in Quebec, still living in Quebec	100.0%	28.2%	16.3%	7.8%	13.0%	17.7%	11.9%	2.1%	2.7%	0.4%	17.1%
Anglophones born in another Canadian province, now living in Quebec	100.0%	22.9%	14.2%	7.7%	13.3%	16.4%	15.5%	2.5%	5.9%	1.4%	25.4%
Anglophones born in Quebec, now living in another Canadian province	100.0%	18.6%	11.6%	9.1%	12.5%	20.4%	18.7%	2.8%	5.4%	1.0%	27.9%
Anglophones net interprovincial migration, cumulative as of 2001	100.0%	16.9%	10.6%	9.6%	12.1%	21.9%	19.9%	2.9%	5.2%	0.9%	28.9%

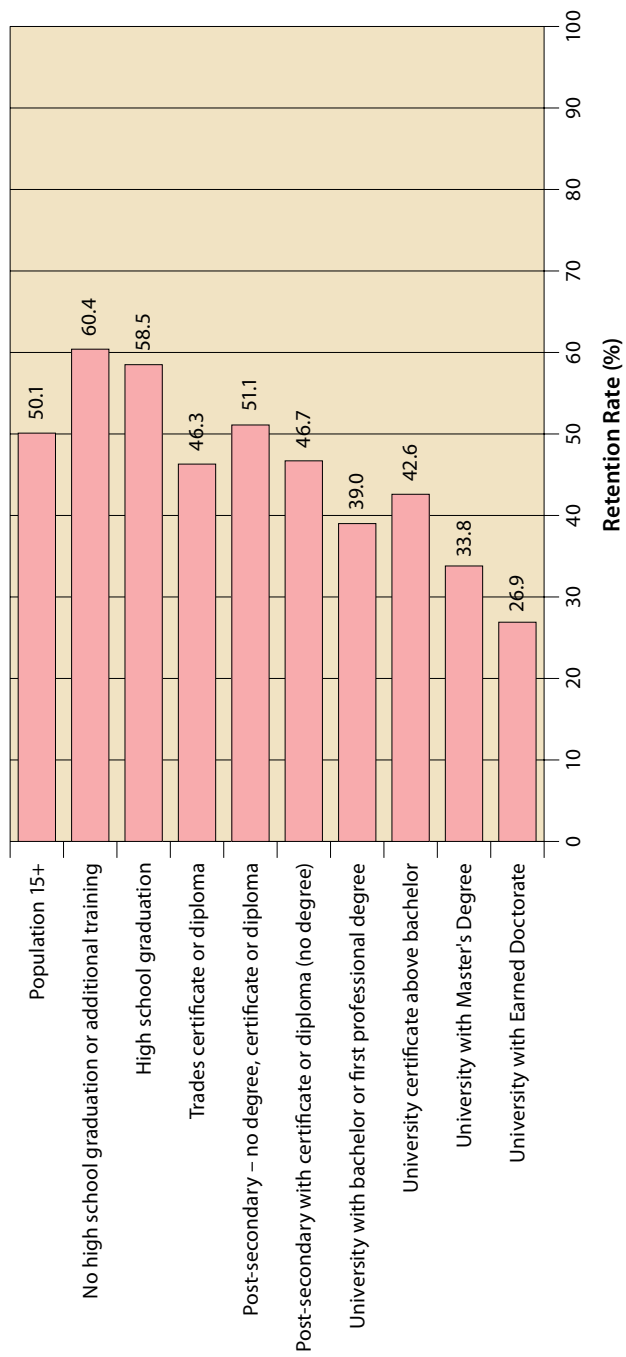
Source: 2001 Census of Canada.

(table 10). Anglophones (EMT) from the ROC now established in Quebec are also more likely to have Master's degrees (5.9%) than the Canadian population across Canada (2.7%). Likewise Anglophones who settled in Quebec from the ROC are more likely to hold a Ph.D (1.4%) than the Canadian population as a whole (0.5%). Despite the high educational attainment of the few Anglophones who did settle in Quebec from other Canadian provinces, it remains that the net effect of inter-provincial migration leaves Quebec in a deficit situation with a net loss of 62,959 Anglophones (EMT) with a first university degree, a net loss of 11,301 Anglophones with a Master's degree and a net loss of 1,948 Anglophones with doctorates (table 10).

When we analyze the net effects of inter-provincial migration by examining the number and educational characteristics of those who left and the characteristics of those who arrived, we can see that there is a strong link between the level of education and the tendency to stay or leave. Quebec Anglophones (EMT) with higher levels of education are much more likely to leave the province than those with lower levels of education. This is clearly illustrated in figure 5 which provides the retention rate for Quebec Anglophones (EMT) crossed with highest level of schooling. While Quebec Anglophones with no high school certificate have a retention rate of 60.4%, Anglophones with a doctoral degree have a retention rate in Quebec of only 26.9%

Comparison with Francophone minorities living in the ROC helps illustrate the extent to which education levels appear to be linked to the retention rate of Anglophones (EMT) born-in-Quebec. As seen in figure 7, for Francophone minorities (FMT) living in the ROC, the tendency to migrate to Quebec has remained remarkably low and constant for the 1971-2001 period. For instance, in 2001, the retention rate of Francophones in the ROC was almost as high for those with a post-secondary degree (0.82) as for those without a high school certificate (0.87). The value difference for the high retention rate of Francophones without high school certification compared to those with post-secondary qualifications was greatest in 1971 ($0.86 - 0.78 = 0.08$) and has narrowed to 0.04, 0.04 and 0.05 for the three subsequent time periods (1981-2001). Figure 6 shows the retention rate of Quebec Anglophones (EMT) with a post-secondary degree dropped from 0.61 in 1971 to as little as 0.42 in 2001. The difference in retention rate

Figure 5
Retention Rate (%*) of Quebec-Born English Mother Tongue (EMT) Anglophones,**
by Highest Level of Schooling Attained, Quebec, 2001



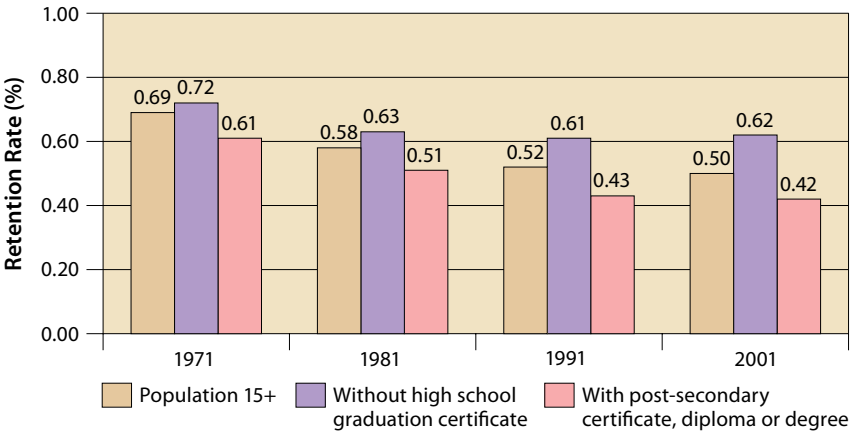
* The retention rate measures the proportion of those still living in the province of birth compared to the total born in that province.

** EMT refers to English Mother Tongue with multiple responses distributed proportionally.

Source: William Floch, Department of Canadian Heritage, based on 2001 Census, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

Figure 6

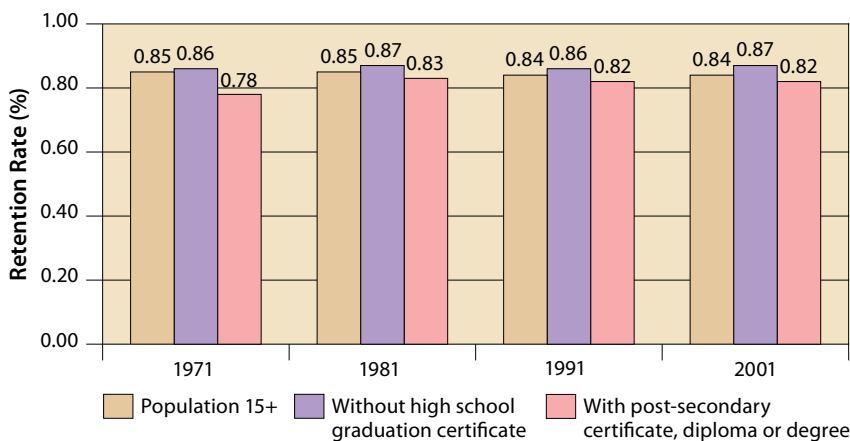
**Retention Rate of English Mother Tongue Anglophones Born-in-Quebec,
by Highest Level of Schooling Attained, 1971-2001**



Source: Calculations by author, based on data from the PUMFs of the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

Figure 7

**Retention Rate of French Mother Tongue Born-in-ROC,
by Highest Level of Schooling Attained, 1971-2001**



Source: Calculations by author, based on data from the PUMFs of the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

within the province of Quebec for Anglophones with a post-secondary degree compared to those without a high school diploma was low in 1971 ($0.72 - 0.61 = 0.09$), but grew substantially in the period following the adoption of Bill 101, reaching 0.18 in 1991 ($0.61 - 0.43$) and 0.20 in 2001 ($0.62 - 0.42$).

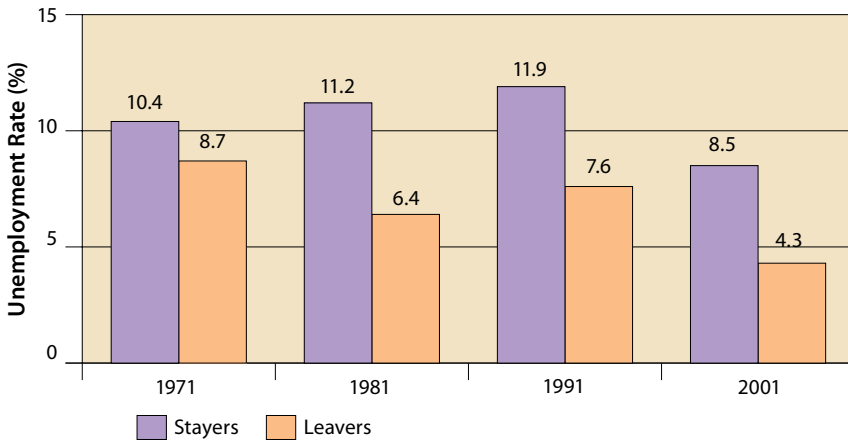
There are a number of possible consequences of these trends. For Quebec Anglophones, the departure of an increasing proportion of the better-educated individuals will, over time, contribute to a weakening of the leadership base and may undermine community institutions, particularly in vulnerable regions of the province where the critical mass of the Anglophone minority is far from assured. The impact of this type of brain drain will mortgage the capacity of finding the well-trained Anglophones needed to replace retiring baby-boomers in English-speaking institutions such as health care, education and social services. This brain drain of well-educated bilingual Anglophones also contributes to a net loss of endogenous human capital for Quebec, a society in search of the international immigrants needed to alleviate the demographic and know-how decline of the province.

3.4 Labour Force Activity: Quebec Anglophones Who Left vs. Those Who Stayed

As figure 8 illustrates, the unemployment rate for Anglophones (EMT, born-in-Quebec) who stayed in Quebec has been higher than that of those who left for each of the census periods under consideration since 1971. This gap has grown to the point where, in 2001, the unemployment rate for Anglophones who stayed in Quebec (8.5%) was nearly twice that of the Quebec Anglophones (EMT) now living in other provinces (4.3%). Clearly, if seeking better employment prospects was part of the motivation for Quebec Anglophones to leave the province, these hopes have been realized. Census data also shows that the 4.3% unemployment rate of Anglophones who left Quebec was substantially lower than the Canadian national rate of 7.4% recorded in the 2001 census.

Figure 9 compares the unemployed and out of labour market situation of Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec from 1971 to 2001 using the minority-majority index. In 1971 and 1981, Quebec

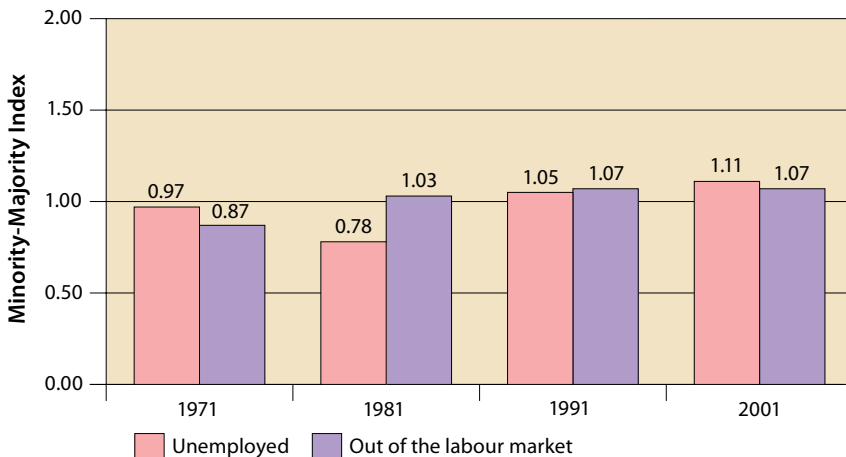
Figure 8
Unemployment Rate for Anglophones (EMT) Born-in-Quebec,
by Inter-Provincial Mobility Status, 1971-2001



Notes: "Stayers" are those who live in the province of birth. "Leavers" are those who live in a province other than the birth province.

Source: Calculations by author, based on data from the PUMFs of the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

Figure 9
Labour Force Activity for Anglophones (EMT) Born-in-Quebec,
as a Minority-Majority Index, 1971-2001



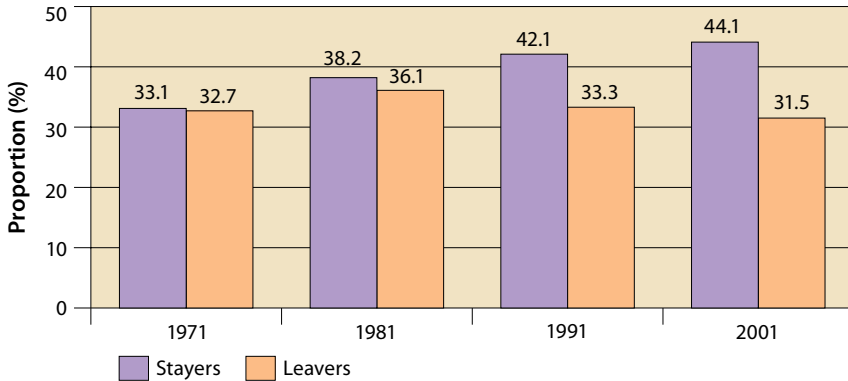
Source: Calculations by author, based on data from the PUMFs of the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

Anglophones (EMT) residing in the province were slightly less likely to be unemployed or out of the labour market than the Quebec Francophone (FMT) majority. However, by the 1991 and 2001 census, it was Quebec Anglophones who were more likely to be unemployed or out of the labour market compared to the Francophone majority. While these differences are not huge, (Anglophone unemployment in 1991, MMI = 1.05; in 2001, MMI = 1.11), the trend is worrisome and likely to continue, since closer analysis of the labour force activity by age cohorts reveals that younger Anglophones are experiencing greater relative difficulty in this regard than are their elders.

3.5 Income Levels of Quebec Anglophones Who Left vs. Those Who Stayed

Not surprisingly, the stronger educational status and higher labour market participation rates of Anglophones (EMT, born-in-Quebec) do translate into stronger earnings on the labour market. Using 2001 dollars as the base, figure 10 shows the proportion of Anglophone leavers and stayers who are in the low income bracket (less than \$20,000/year). For the 1971 and 1981 periods, the earnings gap for low income earners is minimal: the proportion of Anglophones in the lower income bracket is similar for both leavers and stayers. Figure 11 shows Anglophone leavers and stayers in the high income bracket (greater than \$50,000/year). For the 1971 and 1981 census, the income gap for high income earners favours Anglophone leavers over stayers: 1971: leavers, 17.6%, versus stayers, 14.8%; in 1981: leavers, 18.2%, versus stayers, 13.6%. However, as seen in figures 10 and 11, for the 1991 and 2001 census period, the income gap between Anglophone leavers and stayers has grown quite considerably. For instance, in 2001, Anglophones who left were more likely to be in the high income bracket (28.8%) than those who stayed (15.7%). Conversely, in the case of low income earners, Anglophones who stayed were more likely to be in the low income bracket (44.1%) than those who left (31.5%).

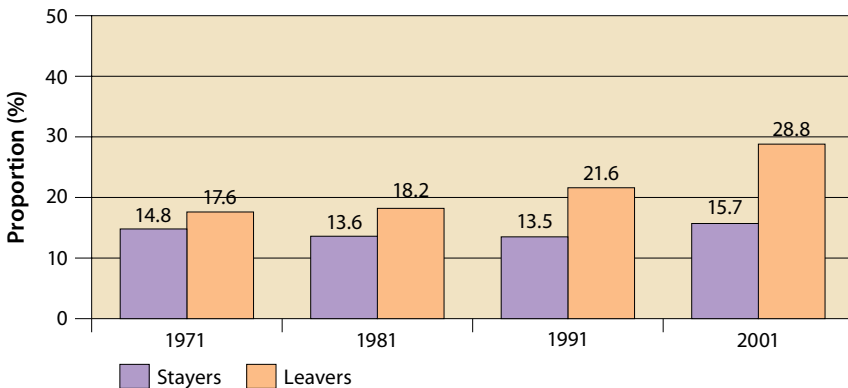
Figure 10
Proportion of Anglophones (EMT) Born-in-Quebec
with Low Income (< \$20k), by Inter-Provincial Mobility Status, 1971-2001



Notes: "Stayers" are those who live in the province of birth. "Leavers" are those who live in a province other than the birth province. Income figures are expressed in 2001 adjusted \$.

Source: Calculations by author, based on data from the PUMFs of the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

Figure 11
Proportion of Anglophones (EMT) Born-in-Quebec
with High Income (> \$50k), by Inter-Provincial Mobility Status, 1971-2001



Notes: "Stayers" are those who live in the province of birth. "Leavers" are those who live in a province other than the birth province. Income figures are expressed in 2001 adjusted \$.

Source: Calculations by author, based on data from the PUMFs of the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

4. Concluding Notes

The socio-economic profile presented herein, coupled with the analysis of the 1971-2001 decennial censuses demonstrates the considerable cumulative effect of out-migration on the size and composition of the Anglophone communities of Quebec. In 1971, 70% of Anglophones (EMT) born in Quebec continued to live in the province, whereas by 2001 just 50% continued to live in their home province. This low retention rate is abnormal when compared with other Canadian populations, including Francophone minorities in the ROC. The socio-economic profile of Anglophone leavers and stayers suggests that the upwardly mobile are increasingly associated with the outwardly mobile as young, well-educated members of the Quebec Anglophone minority seek economic opportunities elsewhere. Those who left the province tend to perform very well in the labour market outside Quebec, showing substantially lower unemployment rates than other Canadians and higher tendencies to be in the high income bracket. In contrast, Anglophones who stayed in Quebec experienced a relative loss in socio-economic status and cohort analysis suggests that such decline will continue in the near future. It is also the case that the arrival of English-speaking populations from other provinces and other countries has slowed considerably from 1971 and especially up to 2001. Needless to say, these trends present challenges for the English-speaking communities of Quebec, as higher proportions of Anglophones fall into vulnerable or dependent situations while their demographic and institutional vitality is declining in the province.

While public policies such as Bill 101 proved effective in bolstering the upward mobility of the French-speaking majority, it has failed to define a legitimate place and “voice” for its non-Francophone minorities in the province. Securing the empowerment and national cohesion of the majority language group has been gained at the cost of a growing divide between Francophones and Anglophones and within the English-speaking population itself. While the relative silence surrounding language issues in the last decade was popularly heralded as evidence of “language peace”, the trend in socio-economic stratification in Quebec would suggest the silence is a symptom of the further entrenchment of two solitudes.

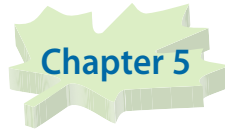
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English Education in Quebec: Issues and Challenges

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In 1906, in his book on “race relations” in Quebec, André Siegfried wrote the following:

From the point of view of the relations between the French Catholics and the English Protestants, the educational system of Quebec has produced the best results: the two sets of schools co-exist without fear or conflict or dispute, because they have no points of contact. The situation is exactly that of two separate nations kept apart by a definite frontier and having as little intercourse as possible (Siegfried, 1906).

This describes well the co-existence of English and French speakers in Quebec prior to the sixties as well as the two separate school systems which had developed over time: one French Catholic, the other English Protestant. To this day, two school systems co-exist with very few points of contact. In 2006, however, an advisory committee set up to look for solutions to the challenges facing Quebec’s English school system proposed something new:

The path to a vibrant and strengthened English public school system, and thus, to greater English-speaking community vitality, will best be set through the active pursuit of new and mutually productive partnerships with the francophone majority community. (QAC to QESBA, 2006, p .8)

Similarly, in 2005, the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) proposed a community development plan for Anglo-Quebec that would have been hard to imagine a decade ago, putting forward the need for greater integration to the French-speaking community

and for a strengthened sense of identity, belonging and commitment to Quebec. An era in Quebec's language politics has come to an end and the Anglo-Quebec community is signalling its willingness to move into a new phase. This is a timely moment to look at how the English school system has weathered a period of important change as well as address the question: where to from here?

In this chapter, I will briefly trace how the Anglophone community and its school system have adjusted to the changing language dynamics of Quebec in the past and how things stand at the present. I will then describe some of the major challenges facing Quebec's English sector in the near future.

1. Historical Background and Present Administrative/Legal Context¹

The origins of Quebec's dual school system predate Confederation (1867). Originally, the division was confessional and the two school systems developed quite independently until the 1960s and the massive reform of education, a key element in Quebec's Quiet Revolution. With the arrival of Irish, Italian and Polish immigrants to Quebec in the twentieth century, English schools had developed within Catholic school boards, but at the school board level remained under the governance of the Francophone majority. During this same period, Protestant schools were becoming more diversified linguistically and culturally as they integrated most immigrants from non-Catholic backgrounds (Mc Andrew, 2002).

In Canada, education is a provincial jurisdiction. Canada's initial constitutional agreement, the British North America Act (BNA Act, 1867) did not provide the right to education in English or French. It did provide some constitutional protection of denominational rights to education and these protected to some degree not only religious practice, but also linguistic and cultural identity (Mallea, 1984). As

1. For a chronological summary of laws that have been passed in matters related to language of instruction in Quebec: <http://www.oqf.gouv.qc.ca/charte/reperes/reperes.html>. For section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms entitled "Minority Language Educational Rights" (Canada Clause): http://laws.justice.gc.ca/fr/chaarte/const_en.html. For an overview of language legislation and education in Canada, see Bourhis (1994) and Martel (2001).

time would reveal, the BNA Act in reality offered little protection to Francophone minorities outside of Quebec. In contrast, Quebec's Anglophone minority, up until the 1970s, was a thriving community with easy access to services and well-developed cultural and social institutions, including a complete educational system. In effect, when the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB; Canada, 1968) was conducted in the 1960s, Quebec's Anglophone community was under no threat of linguistic or cultural assimilation, wielding significant economic power. In its recommendations, the RCBB granted a critical role to French and English schools in minority contexts, describing them as the basic agency for maintaining language and culture, thus setting the stage for constitutional reform of educational rights. By 1969, the federal government adopted the Official Languages Act which included a clause on educational rights, worded in such a way as to respect provincial jurisdiction over education, hence lacking in legislative bite.

In response to the findings of the RCBB and those of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education (Parent Commission, 1966), Quebec undertook its own study of the language situation in the province known as the Gendron Commission (Quebec, 1972). The Quebec Government made its first move to define minority rights to education within the province (Mallea, 1984). After unsuccessful attempts at language legislation (e.g. Bill 63 in 1969; Bill 22 in 1974), the newly elected Parti Québécois adopted the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) in 1977. The educational clauses of the Charter limited access to English-language schools only to children whose parents had attended an English-language school in Quebec. This right, passed down from parent to child would effectively protect the prerogatives of Anglophone Quebecers living in Quebec at the time, as well as the children of immigrants who had already integrated the Anglo-Quebec community via schooling prior to 1977 (Mallea, 1984). The Charter, however, blocked access to English schools to all new immigrants, as well as the Francophone majority of the province and initially to Canadians from provinces which did not offer schooling to their Francophone minority.

In 1982, Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, using wording very similar to that found in the Quebec

Charter, recognized the “historical rights” to education in the official minority language: Francophone minorities outside of Quebec and the Anglophone minority within Quebec. Section 23 of the Canadian Charter would force provincial governments to provide for a “dual” school system like that already in existence in Quebec (Fortier, 1994). Hence, the educational clauses of both Bill 101 and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantee schooling in English in Quebec for those who are legally considered to be rights-holders (“ayants-droit”; Landry & Rousselle, 2003). Given that this right is transferred from a parent who attended an English-language school in Quebec or Canada, it does not include new international immigrants who speak English as a first language (e.g. from the US, UK, India). The category “ayants-droit” does, however, include many Anglo-Quebecers of Italian, Portuguese, Greek and Jewish background whose parents attended English schools in Quebec. It also includes some Francophone children who, through a mixed marriage or because one of their parents went to an English school, have the right to schooling in English (Jedwab, 2004; Mc Andrew & Eid, 2003). Following the adoption of the Canadian Charter in 1982, Bill 101 was contested by the Quebec Protestant school boards in the Supreme Court of Canada. In 1984, the Supreme Court ruled that limitations of eligibility to English-language schooling for Anglophones from provinces other than Quebec in Bill 101 were inconsistent with the new constitutional guarantees of Section 23 of the *Constitution Act*. Consequently, Sections 72 and 73 of Bill 101 were struck down and Canadian parents settling in Quebec who had been schooled in English anywhere in Canada (Canada clause) were allowed to send their children to English schools in the province.

The reform of education undertaken in the 1960s brought Protestant schools and school boards under the control of the Quebec Ministry of Education (MEQ). A number of attempts were made in the following years to deconfessionalize school boards, but it would take until 1998 for linguistic school boards to replace confessional boards. This strengthened Anglophone governance over the education of their children but also required a fair amount of adjustment as two quite distinct school cultures, developed separately over time, merged into new organizational entities.

Schools in Quebec are subject to the regulations and curriculum set out by the Quebec Ministry of Education (currently *Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport* or MELS). At the ministry level, the Anglophone community is represented through an Assistant Deputy Minister. Services to support English-language schooling (*Services à la communauté Anglophone* – SCA) are provided through the *Direction des politiques et des projets* as well as the *Direction de la production en langue anglaise*. The SCA manages the Canada-Quebec Agreement for Minority Language Education and Second Language Instruction on behalf of the Education Ministry and carries out its mandate under the authority of the Assistant Deputy Minister for the English-speaking community. In the 1990s, an Advisory Board on English Education (ABEE) was established to advise the Quebec Education Ministry. Currently the English school system is managed by nine English-language school boards who collectively form the Quebec English School Boards Association (QESBA). English school boards can cover huge territories and many administrative regions and are often responsible for providing a quality education to relatively small student populations, in some cases 1,500 to 2,000 students. However, slightly more than half of the student population in the English sector is to be found in two English-language school boards on the island of Montreal.

Today's English-language pre-school, elementary and secondary school population counts 107,742 students enrolled in 360 English schools under school board governance. Another 15,000 students are enrolled in forty-eight English-language private schools (Quebec, 2006b). In contrast, as many as 109,031 Francophone pupils attended French private schools across the province in 2006. However, proportionally, we note that 12% of the entire Anglophone student population attending English schools were enrolled in private schools as compared to 7.5% for mother tongue Francophone students (Jedwab, 2002). Given that post-secondary education is optimal, there are no legislative restrictions on access to Quebec's post-secondary educational system and high school graduates are free to choose instructional services in either English or French. Roughly 28,400 students are enrolled in English-language colleges (CEGEPs) while 63,000 undergraduate and graduate students attend the three English-language universities of the province (Quebec, 2006a).

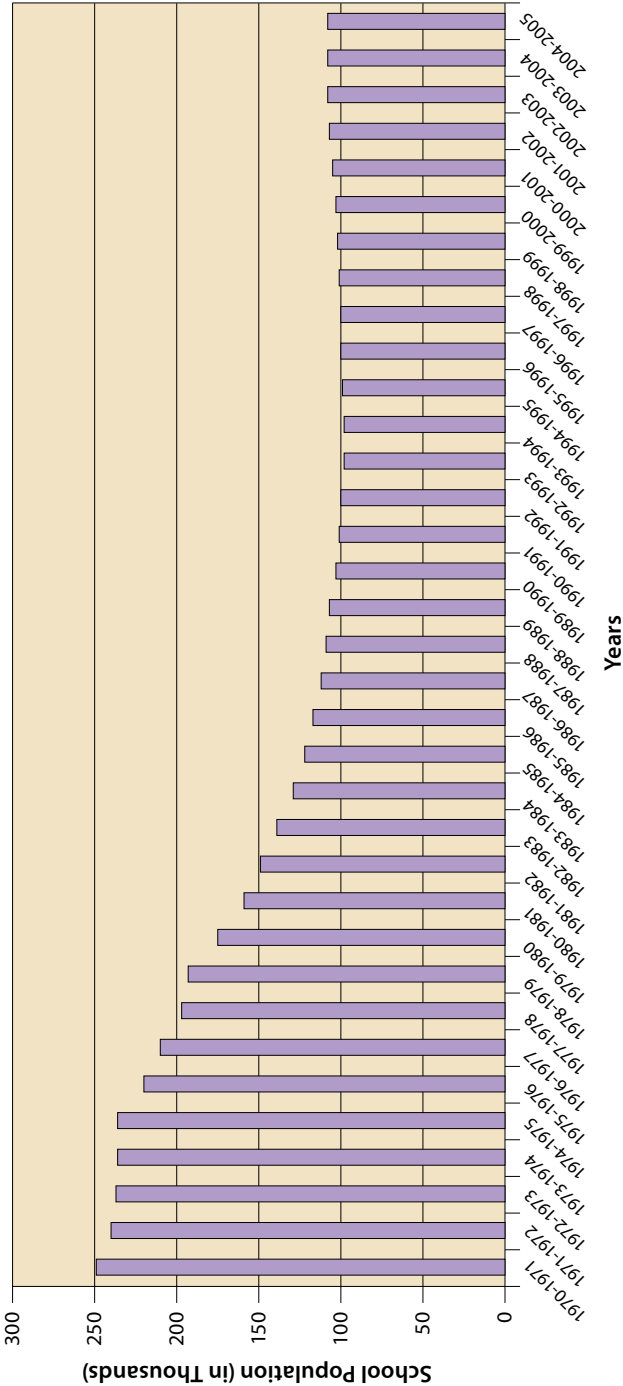
2. Decline of the English Sector: A School Population More than Halved

Quebec's Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) has had a strong impact on the English-language school system. As shown in figure 1, student enrolment in English schools has declined rapidly: from 248,000 in 1971 to just under 108,000 today (public sector only). This decline can be explained in part by a drop in the school-aged population in Quebec; however, the decline in the English sector is more pronounced than that experienced in the French sector. If looked at proportionately, in 1977, students enrolled in English-language schools represented 16.3% of the total student population of Quebec: this dropped to 9.6% in 1992 but has since increased to 11.2% in 2004 (Béland, 2006).

A factor contributing to the decline of the English sector is the outmigration of Anglophone families following the election of the separatist Parti Québécois but also as part of the shift of economic activity in the country. Outmigration was particularly strong in the 1970s and 1980s (Caldwell, 1984, 1994a, b; Caldwell & Waddell, 1982) and remains important today (Floch and Pocock, this study). Bill 101 restrictions on access to English schooling have also contributed to the decline of the English school sector. Today, as seen in table 1, over 90% of first generation immigrants are enrolled in French-language schools; whereas in 1971, 85% of such first generation immigrants were enrolled in the English sector (Quebec, 1996). Second generation immigrant students are less likely to be enrolled in French schools (68.4%), as many have a parent who attended an English school prior to Bill 101, thus making them eligible for schooling in English.

The decline in student populations, and hence funding for services, are among the most critical issues facing English schooling in Quebec today. The recent increase in school closures is a traumatic experience for Anglophone families and the local community. Enrolment numbers in English schools have stabilized during the last decade with a slight increase evident in the last few years (as seen in figure 1). The continuing decline of the English sector predicted in the Chambers Report (1992) seems to be offset by the growing number of Francophone and Allophone children who are eligible for English schooling, thanks to

Figure 1
Total Student Population in Quebec's English School System, 1970-1971 to 2004-2005



Source: Research Team, Department of Canadian Heritage, based on data from the Center for Education Statistics, Statistics Canada.

Table 1
Students from Immigrant Families and Total Student Population,
by Language of Instruction and Level of Education, Quebec, 2003-2004

Language of Instruction	Preschool		Elementary		Secondary		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
First generation students	5,114		30,998		33,286		69,398	
In French schools	4,742	92.7%	27,643	89.2%	30,005	90.1%	62,390	89.9%
In English schools	367	7.2%	2,587	8.3%	3,279	9.9%	6,233	9.0%
Second generation students	12,590		70,642		48,684		131,916	
In French schools	9,644	76.6%	48,729	69.0%	31,798	65.3%	90,171	68.4%
In English schools	2,922	23.2%	17,782	25.2%	16,846	34.6%	37,550	28.5%

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS), Quebec (2004). Educational profile of students from immigrant families, 1994-1995 to 2003-2004.

an increase in “mixed” marriages (Jedwab, 2004). At present, 80% of Anglophone students in Quebec are enrolled in English-language schools. The remaining 20% are enrolled in French schools: roughly half are there by choice and the other half through legislative constraints which block their access to English schools (Béland, 2006). To this day, the majority of Allophones (mother tongue other than French or English) with the right to choose have enrolled in English rather than French schools (Jedwab, 2002, p. 13). Despite some stability in the number of students enrolled in the English sector, recent community consultations demonstrate a continuing concern for the declines in English school enrolments (GMCDI, 2007, p. 13).

3. Demographic Change: Just What Is an Anglo-Quebecer?

A continuing issue concerning the Anglo-Quebec community is just who we are talking about and how to measure this diverse linguistic community (Caldwell, 1984, 1994a, b; Jedwab, 2004; this study). Regardless of how it is measured, since the 1970s there has been a decline in the percentage of Anglophones in the province due mainly to its low birthrate and outmigration (Floch, 2006a). Thus, English mother tongue speakers dropped from 789,200 in the

1971 census to 606,165 in 2006, a loss for the province of Quebec of 182,035 Anglophones (Jedwab, this study). Currently, 60% of Anglo-Quebec youth expect to move outside of Quebec in the next five years, as compared to 13% of Francophone Quebecers (Floch, 2005a). Quebec's retention rate of Anglophones has clearly suffered since 1971, dropping from 69% to 50% in 2001 and the higher the level of education, the lower the retention rate (Floch, 2005a; Floch and Pocock, this study).

An important characteristic of the Anglophone community today is its high degree of ethnic and religious diversity, with over 30% born outside of Canada and almost 21% declaring that they belong to a visible minority (Floch, 2006b). Part of this diversity can be explained by the history of schooling in Quebec: more specifically, a Catholic predominantly French system that, until the 1970s, did not accept students who were non-Catholic (Mc Andrew, 2002) and a "Protestant" English system open to religious and cultural diversity. In effect, Quebec's Protestant school system, by being open to religious diversity, contributed importantly to the integration of immigrants to Quebec's Anglophone population, a demographic minority within the province. This trend came gradually to an end as application of Bill 101 affected growing numbers of pupils entering the French school system. However, depending on their country of origin and/or their previous experience of schooling, many new immigrants arriving in Quebec today speak English as a first or second language, and therefore contribute to the diversity and vitality of the English-speaking community, even though their children do not have the right to attend English public schools.

When it comes to multiculturalism within Anglo-Quebec, an urban-rural divide is evident: Anglo-Montrealers are often of "mixed" multicultural ancestry and have very diverse historical, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Mixed marriages are also commonplace for Anglophones living outside of Montreal (47%), but as many as 93% of these marriages tend to be with Francophone spouses. So while exogamy has contributed to the hybridity of the Anglophone community living in the regions, it is not as culturally and linguistically diverse as that found in Montreal (Jedwab, 2004 and this study; Floch, 2006b).

A final factor contributing to the diversity of the Anglophone community is the degree of bilingualism and multilingualism to be found in its population. Almost 10% of Anglophones provide multiple answers when asked to identify their mother tongue, refusing a single primary identification. Furthermore, many have mixed linguistic practices at home: roughly 60% of mother tongue Anglophones report speaking English only or mostly in their homes while the remainder, roughly 40%, report speaking English and French, or English and another language.

As Jedwab (2004) points out, demographic trends within the English-speaking community are very mixed, characterized by a growing multiethnic and multiracial community. In addition, there is significant increase in the mixing of English and French among the population. This cultural and linguistic diversity within the Anglophone community has an impact on how institutions, such as schools and CEGEPs, define their mandates, challenging the role historically given to educational institutions for official language minorities: to protect, promote and essentially reproduce a linguistic community and its culture.

4. Two Defining Sociolinguistic Realities: Greater Montreal vs. Rest of Quebec (ROQ)

As of 2001, roughly 75% to 80% of Quebec's English-speaking population resides in the Greater Montreal region and primarily on the island of Montreal, where they represent 18% of the population. Roughly 25% of the English-speaking population, however, lives dispersed over the different regions of Quebec and can be characterized by the aging of its population and the exodus of its young people to Montreal or other provinces. In effect, it is the Anglophone communities residing in the rest of Quebec (ROQ) that most severely felt a decline in population; whereas in Montreal, outmigration has somewhat been compensated by international immigration and migration from other provinces (Jedwab, 2004). Unlike Anglo-Montrealers, who tend to be densely concentrated in certain neighbourhoods and suburbs with easy access to English-speaking community organizations and municipal services in English, Anglophones living in the regions are scattered geographically over a vast territory where issues

of linguistic and community vitality as experienced by Francophone minorities outside of Quebec become relevant (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2007; Johnson and Doucet, 2006). The challenges facing English schooling are affected by this urban/regional divide.

4.1 Challenges of English Schools in the ROQ: Coping with Dispersion

Recently, the Quebec English School Board Association (QESBA, 2002), in a listing of major challenges for English schools, put forward the need for a plan to protect the viability of small schools and the particular conditions facing regional English communities across the province. Among the very serious challenges facing English schools in the regions are: the dispersion of the English-speaking population; huge catchment areas; and school populations that are frequently under 200 and even under 100 students (QESBA, 2002). However in the ROQ, English schools are often the only remaining public institution dedicated to the specific needs of the English-speaking community, and as such “are seen as the focal point for the expression of the community’s identity” (QESBA, 2002). As the centre of social and community activities, the closure of a school packs a strong blow—not the least of which is increased travel time, with some students travelling over two hours a day to attend the nearest English school (QESBA, 2002).

Faced with the desire to maintain educational institutions, even when the school population drops below 200 or even 100 students, the English school system has had to look for creative organizational solutions. One solution is to provide elementary and secondary schooling in the same building rather than in separate facilities, allowing students to remain in their communities for the duration of their studies. A second but less common solution has been to share a school building with the local French-speaking community, in situations where the school-aged population of both communities is small (QESBA, 2002). There are even a few instances of teacher exchange, with a teacher from a French school teaching music in French to students in the English school, and a teacher from the English school taking on the responsibility for physical education in the French school. Legally, two schools can choose to share the same building while each maintains

its own educational projects. This model offers opportunities for collaborative activities and reduces building maintenance, but requires extensive community consultation and commitment (QESBA, 2002).

Other problems facing the English school system in the regions is the recruitment and retention of teachers and other school personnel: in particular, teachers at the secondary level who can teach in the specialized areas of mathematics and sciences, and in technical-vocational options. To counter these problems, considerable importance is placed on new communication technologies and distance education courses such as those organized through LEARN Quebec² in the hope that they can offer educational services, particularly specialized courses, to students in outlying regions. A further issue facing English schools in the ROQ is the availability of complementary student services (QESBA, 2002). Schools have difficulty providing student services linked to the mandates of regional or local health and social services and many schools simply do not have access to social workers and other professionals. A final feature increasingly characterizing English schools in the regions is the growing number of mother tongue Francophones found within the school population. In some regions the very viability of some English schools depends on the presence of Francophone students (Jedwab, 2004). Putting aside this challenge, the English school system faces challenges similar to those faced by rural Francophone minorities in English Canada and other rural communities in Quebec. In urban Anglo-Montreal, a very different set of challenges exists.

4.2 Challenges for English Schools in Montreal

To many French Quebecers, Anglo-Quebecers are still perceived as a wealthy White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) elite. In Montreal, this representation is a myth, as demographic information clearly shows (Floch & Pocock, this study). Urban poverty in the Anglophone community is a reality. The number of English schools eligible for extra financial support such as that provided through the “New approaches, new solutions” (NANS) program of MELS, while still relatively low, has increased over the past years. At the present time, twenty-nine

2. Learning English Education and Resource Network: www.learnquebec.ca.

high schools and thirty-five elementary schools are eligible for support through NANS. Complaints about degraded buildings and the lack of equipment are frequent, and as Jack Jedwab commented, the “emptying of central Montreal in favour of suburbs has further strained educational services in the city core” (Jedwab, 2002, p. 21). Meeting the needs of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds could become an increasingly important issue in the English sector as those who are leaving the province are generally those with economic mobility, educational credentials and bilingual skills (Floch and Pocock, this study).

In the past, a social class divide along linguistic lines existed between Francophones and Anglophones (Coleman, 1984; Stevenson, 1999, 2004). A new social class divide exists today, still tied to language, but which now separates bilinguals from unilinguals. For both Francophone and Anglophone communities, youth situated at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder are those who have lower rates of bilingualism and, according to many second language teachers (both ESL and FSL) are the students most resistant to French second language learning. A challenge then for English schools in poorer socioeconomic urban areas will be convincing these students that bilingualism is not only an advantage but a necessity for life in Quebec. This brings us to a quite unusual success story: bilingual education in English schools.

4.3 Bilingual Education in Quebec English Schools

Over the past decades, Quebec’s English schools have adjusted rapidly to the changing status of French and to increasing pressure for better second language programs, particularly in the greater Montreal area. The percentage of Quebecers with skills in both official languages is on the increase (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004). In the Anglophone community, the rate of bilingualism increased dramatically, from 37% in 1971 to 63% in 1996 and to 69% in 2006. Today, for Anglo-Quebecers between 15 and 24 years old, the rate of bilingualism stands at more than 80%. While French is increasingly necessary for social and economic integration into the life of the city and the province, bilingualism has also become attractive for Allophones whose French/English bilingualism rose from 33% in 1971 to 50% in 2006. What

distinguishes the bilingualism of Anglophones from other language groups in Quebec is the age at which it is acquired. Francophones and Allophones tend to learn English as young adults as they move into the workforce or into post-secondary education. While bilingualism also increases for young Anglophones as they move into the workforce, their rate of bilingualism is already high in their early years of schooling, in part thanks to bilingual programs offered in English schools. This trend appears to be on the increase, given that 60% of Anglophones between the age of five and nine were reported as knowing both English and French in 2001 as compared with 50% in 1996 (Jedwab, 1996, 2004). In effect, over the past thirty years, a very “quiet revolution” has taken place within the English school system. Without much noise, Anglophone parents have found ways of improving their children’s French-language skills by lobbying for better second language programs (Lamarre, 1997). By the late 1980s, over 90% of students in the English schools were receiving more instruction time in French than required by the provincial curriculum (Quebec Ministry of Education, 1990, 1992; ABEE, 1995). At the present time, more than 40% of the entire student population in English schools is enrolled in French immersion programs (see table 2) and almost all of the remaining student population is in some form of enriched French program. This leaves the “English only” stream heavily populated by students with learning disabilities.

Table 2
Student Population (Part Time and Full Time) in French Immersion
in Youth Sector, English School Board, Quebec,
1999-2000, 2001-2002, 2003-2004

Level	1999-2000	2001-2002	2003-2004
Preschool	4,704	4,903	4,310
Primary	23,955	27,211	26,589
Secondary	12,749	11,827	13,785
Total of students in French Immersion	41,408	43,941	44,684
Percentage of students in French Immersion in English School Population	39.8%	41.1%	41.3%

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS), Quebec (2004): Déclaration des clientèles scolaires (DCS) et Déclaration des clientèles en formation professionnelles (DCFP).

In effect, Canada's well-known French immersion program originated in an upper middle class suburb of Saint Lambert on the south shore of Montreal (Melikoff, 1972) and quickly gained in popularity (Lamarre, 1997; Hamers & Blanc, 2000). The program was driven by parents who felt "a change in the wind" in the sixties and considered it normal that their children should learn French to remain in Quebec. While these first parents represent a far-seeing group, there can be no doubt that general dissatisfaction with traditional French second language programs existed at the time, as revealed in numerous recommendations emanating from the Quebec Home and School Association and in briefs presented to the Gendron Commission in the early 1970s (Lamarre, 1997).

The initial response of school board administrators to the immersion program, however, was resistance, which quickly evaporated as legislation on the status of French was adopted (Lamarre, 1997). By the 1970s, in tandem with the political heat generated by the language question, the popularity of French immersion programs grew to the point where school and board administrators in the Protestant school system were solidly backing French immersion programs and at times, even considered making it the universal program for the primary school system (Stern, 1973; Lamarre, 1997). In effect, bilingual education has since come to be seen as a "necessary component of English schooling" and a means "to safeguard English schools". In its early years, parents hoped that their children would attain a "functional" level in French, and this was largely understood as good oral skills. While not all parents opted for immersion, the success of the program led to the development of enriched French programs. As the Quebec Ministry of Education had chosen to adopt a "hands-off" approach to bilingual education within the English sector, a startling number of models (forty-eight) for enriched French and bilingual education developed during this period in the English sectors of the Catholic and Protestant school boards.

In the Estates General on Education held in the early 1980s, parents indicated a high level of satisfaction with immersion programs (ABEE, 2001b). However by the late 1980s, some parents began to feel that immersion was insufficient when it came to providing their children with the written skills of a native speaker of French. A weakness

identified in French immersion was that the programs were offered within English schools, hence not a very French environment but one under Anglophone management, where parents felt they had decision-making powers (Lamarre, 1997). In the 1970s, however, Protestant school boards had started to open French-language schools for the immigrant population, newly required by the Bill 101 legislation to attend French schools. This offered a new option to English-speaking families who could now send their children to French Protestant schools that were under the management of the Anglophone community. This in effect marks the beginning of what can be dubbed a “crossover” phenomenon in which “ayants-droit” families voluntarily choose to send their children to French schools—at least at the elementary level (McGlynn *et al.*, 2008; Laperrière, 2006). Though the percentage of Anglophone “ayants-droit” students in French schools has dropped at times, their presence remained relatively stable in the last two decades (Jedwab, 2002). According to Béland (2006), there are currently 10,000 English mother tongue students with a right to English schooling voluntarily enrolled in public French schools.

While some English-speaking families were choosing to cross-over to French schools, others put increasing pressure on English schools to improve French second language teaching, particularly in respect to writing. By the 1990s, French had become a high profile subject in English schools on a plane with English Language Arts and Mathematics (ABEE, 1995, p. 8). Parents’ perception of the level of French skills needed to live in Quebec had clearly heightened, as have their expectations of what schools should provide (ABEE, 1995, p. 6). Although a minority of parents still feels that a functional level of French-English bilingualism is enough, the majority want their children to graduate from high school fully bilingual and biliterate. High level bilingual skills are obviously tied to the employment opportunities of young Anglophones in Quebec. They are also tied to the search for a “comfort zone” within a French Quebec that will allow the next generation of young Anglo-Quebecers to stay and be employed in the province and hopefully feel like full citizens (ABEE, 1995, Laperrière, 2006).

Whether a family has chosen French immersion or to cross over into a French school, when it comes to the acquisition of bilingual

skills, the trend is to rely on the elementary school years. As students move into high school, the preoccupation with obtaining French skills loses ground to the need for good marks in preparation for post-secondary education in English. As table 2 shows, there is a decline in the number of high school students in immersion programs at the secondary level. For example, in 2003-04, 40.8% of students in primary schools were in French immersion, dropping to 32% at the high school level. Furthermore, fewer hours of instruction time are allocated to French within French immersion programs at the high school level, as compared to the models found at the primary level. Similarly, very few of the children that crossover to public French elementary schools continue into French public high schools (Mc Andrew & Eid, 2003).

As regards French-language skills, “teachers remark that the advantages which students have gained in the elementary grades are lost by the end of high school” (ABEE, 1995, p. 17). Questions can also be raised concerning the level of French skills achieved by grade six and it is clear that a major challenge in the coming years will be how to provide Anglophone students with the required biliteracy needed for full participation in Quebec society. And just how well are English schools doing at producing bilingual graduates? This is a difficult question since bilingualism depends not just on the school, but also on the local sociolinguistic context in which the school is located and language use in the family. While in some school boards, English sector students are writing and doing well on high school subject examinations intended for mother tongue Francophones, students in other school boards are showing strong oral skills but not necessarily strong reading and writing skills in French (ABEE, 1995, p. 14). In its report, the QCGN identified the lack of proficiency in written French at the high school graduate level as a major issue, one that could impede the ability for further studies or entry into the workforce in Quebec (QCGN, 2006, p. 22).

The development of French programs in the English sector has had strong repercussions on English schools and brings to the fore questions of equity in school settings. The “English-English” stream has dwindled. Children with special needs and learning disabilities tend to be enrolled in the regular “English-English” stream and hence follow the basic FSL curriculum which provides only a minimal level of skills

in French. Regularly, there are calls to provide better support to these students so that they can reach and stay within bilingual programs and acquire the language skills needed to live and work in Quebec. Questions of whether the mastery of French skills will come at the expense of mastery in English are also raised periodically. Thus the problem of subtractive bilingualism is emerging as an issue for some English-speaking students, an ongoing concern for Francophone minority pupils in the rest of Canada (Landry & Rousselle, 2003). Ironical as it may sound, there is a fear that eventually the “English-English” stream will entirely disappear in English schools and only bilingual options will remain, “as English schools become more French” (ABEE, 1995, p. 23). Bilingual education has also transformed the staff profile, as many teachers hired in such boards are Francophone generalists with very different cultural referents. This again challenges the role assigned official minority schools, i.e., that they serve primarily as settings for the linguistic and cultural reproduction of a community.

In the Greater Montreal Area, over the past thirty years, the English school system has been involved in a major quest for bilingualism and one of the key challenges for the foreseeable future will be how to provide students with high level skills in both French and English. While some very effective second language programs have been developed, parents are increasingly calling for French-English biliteracy and it seems likely that more and more pressure will be put on the secondary level to maintain what students have acquired at the elementary level, whether through French immersion and enriched French programs or crossover to French schools. In its recent report, the Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative (GMCDI, 2007) recommended that an assessment be made of the French-language skills that Anglophone students need to effectively integrate into Quebec’s labour market.

5. French Mother Tongue Students in English Schools: Crossover of Another Sort

By virtue of mixed marriages and other personal circumstances, a number of Francophone children are legally entitled to the English school system in Quebec. In effect, during the 1990s, enrolment of mother tongue French students in English Montreal elementary and

secondary schools increased by about 35%, while in the regions, it increased by nearly 115% — a startling increase indeed. In total, between 1991 and 2003 the percentage of mother tongue French students in English-language schools rose from 15.2% to 27.9% (Jedwab, 2004). As table 3 shows, the number of mother tongue French students (hence ayants-droit) who enrolled in English schools increased from 20,413 in 2002-03 to 21,950 in 2006-07. The percentage of Francophones in English schools of the Greater Montreal area currently stands at 6.2%, whereas outside of Montreal it stands at 25% (Jedwab, 2004). While these students represent an important proportion of students in English schools, when looked at in terms of the total Francophone student population of the province, they represent less than 2.5% (Béland, 2006).

Table 3
Student Population (Part Time and Full Time) in Youth Sector,
Quebec Schools, by Mother Tongue and Language of Instruction,
2002-2003 to 2006-2007

Mother Tongue	Language of Instruction	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007
French	In French schools	883,045	871,246	860,519	846,880	829,494
		97.7%	97.6%	97.6%	97.5%	97.4%
	In English schools	20,413	21,033	21,402	21,719	21,950
		2.3%	2.4%	2.4%	2.5%	2.6%
Total French mother tongue*		903,470	892,291	881,932	868,610	851,454
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
English	In French schools	17,801	18,322	18,739	19,270	19,617
		18.9%	19.4%	20.0%	20.7%	21.4%
	In English schools	76,495	76,101	75,184	73,918	72,163
		81.1%	80.6%	80.0%	79.3%	78.6%
Total English mother tongue*		94,327	94,455	93,957	93,206	91,807
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Total French and English mother tongue students include a small minority (n = 15-30) who attend First Nation language schools in each year.

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS), DCS, Quebec (2007).

The increase of Francophone students in English-language schools has done a great deal to offset the continuing decline of the English school population. However, as noted by Jedwab, demographic changes to the clientele of English-language schools inevitably undercut the degree to which such institutions can reproduce the culture and heritage of Anglo-Quebec (Jedwab, 2004). In some cases, the English school is described as a “language learning school”, populated by children from Francophone families. In much the same spirit, some French schools on the West Island of Montreal heavily populated by English mother tongue students are referred to as “immersion schools” by Francophone families. As table 3 shows, the number of English mother tongue pupils enrolled in French schools across Quebec increased from 17,801 in 2002-03 to 19,617 in 2006-07. Overall, both the French and English school system benefit from “crossover” students: mother tongue students who voluntarily attend school in the other language. In terms of numbers, English mother tongue students in French schools and French mother tongue students in English schools are roughly equivalent. If looked at proportionally, however, the impact on the two school systems is quite different: 21% of all English mother tongue students are in French schools (roughly 10% by choice and the other 10% by law) as compared to 2.6% of the total French mother tongue student population who have crossed over (by choice) to English schools.

In contrast to research on French “*ayants-droit*” pupils in the rest of Canada (ROC; Landry & Rousselle, 2003), there is little research dealing with the motivational profile of Quebec Francophone “*ayants-droit*” families who choose English schooling for their children. It is quite likely that these Francophone families are using the school system, much like Quebec Anglophones, as a strategy to acquire bilingualism—an option only open to families who are “*ayants-droit*”. The educational clauses of Quebec’s Bill 101 prevent the majority of Francophones from enrolling in English-language primary and secondary schools. Quebec’s Education Act furthermore limits the amount of time allocated to instruction in English, making it impossible to establish a bilingual stream within French-language schools. An experimental English program however has been put in place in grades 5 and 6, thanks to Francophone parental pressure. Essentially,

children make their way through an accelerated version of the elementary curriculum which frees them to enrol in an intensive, usually five-month English immersion program (www.speaq.qc.ca). Francophone “ayants-droit” students enrolled in English schools arrive with their own set of linguistic needs:

They may have one English parent but their home and community language is French and they have come to school to learn English. To meet the goals of biliteracy, they need English, not French. (ABEE, 1995, p. 27)

This is very true for some schools in regional Quebec, but it is also true in some English schools in the eastern end of the island of Montreal. Taking this into account, some schools are trying out new bilingual education models and experimenting “with a judicious mixture of French mother tongue and English mother tongue in their curricula” (ABEE, 1995, p. 27). As the Advisory Board on English Education notes: “Providing for the needs of these different levels of proficiency necessitates flexibility and is susceptible to constant change” (ABEE, 1995, p.27).

Like Anglophone families, Francophone families seem to prefer to crossover to the other sector at the elementary level, when children are believed to be more permeable to languages and when the need for good marks to pursue postsecondary education is seen as less crucial. Since their passage in English schools is temporary (at the elementary level), their commitment to English minority schooling is perceived as less rooted and some propose that these families are less likely to invest in English-speaking community and school initiatives. Nevertheless, it is the presence of French-mother tongue students in the English school sector which has headed off continued decline of student numbers and school closings. Currently, 70% of French mother tongue students who have a right to an English education do in fact exercise it, and the percentage has gone up slightly in recent years (Jedwab, 2002).

6. Beyond Secondary: English-Language CEGEPs and Universities in Quebec

According to a report by the ABEE (2004), over 80% of Quebec's total student population will obtain a secondary diploma, either a Secondary School Diploma (SSD) or a Diploma in Vocational Studies (DVS), in the youth or adult education sector. Nearly 60% will enrol in college (CEGEP), leaving close to 40% who will enter the workforce after high school, about half of whom (20%) are without a secondary diploma (ABEE, 2004). Only half of the students who receive their secondary diploma from the youth sector (72%) will enter university (36%) (ABEE, 2004). At the post-secondary level (CEGEPs and universities), there has been an increase in the number of diplomas being granted in both English-language and French-language institutions for the period 1999 to 2003 (Quebec, 2005, table 3.4.2).

Statistics on the performance of the total student population of Quebec are fairly easy to find on the MELs site, however finding statistics on just how well students in the English sector are doing proves a challenge. An obvious recommendation is that a report of this sort should be undertaken. The last report found which provided a picture of how well students in English schools are doing dates back to the Chambers Report (1992). In the early 1990s, the English sector had a lower percentage of dropouts than the French sector: roughly 17% as compared to 25% for the French sector (Chambers, 1992). In the official Ministry of Education examinations for secondary school graduation, both the average mark and the success rate in the English sector were higher than in the French sector. The success rate in the English sector was 88.6% as compared to 82.5% in the French sector in 1990. At the present time, data on secondary school graduation is provided by school boards within their administrative region. For the two English school boards on the island of Montreal, the percentage of students obtaining a high school leaving certificate is high. For example, for the cohort of students who started high school in 1999 and obtained a high school leaving certificate within the next seven years, the percentage for both English boards is roughly 80% as compared to 65.9% for all school boards within that administrative region (Quebec, 2006c). Generally speaking, English school boards have a higher percentage of students graduating from their high schools

than other boards within their administrative regions. However, not all school boards are showing as high percentage rates as those on the island of Montreal.

In Quebec's college or CEGEP system, there are forty-eight CEGEPs, five of which deliver services in English³. In both sectors, more female students are graduating from CEGEP than male students (Quebec, 2006b). In Quebec's English-language CEGEPs, in 2003, there were 26,489 students enrolled in the regular program and another 5,286 in adult education programs. As mentioned earlier, high school graduates, regardless of their linguistic origin, are free to pursue post-secondary education in English or French. In 1991, mother tongue Anglophones constituted approximately 55% of the English CEGEP sector; by 2000, this percentage had dropped to 49.4%. The percentage of Allophones in English CEGEPs has also shown a drop, as a growing number of Allophones educated in the French sector are choosing to continue in French: 60.4% of Allophones chose French CEGEPs in 2006 as compared to roughly 18% in 1980—a trend which in recent years shows a steady 1% increase annually (Mc Andrew, 2008). However, the percentage of mother tongue French students in English-language CEGEPs in Quebec increased and at the present time is gaining on the percentage of Allophone students (Quebec, 2005). Again, this is particularly true in English-language CEGEPs outside of Montreal where mother tongue French students currently outnumber mother tongue English students. The majority of English mother tongue college students, however, are in English-language CEGEPs and crossover to French-language institutions is low (roughly 850 students a year). The majority of students in English-language CEGEPs (roughly 75%) are in pre-university programs (ABEE, 2004, p. 21).

Students enrolled in English-language CEGEPs (regardless of mother tongue) are graduating in higher numbers. In pre-university programs, for the cohort enrolled in 1990 the percentage to obtain a *Diplôme d'études collégiales* (DEC) was 62.5%. For the cohort enrolled in 2001, the percentage to obtain a DEC was 73.3%. In technical programs, if we compare the cohort starting in 1990 and the cohort

3. <http://www.fedcegeps.qc.ca>.

starting in 2001, the percentage obtaining diplomas jumps from 51.8% to 57.5% (Quebec, 2007b). If we look at the entire cohort to enrol in English CEGEPs in 2001, the percentage who obtained a DEC is well above the average for the province (regardless of mother tongue).

In a recent report, the Advisory Board on English Education stated that it considered Quebec's English-language CEGEPs in the Montreal and Quebec City regions to be "generally in good health" (ABEE, 2004, p. 20). Nevertheless, it was felt that English-language CEGEPs face important challenges not necessarily faced by French-language CEGEPs. They underlined the need for "precise and distinct data from English institutions" (ABEE, 2004, p. 21). While CEGEP attendance is declining in many regions of Quebec, there is growth in nearly all the regions where English-language CEGEPs are located; only Champlain Regional College's Lennoxville and St. Lawrence (Quebec City) campuses are not located in growth areas. An important factor to keep in mind, however, is that the health of this sector comes from its ability to attract Francophone students and that the percentage of Anglophone and Allophone students in the student population is in decline.

According to census data (Bourhis & Lepic, 2004), the percentage of Quebec Anglophones who obtain a university degree is higher than that of Quebec Francophones, as well as other Canadians. This, however, does not necessarily give us a clear picture of how well English-language universities in Quebec compare to other universities given that the student population in these universities, as in English-language CEGEPs, is very diverse. Quebec has three English-language universities as compared to sixteen universities that function in French. As table 4 shows, there are currently 64,410 students in English universities including McGill, Concordia and Bishop's. Anglophone crossover to French-language universities is very low, whereas an important number of French mother tongue students are enrolled in English universities.

When it comes to mother tongue speakers of other languages (Allophones), this population is almost evenly distributed between the two linguistic post-secondary systems. In 2003, there were 63,612 students in English universities; 17,090 had a mother tongue other than English or French. In 2003, there were 19,211 foreign students in

Table 4
Total Student Population (Part Time and Full Time) in Quebec
CEGEPs and Universities, by Language of Instruction, 2003-2004

CEGEPs Student Population	Regular Program	Adult Education	Total
In French colleges	124,226	22,361	146,587
	84.0%	82.3%	83.8%
In English colleges	23,594	4,802	28,396
	16.0%	17.7%	16.2%
Total	147,820	27,163	174,983
	100%	100%	100%
Universities			
Student Population			Total
In French Universities			193,914
			75.1%
In English Universities			64,410
			24.9%
Total			258,324
			100%

Source: Déclaration des clientèles scolaires (DCS); Déclaration des clientèles en formation professionnelles (DCFP); Système d'information financière sur la clientèle adulte (SIFCA); Système d'information et de gestion des données sur l'effectif collégial (BIC, 2005-05-04); Gestion des données sur les effectifs universitaires (SGDEU).

Quebec's university system; 8,677 of this population, or slightly less than 50%, were enrolled in English universities. It would appear that English-language universities are drawing a large share of students from other countries and other language groups. Furthermore, within English-language universities, the percentage of mother tongue Francophones has risen from 18% in 1991 to 20% in 2000, while Allophone students increased from 20% to 25% and Anglophones dropped from 60% to approximately 55% (Jedwab, 2004). Looking at recent enrolment statistics, it would appear that English post-secondary education in Quebec is healthy, while elementary and secondary schools are facing major challenges. At both levels, however, there appears to be a need to take into account the very varied linguistic and cultural backgrounds of the student population.

7. Where to from Here? Some Thoughts and Opinions

From this overview emerges a portrait of an English school system well rooted in the history of Quebec, but also a portrait of a system that cannot be taken for granted. Particularly at the elementary and secondary level, serious challenges are obvious and they risk becoming more serious in the years to come. If, in comparison, post-secondary education in English seems to be well and thriving, it is also challenged by the linguistic diversity of its student clientele and it would seem timely to require a more in-depth report on how post-secondary institutions are coping.

7.1 Legislative Concerns

If we look to the legal/administrative context, an immediate issue of concern is the continued existence of school boards in the provincial school system. Currently, linguistic school boards provide the Anglo-Quebec minority with some control over the educational development of its communities, as well as jobs in education. However, the very existence of French and English school boards in the province was challenged by the leader of the conservative “Action Démocratique du Québec” (ADQ) party, a challenge taken up again by the newly formed conservative “Coalition Avenir Québec” (CAQ) during the 2012 Quebec election. Such challenges have put some pressure on Quebec Education Ministers to reconsider the role of both Francophone and Anglophone school boards in the Province. To counter a possible reorganization of administrative structures, public support for English school boards should be mobilized and strong arguments, including constitutional ones, prepared. Francophone minorities have, since the Canadian Charter, fought on constitutional grounds for the right to linguistic school boards and won (Landry & Rousselle, 2003).

It seems unlikely that any changes to the legal underpinnings of official minority education at the elementary and secondary level are on the horizon (see Foucher, this study). Both the federal and Quebec governments have found a legislative solution to the provision of official minority schooling. At both levels of government, access to official language minority schooling is defined as transferred from a parent who attended a minority language school in Canada

to their offspring. In both the Quebec Charter and the Canadian Constitution, the right to an education in the official minority language of a province is not universal—as Anglophone parents have found out in English Canadian provinces when they have tried to obtain French programs for their children in the courts, arguing a constitutional right and losing. Since the legislative and constitutional solutions in place are based on a historical right to minority schooling and not on the mother tongue of students, this has resulted in a rather ironic situation in Quebec in which some English mother tongue students, such as children of international immigrants, are not “*ayants-droit*” and do not have access to English public schooling, whereas some French mother tongue students have the status of “*ayants-droit*” and are entitled to English-language schooling. To reopen this issue of how to define rights to official minority education, however, is to reopen the Pandora’s Box of linguistic tensions and constitutional battles that caused much strife in previous decades. It is unlikely that either Ottawa or Quebec would care to undertake a costly and likely contentious redefinition of linguistic rights, at least in the near future (see Foucher, this study). Over time, however, the increasing presence of Francophones in English schools might erode the legitimacy of the discourse supporting the existence of a distinct English school system in the province.

Statistics show that roughly 20,000 English mother tongue students are currently in the French sector of the provincial primary and secondary school system: half of these by choice and the other half, primarily of immigrant origin, because of the educational clauses of Bill 101. A legal fight against the educational clauses of the Charter of the French Language to win back these students from the French sector seems futile and has no constitutional foundation. Indeed, Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is based on a conception of educational rights that is very similar to the one found in the Quebec Charter of the French Language (Landry & Rousselle, 2003). Furthermore, access to English schools based on language competence is an experiment already tried and which proved an administrative catastrophe in the early 1970s (Bill 22) under the Bourassa government (d’Anglejan, 1984). Defining access in terms of language competence could also call into question the presence of

French mother tongue students in English schools, a presence which has countered the decline of English schools in the past decade and is likely to contribute to its stability in the decade to come. It should also be remembered that there are roughly 20,000 French mother tongue students in Quebec's English schools by choice, as compared to 10,000 English mother tongue students in French schools through legislation (the other 10,000 have voluntarily crossed-over). In terms of numbers, to define access to official minority schooling on the grounds of mother tongue would actually have a negative impact on the English school sector.

Continuing to fight Bill 104, the provincial law passed to "plug" a legal loophole to Bill 101, might perhaps stand a better chance of success in the courts (see Foucher, this study). Bill 104 prevents non-"*ayants-droit*" parents from enrolling children in non-subsidized private English schools for a year and then transferring them to English public schools on the grounds that they have received their prior education in English. Bill 104 was recently contested by a prominent Anglo-rights lawyer. In 2007, a Quebec Court of Appeal judge ruled that Bill 104 was unconstitutional. The ruling, based on the 1982 Canadian Constitution, confirmed that children who received private schooling in English could subsequently gain access to the public English school system in Quebec. The Liberal Provincial Government, fearing a backlash if it upheld this decision, submitted the Bill 104 case to a higher court of appeal. According to the President of the Quebec English School Boards Association, Marcus Tabachnick⁴, the number of potential English sector students affected by this judgment is estimated at about 500 a year, most of whom would attend Montreal-island schools. Though these cases account for less than 0.25% of the Montreal French school enrolment of close to a million pupils, 500 students a year is significant within the minority English school system. For English-speaking communities, continued application of Bill 104 might further contribute to the decline of the English public school sector.

As Foucher (this study) argues, access to pre-elementary and post-secondary education are not covered in either Quebec's Charter of the

4. Statement from Marcus Tabachnick, President of the Quebec English School Boards Association, August 22, 2007.

French Language or Section 23 of the Canadian Constitution Act and periodically, the question of putting legislation in place to limit access to English CEGEPs is raised by Parti Québécois nationalists. As Foucher (this study) argues, if ever Section 23 were to be reworked, this issue could quite easily find itself on the table. It remains to be seen if Francophones pushing for a hardening of Bill 101 by limiting access to English-language CEGEPs, will gain ground. This is an issue that has surfaced periodically (Lisée, 2007), but has been rejected so far, regardless of which provincial party is in power.

7.2 Building Bridges Across Language Solitudes

The above legal considerations take us back to the decline of the Anglophone student population. They also bring us back to the real crunch issue: the exodus of Quebec's young Anglophones and what can be done to keep young adults in the province. At present, their exodus represents a serious loss not only to the Anglophone community but also to Quebec society at large in terms of valuable human resources (see Floch and Pocock, this study).

One of the main ways to keep young Anglophones in Quebec is to provide them with bilingual skills, and it is clear that Quebec's English school system has made tremendous progress on this front since the 1970s. Expectations concerning the level of bilingual skills needed, however, keep rising. What seemed like enough in the 1980s is deemed insufficient at the present time. Also, French language learning takes place mostly at the primary school level whether in the form of French immersion or in the form of crossover to French schools. While students are obtaining a fairly high level of oral proficiency, it is obvious that the oral and written French skills of a grade six student are below what is required of adults in many jobs in Quebec. At the high school level, instruction time in French diminishes and the question of maintenance of bilingual competence comes to the fore. Furthermore, Anglophone parents are increasingly realizing that contact with French speakers is required not only to improve the language skills of their children, but to help young Anglophones feel comfortable and at home in Quebec society (Quebec Advisory Council, 2006; Laperrière, 2006). Meanwhile on the other side of the educational divide, French schools are struggling to provide students with good

English teaching and meet the growing demand for bilingual skills among French speakers.

This brings us full circle to the beginning of this chapter and to recommendations made by an advisory committee to the QESBA in 2006, which essentially proposed that the future of the Anglophone community rests in part on its ability to enter a new relationship with the French majority population of Quebec. For this new French/English relationship to emerge, the old stereotypes need to be replaced by new representations and this entails much work and good will on both sides of the educational fence. One way to break down isolation is through increased exchange programs between English and French schools, for which funding currently exists at the MELS but is chronically underused. There are also less traditional solutions to explore, such as a recent initiative undertaken in two high schools in a suburb of Montreal, with French students spending half the academic year in the English high school and vice versa. Another avenue to explore is that of citizenship education, part of the core curriculum for Quebec schools. An approach to citizenship education which takes into account new realities of what it means to be an Anglophone, a Francophone, an Allophone, a Quebecer/Québécois in an increasingly complex linguistic and identity dynamic could contribute to a better understanding of the different communities in Quebec and their respective fears and challenges.

A further conclusion emerging from this overview is that Quebec's Anglophone community is anything but homogeneous—and the same can be said of the English-language school system in Quebec. Incorporating students from many different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, including French mother tongue youth, it is clear that “official language minority” schools in Quebec cannot serve to reproduce the English-speaking community of the past. Its mission must be forward-looking and grounded in a new non-static definition of community diversity and individual identities. This challenge is also felt by Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada (Heller, 1999; Landry & Rousselle, 2003), and by the Francophone majority in Quebec as well. Not only are the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of students in Quebec's English sector diverse, their language needs are as well. As noted by the Advisory Board on English Education:

English schools exist in all kinds of different sociolinguistic environments from those where French is heard and used only in school by students whose mother tongue is English to those in which students often speak French at home and at play and may even be struggling with English at school. What draws these together is a common search for the best ways to insure high levels of biliteracy (ABEE, 1995, p. 6).

While this statement overlooks the presence of Allophone children in English schools who are in the process of becoming trilingual, it does make clear that a major preoccupation across the English school system is providing high level bilingual skills in English and French and this in a variety of sociolinguistic contexts, both rural and urban. Historically, English-language schools have been able to meet this challenge with a great deal of flexibility and have developed models that work for their local context and student population. And this should remain the case within Quebec's recently reformed educational system, which promotes each school's power to choose its orientation and educational project. This said, Quebec's educational program remains centralized and strongly circumscribed by its Educational Act and a common curriculum. It should not be forgotten that in the past, in order to provide bilingual education programs, the English school system relied on a derogation clause from Quebec's Education Act. However, it seems highly unlikely that any Quebec government would choose to restrict instruction time in French within the English school sector. As the Commissioner Gérald Larose stated in his final report following public audiences on the vitality of French in Quebec:

Pour contribuer pleinement à l'essor de la société québécoise et pour en influencer le développement, les membres de la communauté québécoise d'expression anglaise sont en droit de réclamer que leur réseau de commissions scolaires leur assure une maîtrise de la langue officielle et commune en permettant aux élèves de pénétrer l'univers culturel qui la porte. (Quebec, 2001)⁵

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5. "To contribute fully to the future of Quebec society and play a role in its development, members of the Anglo Quebec community have the right to demand that their school boards provide them with the mastery of the official and common language (French) to allow students to be part of the cultural universe that carries that language." (free translation).

7.3 Promoting Educational Equity and Community Development

Two final challenges in English schooling need to be considered: the case of schools in urban centres with students from economically disadvantaged homes; and that of rural schools with very small student populations and little access to services, struggling to provide secondary and vocational education. While the number of English schools located in economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods is low, it has doubled in recent years. With the chronic exodus of young educated Anglophones, it seems likely that dealing with disadvantaged school populations will become a more important concern in the future. Given the changing demographics of the Anglo community, questions of educational equity and racial discrimination are likely to become more important in the years to come (Renaud, Germain & Leloup, 2004). As for small schools in the regions, the challenges already present are not likely to change. However, to meet these challenges new administrative solutions need to be explored. These include: the sharing of resources with local French schools which face the same difficulties; provision for distance education; outreach to diverse communities in urban settings; and the upgrading of buildings and equipment through new partnerships. This brings us to an initiative that seems particularly interesting: Community Learning Centres.

One exciting initiative with the potential to tackle some of the major challenges facing Quebec's English schools has already been launched and is already moving beyond the initial phases of implementation. In 2006, with funding provided by the Canada-Quebec Agreement for Minority Language Education, the "*Services à la communauté anglophone*" launched a new three year project to establish Community Learning Centres (CLCs). The main goal of CLCs is to transform schools into "hubs" for community development in a range of different urban and regional settings (cf. Francophones in the ROC: Landry & Rousselle, 2003). The hope is that by developing collaborative partnerships between schools and the communities they serve, CLCs will enhance access to services for the English-speaking community and improve student retention and success. Furthermore, a CLC that houses a number of different services and is open to the broader community can attract funding from non-traditional sources,

such as municipal funding in exchange for community use of the school facilities. All of the CLCs have been provided with video-conferencing equipment, making the possibility of regional outreach to urban centres for services such as telehealth and distance education much more feasible. A school that has been transformed into a CLC not only becomes a key institution in a community that might be devoid of any other major cultural institution, but it may fireproof the school from eventual closure. In urban Montreal, it allows for multi-cultural associations to have a more prominent profile in the school and hopefully act as a bridge between families, students and the school system. Currently, there are fifteen CLCs created in Phase One of the project, and a further seven CLCs are in the early stages of Phase Two across the province. Obviously, many are watching this unusual educational initiative to see how well it can meet its challenges.

8. Concluding Notes

Quebec's English school system serves as a rather unusual example of how a school system can respond, and rapidly, to social change—a trait already clearly demonstrated in the development of French immersion and other bilingual education models (Lamarre, 1997, 2005). To continue to meet the needs of their student population and take account of the tremendous diversity of their sociolinguistic make-up, Quebec English schools must be granted the flexibility and autonomy they need to develop “locally tailored solutions” (Quebec Advisory Council, 2006)—something they have done amazingly well in the past. But they will also need funding to put these solutions into place. It has often been said that Quebec's Anglophone community cannot be compared to Francophones in minority situations in the Rest of Canada and that the community does not require the financial help provided to Francophone minorities. While this statement may have been true in the past, it no longer holds. The challenges already present are large and all signs point to an increasing need for strong creative initiatives.

The CLC project represents one very promising effort to redefine schools and use them to contribute to the vitality and well-being of the local community they serve. It is an important element in a plan for the future but not the only piece needed. In effect, the Quebec English

school system reveals the complexity of minority language schooling. Given its role to “safeguard” the development of its local community, one mandate of English schools should be the “creation of a biliterate school program environment” (ABEE, 1995, p. 29). Energy and funding needs to be devoted to ways of attaining the level of French-English biliteracy needed to keep young Anglophones in Quebec and provide them with the tools needed to integrate into the job market and the social and political world of Quebec society. More French media attention needs to be devoted to the decline of the Anglophone minority in Quebec and to what such an attrition represents in terms of loss, not only to the local Anglophone community, but to Quebec society as a whole, in terms of technological and scientific know-how, economically as well as culturally.

In some perhaps not too distant future, Canada and Quebec might need to revisit and rethink issues of official minority schooling, bilingualism, and notions of collective and individual identity. At the moment, however, Quebec’s Anglo community has signalled its willingness to move into a new phase and build a new relationship with French speakers in the province, a challenge that to succeed will need to be heard and met by Quebec’s Francophone majority. As Quebec comes out of the spin of “accommodement raisonnable”, the question bears asking: What place for the English-speaking “other” in “le Québec de demain”?

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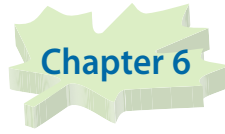
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What Future for English-Language Health and Social Services in Quebec?

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The chapter examines six dimensions for considering the future for English-language health and social services in Quebec. A historical overview of legislative guarantees of services in English presents two opposing political perspectives on their application, as well as community mobilization efforts required to protect the legislation. Recent information on demographic vitality and health status of English-speaking communities sets an important context for understanding the regional realities of access to health and social services in English. The new context of Quebec's health and social services system is described with respect to its impact on access programs of services in English. The results of the 2003 federal Action Plan for English-speaking communities are presented, as well as the community blueprint for action aiming to secure the future of English-language health and social services in Quebec.

1. Legislative Guarantees of Services in English: Historical Overview

The right of English-speaking persons to receive health and social services in the English language is inscribed in the legislation governing Quebec's health and social services system. Part of an answer to the question about the future of services in English lies in taking a fresh look at the impact of the legislative guarantees on the service delivery system, on government policy guiding system reforms, and on English-speaking communities.

A historical perspective is required to understand how the guarantees, won almost twenty-five years ago as a result of community mobilization, have survived political pressures and major system reforms. The story is instructive because the legislative provisions prescribe the actions of a broad range of actors that include public institutions, communities and the Quebec government with respect to application of the right to services in English within the health and social services system.

The impetus for the 1984 community campaign for legislative guarantees came from a government proposal to regionalize and sub-regionalize service delivery. The plan called for transfers of personnel from the flagship English-language social services institution in Montreal to a developing network of local community service centres (CLSCs). The reorganization was considered a threat to the ability of the network of English-language health and social services institutions to continue to serve English-speaking communities. In addition, there were no guarantees that the new services in the CLSC network would meet the needs of English-speaking people. Eric Maldoff, President of Alliance Quebec, laid down fundamental principles to be included in the reform at a press conference in November 1984.

Our community must be guaranteed access to social services in our language. There can be no treatment without communication. Failure to provide this essential guarantee is nothing less than overt exclusion of the English-speaking community from universal access to social services.

Bill 142, introduced by the newly elected Liberal government, was assented to on December 19, 1986. The Bill amended the existing health and social services legislation to provide a qualified right for English-speaking people to receive services in English. It directed regional planning authorities to develop access programs of services in English, taking into account the resources of the institutions in each region. The Bill provided for the designation of certain institutions (generally those historically affiliated with English-speaking communities) permitted to offer their range of services in English. It is important to note that this “bilingual status” in no way exempts them from the obligation to ensure all their services are accessible in French as prescribed by Quebec’s Charter of the French Language.

Since 2003, the legislative guarantees have worked relatively well at the administrative level. Collaboration among the various government, institutional and community constituencies is leading to a new generation of access programs of services in English. Because serious political debate over the legislation has been dormant in the recent period, there has been a natural tendency to relax “political preparedness” and concentrate on other priorities driven by system reforms and community development needs. What elements in the previous political debate are likely to shape a new debate, if it emerges? What action is merited to ensure the legislative guarantees continue to play their crucial role?

The Legislator’s Intent

Key political positions taken by the Liberal government in the initial debate were later instrumental in guiding administrative actions within the system that led to government decrees enacting the entitlement of services in English. These political arguments remain highly relevant, because they continue to dominate the legislation, policy and administrative processes related to enacting the right to services in English within the system. An excellent legal and political analysis of the legislative guarantees is presented in Silver (1999) and cites extracts from the National Assembly debates outlining the opposing political views. Thérèse Lavoie-Roux, Minister of Social Affairs and responsible for piloting Bill 142 through the National Assembly in 1986, defined the Liberal government’s intent in the following manner:

What we want to do [...] is guarantee the exercise of a right; confer in a law the right of the minority to receive services in its language in the health and social services domain. A right that is not constitutionally or legally recognized does not have real operational effect. (Translation)

Pierre-Marc Johnson, leading the Parti Québécois debate, expressed the following view of the “right of the minority”:

When one discusses linguistic questions [...] you must have in mind that there is no symmetry or reciprocity between the Anglophone minority of Quebec and the minorities outside Quebec that are Francophone. [...] This debate has launched around something

that is essentially a collective right and not rights of the individual [...]. (Free translation)

More difficult to challenge was the argument of language as a tool of service delivery presented by Thérèse Lavoie-Roux:

The central question is to recognize the relationship [...] between the provision of health services and social services, and [...] the language in which these services are delivered. Concretely, the provision of services encompasses the range of gestures and actions that constitute the tissue of communication between the provider of services and the beneficiary. It is not simply a question, in this domain, of posing gestures or techniques; but the service provider must, in the first order, enter into communication with the beneficiary. (Free translation)

In 1989, the government adopted the first access programs. This followed a decree the previous year designating certain institutions that would offer all their services in English (as well as in French). An agreement was also signed with the Government of Canada, providing a financial contribution to Quebec's initiatives to improve access to services for English-speaking communities. These actions effectively integrated the right to services in English into the normal functions of the health and social services system. This state of affairs continued through Liberal reform of the system in the early 1990s. The legislative guarantees were instrumental in protecting the right to services in English during reorganization, as well as securing the mandates of institutions historically affiliated with English-speaking communities. In addition, an important amendment was adopted creating provincial and regional advisory bodies that formalized the community role in advising the government and regional planning authorities on the provision of English-language services.

However, this period of orderly implementation of the guarantees ended in 1994 with the election of the French nationalist Parti Québécois government. Over the next nine years, two major events changed the political and administrative context of implementation of the right to services in English. The first was a radical transformation of the health and social services system, and the second was a government sanctioning of the introduction of language politics into the delivery of services in English.

The Parti Québécois Government of 1994-2003: Transformation Without Guarantees

The network transformation was designed to respond to emerging demographic and cost pressures on the health and social services system. The amalgamation and closure of institutions were key features of the reform and deemed to have a serious impact on the right to services in English. At issue was the government's preference to treat the right as a secondary matter, to be taken into consideration once reorganization was completed. At this point, the statutory revision of the access programs had been held up for several months; and services legally recognized as providing English-language services were being closed, merged, transferred, or dispersed without any concrete plans to ensure access to services in English. It was a situation reminiscent of the precarious status of English-language services prior to the adoption of legislative guarantees. In a letter of April, 1996, to Jean Rochon, Minister of Health and Social Services, the Provincial Committee stated the following:

[...] We must signal our grave concern that transformation plans are failing to recognize the special role and responsibility of the network of English-language institutions. Furthermore, these plans are putting into question the future of services accessible in English which are on the verge of being identified in French-language institutions affected by transformation.

The Parti Québécois and Language Politics

The legislative guarantees were also coming under scrutiny as part of a government review of the status of the French language in Quebec (Silver, 1999). An inter-ministerial committee reporting to Louise Beaudoin, Minister responsible for the Charter of the French Language, stated that the broad definition in the law of "English-speaking person" gave all Quebecers the right to seek services in English. This challenged the Parti Québécois government policy to make French the official public language of Quebec and was seen as promoting institutional English-French bilingualism by allowing "freedom of choice" in the use of public services.

Soon after the Parti Québécois election victory, Premier Lucien Bouchard addressed the concerns of Quebec's English-speaking

communities in a key speech at the Centaur Theatre in Montreal. On the issue of access to services in English, the Premier declared that a person going for a blood test should not also require a language test. Despite this, the ruling Parti Québécois party platform was amended to include a review of the health and social services legislation to ensure institutions would not fall prey to functional or institutional bilingualism as a result of application of legislative guarantees granted to the English-speaking minority.

Early in 1997, the government sent the access programs to the *Office québécois de la langue française*. This was considered by English-speaking communities as an assault on their legislative guarantees. It added further delays to government approval of the access programs. The regional boards (planning authorities) were required to justify their addition of English-language services to the programs; and the *Office québécois de la langue française* concluded that the access programs did not provide an adequate evaluation of their impact on the Charter of the French language (Silver, 1999). The Ministry of Health and Social Services hired outside consultants to analyse the access programs. Their conclusion was that “organizational factors” would lead to an increase in the number of institutions offering services in English. A report on the access programs went to the Quebec Cabinet in July 1997 and drew this response from the Deputy Premier, Bernard Landry:

We received a report from the Ministry of Health that was totally unacceptable, and that went too far. The number of bilingual institutions has absolutely no relationship with real needs of the Anglophone minority. This makes us more vigilant [...] It includes nearly half the institutions in Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean [...]. That is unacceptable. The proportions are not right and all must be reviewed in depth. (Translation) (O’Neil, *Le Devoir*, July 19, 1997)

“Enough Is Enough”: Taking the Government to Court

In January 1999, Alliance Quebec issued a writ of mandamus against the Parti Québécois government charging that it had failed to respect the legal delay for approval of the access programs identifying services available in English. This legal action triggered the Cabinet approval process and the English-language services plans were finally adopted by the government in 1999.

But the story did not end there. In November 2001, the Minister of Health and Social Services, Remi Trudel, stated that the number of bilingual posts with health and social services institutions had to be reduced. At the same time, a confidential presentation of his Ministry of Health and Social Services to the Larose Commission on the status of the French language cited dangers of the legislative guarantees of services in English and expressed the wish that the health and social services law “regain its virginity” in a manner so that the network be “liberated from this strange body (legislative guarantees)” (David, *Le Devoir*, January 22, 2002) (Free translation).

In the face of public criticism by the Liberal Party opposition, English-speaking communities and Francophone media, the Minister backtracked saying he would publish a “new policy” in the spring, after consultation with the Provincial Committee. However, there was a problem, as the Committee members had resigned in December 2001 declaring a lack of confidence in the government’s handling of the legislative guarantees.

Over a year later, in March 2002, leaders of English-speaking communities, under the auspices of the Quebec Community Groups Networks (QCGN), confronted Premier Landry at a meeting on the government’s intentions regarding access programs of services in English. The Premier replied that there would be a moratorium on any further action by the government. With the defeat of the Parti Québécois government in 2003, a difficult period for Quebec’s English-speaking speaking communities drew to a close.

A Lesson in “Political Preparedness”

When the contrary political views challenging the Liberal adoption of Bill 142 eventually shaped government policy in the mid to late 1990s, the results led to political and administrative actions that were challenged by English-speaking communities.

When the less tolerant political views of the Parti Québécois government began to have a serious negative impact on the implementation of service guarantees, English-speaking communities organized to respond. Many community leaders involved in mobilization at the time felt that the relationships established between English-speaking

communities and the health and social services system, as a result of legislative guarantees, served to buffer many (but not all) of the effects of Parti Québécois government actions perceived as diminishing the right to services in English. It was also felt that legal action against the government was required to force its compliance with the law. It is always possible that elements of the previous political debates regarding English-language services guarantees will surface again. Community mobilization may again be necessary, if past history is any indication. It would seem that “political preparedness” should come back on the agenda of English-speaking communities. This means that energy and resources must be devoted now to create a renewed policy capacity that can rally the key constituencies and prepare for any future debate on the status and legitimacy of English-speaking communities and the rights that support them.

2. Demographic Vitality and Determinants of Health Status of English-Speaking Communities

Declining and Aging Communities

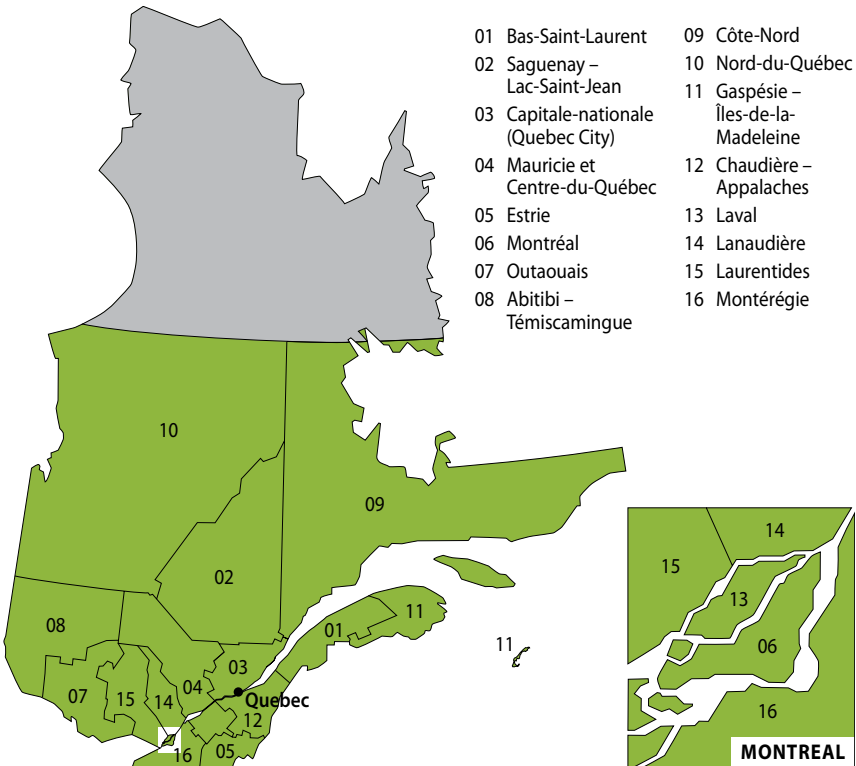
English-speaking communities of Quebec experienced the largest demographic decline in absolute numbers of all the official language minority communities in Canada between 1996 and 2001 (CCESMC, 2007a). Within Quebec, English-speaking minority communities declined in fourteen of seventeen administrative regions; with dramatic declines in five regions, where populations dropped by over 13% in the five-year period.

English-speaking communities are aging at a faster rate than the French-speaking majority communities in thirteen of seventeen administrative regions. The proportion of seniors aged 65 and older relative to the whole English-speaking minority community was over 20% higher than the proportion of Francophone seniors in their communities. As a consequence of aging, these communities have smaller proportions of youth, as well as adults in the age range of 40 to 59, when compared to the Francophone population. The adult group is called the “caregiver” generation because of its social role in caring for the aging population. This shrinking group in many English-speaking communities is creating more vulnerability for seniors, as social support networks weaken.

**Determinants of Health:
Income, Employment and Social Supports**

Income, employment and social support networks are key determinants affecting health status (CCESMC, 2007a). Understanding how English-speaking communities fare with these indicators is an important element in identifying needs and priorities (see Floch and Pocock, this study). English-speaking Quebecers are 26% more likely than the Francophone majority to have incomes below the Statistics Canada low-income cut-off. The rate of low income in English-speaking communities is greater than that in Francophone communities in 15 of 16 administrative regions.

Map 1
Health and Social Service Regions in Quebec
(Excluding Terres-Cris-de-la-Baie-James and Nunavik)



Certain population groups are at greater risk of experiencing health problems. Close to 43% of unattached English-speaking individuals live below the Statistics Canada low-income cut-off. Lone parent families are vulnerable with respect to income security. While 33.7% of Francophone lone parent families are below the low-income cut-off, the rate is higher for English-speaking single parent families at 36.5%. It is important to note that in the Montreal region, 41% of English-speaking single-parent families are low income, a rate that is higher than that in English-speaking communities in a majority of the administrative regions.

Quebec, in its 1998 social and health survey, has linked poor and very poor income levels to factors such as higher incidence of drug use, average to poor eating habits, food insecurity, a lack of recreational physical activity, excessive weight, long-term health problems, and high levels of psychological stress, among other impacts (ISQ, 2001). An understanding of how these factors are affecting the health status of English-speaking communities is an important aspect of identifying needs and determining the response of the health and social services system.

Another factor affecting socioeconomic status is employment. English-speaking minority communities in Quebec are second in Canada after the French-speaking minority in New Brunswick with respect to having unemployment rates greater than the surrounding majority communities. English-speaking communities experience an unemployment rate 17% higher than that of the Francophone majority. There are also important regional variations. In eight regions, English-speaking communities have an unemployment rate that is 30% or higher than that in French-speaking communities.

Social support networks contribute substantially to a community's vitality. 80% of English-speaking Quebecers turn to family and friends first in the case of illness as opposed to seeking the services of a public institution (10.7%). English-speaking communities lead all other official language minority communities in Canada with respect to the total of unpaid hours of assistance provided to seniors. This is striking in light of the shrinking caregiver generation in many English-speaking communities. The rate of unpaid care in nine administrative

regions is 50% or greater in English-speaking communities than that of the Francophone majority communities.

These portraits provide important new information for planning authorities, public institutions and English-speaking communities involved in creating new access programs. Most importantly, this evidence base must be articulated in the new models of service organization emanating from the latest overhaul of the health and social services system.

3. Regional Portraits of Access to Health and Social Services in English

The basis for provision of services to English-speaking people is a key factor in looking at the regional portraits of access to English-language health and social services. There is a distinction to be made between services in English provided on a voluntary basis, and entitled access to services. The entitled services are those services for which there is a legal institutional obligation to ensure they are accessible in English, taking into account the human, financial and material resources of the system. These services are identified in decrees (access programs) adopted by the Quebec government. Services provided on a voluntary basis carry no entitlement and can be accessible on an ad hoc basis. These may be services that are available if, by chance, a bilingual professional encounters an English-speaking person on a given day or shift, and “volunteers” to provide the service in English. There is no administrative or professional obligation to ensure these services are accessible on a continuous basis. There is generally a mix of these two types of services accessible in English in each region.

Assessing the 1999 Access Programs

The first portrait looks at the status of entitled services in each region as assessed by the Provincial Committee on the dispensing of health and social services in the English language (Provincial Committee, 1997, 1999). The Committee’s evaluation identified gaps in services and priorities for improvement. A summary analysis of the Committee evaluations was undertaken in 2001 (Carter, 2001), and provides a rating of access to entitled services by service category and by region.

As seen in table 1, the summary analyses identify four levels of access to entitled services for five categories of service. All sixteen of the 1999 access programs were reviewed and rated using the Provincial Committee's evaluation and recommendations for improving access.

Table 1
Rating of Access to Entitled Services in English,
by Administrative Region and Category of Service, Quebec

Administrative Region	CLSC Services, Including Info-Santé	General and Specialized Medical Services	Long-Term Care	Youth Protection	Rehabilitation Services (for All Categories of Clientele)
Bas-Saint-Laurent	4 (-)	2 (+)	4 (-)	4 (-)	4 (-)
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean	4 (-)	4 (-)	4 (-)	1 (+)	4 (-)
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	1 (+)	2 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	4 (-)
Mauricie et Centre-du-Québec	4 (-)	4 (-)	4 (-)	4 (-)	4 (-)
Estrie	1 (+)	1 (+)	2 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)
Montréal	2 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)
Outaouais	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	2 (+)
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	2 (+)	1 (+)	4 (-)	1 (+)	3 (-)
Côte-Nord	2 (+)	3 (-)	3 (-)	1 (+)	3 (-)
Nord-du-Québec	2 (+)	3 (-)	4 (-)	3 (-)	3 (-)
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	2 (+)	3 (-)	3 (-)	2 (+)	4 (-)
Chaudière – Appalaches	1 (+)	2 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	4 (-)
Laval	1 (+)	2 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)
Lanaudière	3 (-)	3 (-)	2 (+)	3 (-)	3 (-)
Laurentides	1 (+)	3 (-)	3 (-)	1 (+)	3 (-)
Montréal	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)	1 (+)

1 (+) = Substantial access;

2 (+) = Moderately substantial but incomplete access;

3 (-) = Limited access;

4 (-) = Extremely limited or non-existent access

Four regions had limited, extremely limited or non-existent access to entitled services provided by the range of primary level care delivered by the CLSCs. With respect to general and specialized medical services, seven regions had a negative access rating.

Eight regions were considered to be in deficit regarding guaranteed access to English-language long-term care programs; while four regions had limited, extremely limited or non-existent access to entitled services provided by youth protection centres. A highly vulnerable English-speaking clientele with serious psychological, physical or intellectual disabilities would have difficulty accessing rehabilitation programs in English in eleven regions. Table 2 provides a portrait of entitled access to services in English according to the negative and positive ratings of entitled access to the five categories of service identified in table 1 (Carter, 2001).

Table 2
Regional Rating of Access to Entitled Services in English

Regional Rating	Administrative Region
Entitled access to an extremely limited, or limited range of services in English (-)	Bas-Saint-Laurent
	Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean
	Mauricie et Centre-du-Québec
	Côte-Nord
	Nord-du-Québec
	Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine
	Lanaudière
	Laurentides
Entitled access to a moderate to substantial range of services in English (+)	Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)
	Estrie
	Montréal
	Outaouais
	Abitibi – Témiscamingue
	Chaudière – Appalaches
	Laval
	Montréal

Community Perceptions of Access

The next portrait looks at the most recent survey of the perceptions and expectations of English-speaking Quebecers with respect to access to English-language services. In 2005, the CHSSN commissioned CROP polling firm to survey over 3,000 English-speaking persons across Quebec on a range of issues related to community vitality. As seen in table 3, the survey results related to health and social services reveal significant regional differences in the level of access to English-language services (Pocock, 2006). These would include both the entitled services as well as those offered in English on a voluntary basis.

Rating Satisfaction with Access

Table 3 shows that the provincial rate of satisfaction with the general level of access to English-language services is less than 50% (columns 1 and 2). A closer look reveals significant differences between the regions. For example, in Montreal, while the rate of satisfaction was 55.3% in the western part of the Island, it was only 39.4% in the eastern part. Satisfaction levels comparable to or lower than 39% were evident in nine other regions. It must be noted that high levels of satisfaction were recorded for Abitibi – Témiscamingue and Nord-du-Québec. In both regions, the presence of First Nations or Inuit peoples, with certain services adapted to their linguistic and cultural needs, may account for this survey result.

What Percentage Received Services in English?

The survey also provided information on the percentage of English-speaking respondents who received services in the different categories in English (table 3: columns 3 to 8). Doctors in a private office or clinic were more likely than other professionals to provide their services in English. Access to CLSC, Info-Santé, hospital emergency and out-patient services, and overnight hospital care varied significantly among regions. In nine regions, less than 50% of English-speaking respondents received CLSC services in English. This was also the case in six to eight regions for Info-Santé and the different hospital services.

Table 3
English-Speaking Quebecers (N = 3,000): Level of Satisfaction with Access to Services in English, by Administrative Region and Category of Service, Quebec, 2005

Administrative Region	Satisfaction with Access to Services in English in their Region		Doctor in a Private Office or clinic %	CLSC (Other than Info-Santé) %	Info-Santé %	Hospital Emergency or Out-Patient Clinics %	Overnight Hospital Stay %	Ranking (All 5 Service Categories) Rank
	%	Rank						
Bas-Saint-Laurent*	38.5	11	66.0	11.8	31.6	3.2	11.3	15
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean*	52.6	4	47.4	14.5	n/a	n/a	n/a	18
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City)	26.9	16	42.9	12.3	21.9	12.5	16.8	16
Mauricie*	12.2	19	2.9	4.1	n/a	n/a	n/a	19
Centre-du-Québec	39.5	9	35.6	23.0	16.8	19.4	16.7	17
Estrie	36.8	12	82.0	67.8	59.0	51.4	52.5	8
Montréal (East)	39.4	10	74.5	38.6	48.3	49.4	55.1	10
Montréal (Centre)	51.0	5	93.7	72.0	68.6	79.0	80.9	3
Montréal (West)	55.3	3	97.9	80.5	81.5	85.9	93.6	1
Outaouais	42.9	7	93.2	84.9	92.4	84.2	75.7	2
Abitibi – Témiscamingue*	69.0	1	78.6	75.6	56.1	84.5	65.1	4
Côte-Nord	49.0	6	77.7	71.9	57.4	64.1	76.3	7
Nord-du-Québec*	67.3	2	66.5	97.0	56.0	74.4	76.1	6
Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine	35.4	13	84.9	67.6	88.2	48.7	39.8	9
Chaudière – Appalaches	25.8	17	59.7	34.7	n/a	19.8	39.8	14
Laval	34.4	14	73.1	50.4	47.0	49.2	53.3	12
Lanaudière	20.8	18	60.0	36.5	21.1	46.5	33.8	13
Laurentides	32.5	15	65.3	39.1	36.1	55.7	64.7	11
Montréal	40.1	8	82.3	71.5	62.5	65.9	74.5	5
Total	45.9	n/a	86.2	66.7	63.0	70.3	74.1	n/a

* Due to a small sample size, data for the indicated regions should be used with caution.

Source: "Survey of Quebec Anglophones", Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) – CROP, October, 2005.

The Bigger Picture

A Health Canada study provides another dimension to the two portraits presented above. The study allows a comparison of the English-speaking minority with the French-speaking majority of Quebec, the French-speaking minorities outside of Quebec, and English-Canadians in the rest of Canada (ROC), with respect to their use of health services (Tipenko, 2006). Quebec's English-speaking minority scored the lowest of all the groups for questions related to having a regular doctor, use of hospital services and difficulty getting care from a specialist. The English-speaking minority also had lower ratings with respect to quality of health care, satisfaction with the health care provision, and quality of and satisfaction with community-based care.

Was the Service Offered in English, or Did You Have to Ask?

The active offer of services in English by professionals in the health and social services system is an important indicator of the ability of the system to adapt to the needs of English-speaking communities. The CHSSN-CROP survey (Pocock, 2006) provides some indication of the extent of an active offer in different categories of service in Quebec. The active offer is defined as those services in English for which the user did not have to request the service in English, as the offer came from the service provider first. While there were significant variations between Quebec regions, doctors in private offices or clinics were the most inclined to provide an active offer of service in English (87%), while CLSCs demonstrated an active offer rate of 76%. Info-Santé scored the lowest with 65% of its service response in English a result of an active offer to the user. Results also showed that approximately 80% of the hospital services provided in English to the survey respondents were the result of an active offer of English-language services.

With respect to English-speaking people requesting their services in English, a number of barriers can influence the results. These range from English-speakers who are too shy to ask, to those who feel their request would impose a burden on service providers or cause an undue service delay. The CHSSN-CROP survey also showed that the rate of discomfort when asking for services in English was the greatest (over 40% of respondents) in the regions of Bas-Saint-Laurent,

Quebec, and Chaudière – Appalaches. In six regions, over one-quarter of survey respondents were uncomfortable asking for services in English (Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Centre-du-Québec, Eastern Montreal, Laval, Lanaudière, and Mauricie). English-speaking respondents stated that the cause of discomfort was because they felt their request would impose a burden (25%), that a service delay would occur (22%); and 17% felt they were too shy to ask for services in English.

Promoting an active offer of services in English also requires that the public institutions inform communities of service availability. This also extends to health promotion and prevention campaigns. The CHSSN-CROP survey revealed that only 27% of respondents received information about services in English from public health and social services institutions. As well, only 21% received health promotion and prevention information from the public health system in English. As with other survey results, there were significant differences between regions with respect to receiving information in English.

4. Access Programs and the New Context of Quebec's Health and Social Services System

During its mandate, the Quebec Liberal government did embark on reforms to broaden the health and social services system beyond a focus on service delivery to include improvement of health outcomes at the individual and population levels. In 2004, ninety-five health and social services centres (CSSS) were created by merging local community service centres (CLSC), long-term care centres (CHSLD) and, in most cases, a hospital. A second key reform was the creation of four integrated university health networks. These networks are assigned designated “corridors”, or territories, in order to facilitate access of the population of each of the territories to ultra-specialized services. In addition to structural changes, there are new orientations guiding Quebec's public health strategy which will support the development of public health plans at the provincial, regional and local levels.

One major objective of the reform is to remove “silos” of professional practice and promote teamwork in the health and social services sector. Clinical and organizational plans are being developed that will significantly change the way in which health services will be offered to

a regionally defined population (MSSS, 2004). The Quebec Ministry guidelines for development of the new access programs of services in English identify orientations for determining the means by which English-speaking people will gain access to the services they need in the reformed system (MSSS, 2006). These orientations are identified in the next section along with challenges that English-speaking communities and service providers will encounter trying to implement them.

Population-Based Responsibility: The Issue of “Taking Charge”

Service providers who offer services to the population of each of the ninety-five territories have a common responsibility to ensure access to a wide range of services. This model promotes a system responsibility to “take charge” of the person and provide support while that person is engaged with the Quebec health and social services system. The greatest risk for the future of services for English-speaking communities lies in the complexity of the multi-year service reorganization process. The full implementation of the ninety-five local services networks still lies ahead. A number of means to improve access to services, that are likely to be identified in the access programs, have been deemed to be successful in the short term. The challenge will be to sustain these improvements over the long haul in order that they form an integral part of the new network structure.

Hierarchical Organization of Services: The Issue of Inter-Territorial Access

The introduction of the service corridors aims to address the issue of timely access to specialized and super-specialized medical services. The challenge lies in the territorial configuration of the four integrated university health networks and the potential change in the historical mandates of the English-language teaching hospitals of the McGill University health network. Three Francophone university health networks are now responsible for ensuring that the minority English-speaking communities in their “corridors” have access to tiered medical services. Correspondingly, the McGill network must ensure capability of serving Francophone populations in Abitibi – Témiscamingue, Outaouais, and parts of the Montérégie region. While the patient’s

“freedom to choose” the institution for service is acknowledged, it is clear that each of the four university health networks will have to concentrate efforts on organizing services to meet the needs of the populations within their assigned zones.

For the Montreal region, there is a particular dynamic created by the presence of the McGill and Université de Montréal networks. The McGill corridor is limited to part of the central section of Montreal, along with the western sector of the island of Montreal. A question will eventually arise with respect to access for English-speaking communities in the eastern and northern parts of the Montreal region. Will English-speakers in these Francophone majority areas of the island have access to the McGill hospital network, given its official bilingual status? Unless agreements are reached between the Université de Montréal and the McGill networks allowing inter-corridor access, English-speakers living in the Université de Montréal corridor will have to seek their specialized services from the Francophone hospital network. The issue will become more acute, as the respective university health networks eventually reorganize their resources to meet “populational responsibilities” in their assigned corridors.

Mobility of Persons within the Network: The Issue of Navigation

The Quebec Ministry orientation prescribes that it is not up to the English-speaking user to navigate the system, but rather that the system should “welcome him, ascertain his needs with him, recommend the most appropriate response, and guide him toward an effective service.” These functions are conventionally grouped in an intervention program at the first point of contact of the user with the system.

One of the key indicators of improved access to services in the new access programs will be the number of health and social services centres (CSSS) that have accepted the obligation to provide their first contact program in English. While comparisons with the 1999 access programs are difficult, there appears to be a demonstrated willingness of the majority of CSSS to extend their “populational responsibility”, at least at the first contact level, to their English-speaking communities (Provincial Committee, 2007).

Success of Clinical Interventions: The Issue of Language and Communication

This Ministry orientation recognizes that in the health and social services field, providing services in the language of choice of the user is essential for successful clinical intervention. The statement is, in effect, an acknowledgement that language barriers can have an adverse effect on access to health and social services. Studies have confirmed that language obstacles to communication can reduce recourse to preventative services; increase consultation time including the number of tests; lead to the possibility of diagnostic or treatment errors; affect the quality of specific services highly dependent on effective communication; reduce the probability of treatment compliance; and reduce users' satisfaction with the services received (FCFA, 2001).

While the affirmation of the importance of language in clinical intervention is an important orientation, the "tailoring of an adapted and personalized response" to the needs of English-speaking people faces formidable challenges in Quebec. These include a shortage of human resources capable of providing services in English; lack of a sufficient volume of service requests in English; difficulty in planning services due to a lack of information on needs and use of services; ambiguity concerning the legal framework governing the language of work (French) and the legislative guarantees of services in English; and low capacity of a number of communities to engage the public system to respond to needs (CCESMC, 2007b).

Participation of English-Speaking Communities: The Issue of Capacity

The Quebec Ministry orientations for new access programs encourage participation of English-speaking communities at the institutional level, in order to ensure that needs are taken into account in the planning and delivery of services. This is important, given the evidence of under-use of public services by English-speakers; under-representation of English-speaking Quebecers in the personnel of the public system; and the challenges for communities to participate in institutional governance structures (CCESMC, 2007b).

5. Building Foundations:

Results of the 2003 Federal Action Plan in Quebec

Mobilization of English-speaking communities has had a major impact on recent federal policy initiatives aimed at expanding the means available to communities and the Quebec system to improve access to English-language services. Concerted action of a network of community organizations, public institutions and other stakeholders led to an evidence-based strategy to shape federal action and win the support of the Quebec government, the health and social services system and the Francophone majority. In July 2002, a newly-created consultative committee of community and Health Canada representatives co-signed a report to the federal Minister of Health proposing a multi-year plan to improve access to health and social services in English. The recommendations served as a guide for the federal Action Plan for Official Languages launched in March 2003. The Plan supported three levers proposed by the consultative committee: community-institutional networking; adaptation of service delivery models (primary health care); and training and human resources development (CCESMC, 2002).

The investments have supported activities that are closely linked to the structural reforms in Quebec's health and social services system that will affect the whole population including English-speaking minority communities. Formative and final evaluations of the activities are indicating that the investments are beginning to bear fruit. Successful implementation of the measures and positive assessments of early results strengthened the resolve of stakeholders to sustain results and set the stage for long-term changes that aim to improve health outcomes for Quebec's English-speaking communities. Table 4 presents a summary of the results of the federal Action Plan.

Networking and Partnership Initiative

Eleven formal networks are bringing together English-speaking minority communities and service providers at the local, regional and provincial levels. Most of these networks are working to integrate the other two measures funded under the Action Plan. The approach is ensuring that community participants in each network have a vital minimum

capacity to mobilize and create networks with public partners. The institutional stakeholders are gradually making formal commitments to participate and contribute to the achievement of shared objectives.

Primary Health Care Transition

The Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) implemented thirty-seven primary health care transition projects in a fifteen-month period ending in March 2006. Projects were carried out in fourteen administrative regions with the aim to improve access to primary level health and social services in English and foster links between English-speaking minority communities and service providers. Three priority areas were targeted: better access to health information lines (Info-Santé); improved access to front-line community-based health and social services; and adaptation of living environments in institutions to meet cultural and linguistic needs of English-speaking people. An additional twenty-three primary health care transition projects were funded for 2006-2007. The projects were built on the first phase of the primary health projects by adding resources to develop models to better track English-speaking clientele; adapt services as part of developing clinical and organizational projects; and strengthen partnerships between institutional and community partners. Service providers and community organizations surveyed on project results have affirmed that conditions of access in participating institutions have generally improved. This has occurred through an increase in personnel capable of providing service in English; adaptation of services to better respond to needs; and an increased knowledge of the community. As well, English-speaking people are becoming more informed of services as a result of strengthened ties between community organizations and service providers.

Training and Human Resources Development

The McGill University Training and Human Resources Development Project is contributing to an enhanced capability of the Quebec health and social services system to ensure its human resources can provide continuous quality services to English-speaking people. A key feature is an innovative partnership model involving the seventeen regional health and social services agencies, health and social services

institutions, language training organizations and community organizations. The impact of the project is apparent when looking at the reach of activities and nature of results described in table 4.

The engagement of McGill is part of a community strategy to ensure its historical institutions are engaged, or re-engaging, with communities in efforts to improve access to services. McGill is the only English-language institution offering a complete range of professional degree programs in the health and social services fields. Its unique position is creating a new role for the English-language educational milieu in training and supporting professionals who work, or intend to work, in the regions. Its leadership in research is adding to the potential to create new knowledge in a number of areas of interest to communities and service providers.

Sustaining Results

In gauging the future of health and social services in English, it is clear that investments are required to provide a reasonable capacity for Quebec's health and social services system and English-speaking communities to improve access to English-language services. This is commonly referred to as "oxygen" in a system starved for resources and "capacity" for communities to ensure they play a meaningful role. There is clearly an answer to any potential questioning of the federal government's investments "for Quebec Anglophones while there are Francophones who have problems of access". English-speaking representatives determined that about 85% of the \$30.1 M investment should go into Quebec's health and social services system to provide means for Francophone professionals and their institutions to better serve an English-speaking clientele. The Quebec health and social services system as a whole is clearly a beneficiary of this "oxygen" and has returned the gesture with what feels like a genuine commitment to include English-speaking communities in the vast reforms currently underway. This result has expanded the range of stakeholders in the implementation of the federal Action Plan and any new initiatives planned for the future. This new dynamic is probably the most important one in promising sustainability of results of current efforts and securing the future of English-language health and social services in Quebec.

Table 4
Federal Action Plan Measures to Improve Access to Services for English-Speaking Communities, 2003-2008

Measure	Investment (\$30.1 M Total)	Activities and Results
Networking and Partnership Initiative (QCGN)	\$4.7 M	<p>9 regional and local partnership networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 26 CSSS territories <p>1 sector network (drug and alcohol addiction)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prevention networks in the eastern Quebec regions <p>1 provincial network (CHSSN)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 64 member organizations • Community Support Program (Implementation of the Networking and Partnership Initiative) • Partnership with the Quebec Ministry of Health and Social Services (Implementation of 60 primary health care transition projects) • Partnership with the McGill Training and Human Resources Development Project (community liaison and Telehealth)
Primary Health Care Transition (CHSSN)	\$13.4 M	<p>37 projects – 2004-2006</p> <p>23 projects – 2006-2007</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement in provision of the Info-Santé program; access to primary level care; and adaptation of long-term care programs • Improved links between communities and service providers
Training and Human Resources Development (McGill University)	\$12.0 M	<p>Language training of Francophone professionals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,427 Francophone professionals in 81 institutions in 15 regions (2005-2006) <p>Retention of professionals in the regions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 22 pilot internship projects in 14 regions with 132 confirmed offers of internship (2007-2008) <p>Distance community support (contract with CHSSN)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health promotion by videoconferencing in 11 isolated communities, 28 video conferencing sites, reaching 700 English-speaking participants <p>Distance professional support</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pilot measure offering programs supporting English and French-language professionals serving isolated or distant English-speaking communities

6. What Future for English-Language Health and Social Services: A Blueprint for Action

It is fitting to conclude with a look at the new community blueprint to shape the future of health and social services in English in Quebec. The four linked strategies aim to guide collective efforts to maximize benefits of current initiatives and set the stage for future action. They are contained in a new report to the federal Minister of Health submitted by the Health Canada Consultative Committee (CCESMC, 2007b). As with all blueprints, the proof is in the building, and creating the conditions for success will continue to require the determination and mobilization of Quebec's English-speaking communities.

A. Consolidating New Networks of Communities and Public Partners

Formal networks of communities and public partners are seen as a key to sustaining results of current investments and promoting the longer-term changes needed to improve health outcomes in English-speaking communities. A strategy of creating durable partnerships between communities and the broader health and social services system is also seen as a way to reinforce links between English-speaking communities, their resources and their historical institutions. The network model has been effective in facilitating the integration of measures into communities and the health and social services system. The networks have mobilized a range of stakeholders, including community organizations and public institutions, around the common purpose of promoting projects and partnerships to improve access to services in English. The Quebec Ministry of Health and Social Services has become an important collaborator in accepting the community-led initiatives to bring federal resources into the health and social services system. This relationship will be key to joint development of a framework to guide integration of future federal investments. A new federal commitment is recommended to continue support for the existing eleven partnership networks; as well as provide new resources to develop networks in another twenty-four territories touching an additional 30% of the English-speaking population in vulnerable communities.

B. Strategic Entry Points for Action to Improve Health Outcomes

A second strategy identifies key entry points for new federal investments aimed at promoting new models of service organization to improve health outcomes for English-speaking communities. The strategy addresses the limitations of short-term projects to improve access, and looks toward investments incorporating a more long-term structural approach to change. The goal is to secure quality services for English-speaking communities as a more permanent feature of Quebec's health and social services system.

One aspect of this strategy considers the transfer agreements between the federal government and Quebec for health funding, and proposes earmarking portions of the transfer for development of new models of service delivery for English-speaking communities. This is one way to ensure federal contributions are consistent with Quebec's priorities for improving health outcomes and adapting its service system. It aligns with possible changes in federal transfer policy that may effect how the federal government promotes the vitality of official language minority communities. To address the issue of the human resource capability of the Quebec system to serve in English, the Consultative Committee is proposing that a multi-year federal contribution support language training of French-speaking professionals. It is projected that over 4,000 Francophones will have benefited from the first commitment. However, ongoing reorganization of personnel and turnover due to retirement require recurrent resources. As well, French-language training for English-speaking graduates of professional degree programs is seen as one way to keep graduates in Quebec who are more comfortable working in a Francophone milieu. Continued funding is recommended for partnerships that bring French-language institutions, English-language professional degree programs and English-speaking communities together to promote internships and eventual employment in the regions.

Community representatives have mapped out new investments to promote technology to better serve English-speaking communities. This stems from a very successful initiative using Telehealth (videoconferencing and community radio) to extend health promotion services to isolated communities. Once again, the strategy looks

at earmarking budget envelopes for English-speaking communities within major infrastructure programs such as Canada Health Infoway and the Canadian Foundation for Innovation. These are the programs most likely to contribute to the development of Quebec's telecommunications network.

A federal contribution is proposed to encourage communities to participate in Quebec's Public Health Plan, which will foster new public health initiatives at the provincial, regional and local levels. The investment will also support community participation in a new national Public Health strategy. As part of its multi-sector approach, the Committee is promoting federal interdepartmental partnerships with English-speaking communities to support introduction of health promotion programs into the new Community Learning Centres, a community development project in the education sector supported by the federal Action Plan.

C. Informing Public Policy and Influencing Public Opinion

Informed public policy and effective government action is essential if real progress is to be made with respect to ensuring the vitality of English-speaking communities. The community blueprint for action acknowledges that the government and its agencies are important stakeholders in the implementation of strategies to improve access to services for English-speaking communities. Demonstrating the impact of investments meets accountability requirements, but it also provides an important lever for communities to shape public policy. Effective evaluation of results of projects and partnerships encourages knowledge transfer among organizations; supports coordinated strategies; and influences policy makers, planners and politicians at both levels of government.

Effective community participation in advisory bodies at the provincial and federal levels has played an important role in shaping policy and government actions that benefit English-speaking communities. Community representatives have coordinated their advice to the two levels of government so that federal investments in Quebec are accepted by the provincial government as measures supporting Quebec's initiatives to improve access to English-language services

(legislative guarantees). Correspondingly, the federal government is assured that proposals emanating from representatives of English-speaking communities have the support of Quebec. In that regard, the provincial advisory body has assessed the federal investments and recommended to the Quebec Minister of Health and Social Services that he and his government support future Health Canada contributions.

Another important aspect of this strategy is the integration of the results of the federal Action Plan into the new access programs. Several of the regional access programs are identifying the Action Plan measures as means to implement the new programs. A number of the programs used new health determinant and demographic portraits of English-speaking communities to identify needs. These portraits were generated by the community-based partnership networks.

D. Strategic Knowledge Development

The fourth linked strategy sees strategic knowledge development as a means for mobilizing all stakeholders working to improve access to English-language services. One aspect promotes knowledge development and dissemination, while the other proposes research partnerships in the university, institutional and community milieus. The strategy has already produced reliable and detailed data on English-speaking communities being used by a host of organizations. More challenging is the development of inter-university research programs, community-university research alliances and other partnerships bringing communities together with the research and university communities. In this regard the community representatives are proposing a federal action plan with dedicated funding for research on official language minority communities.

7. Conclusion

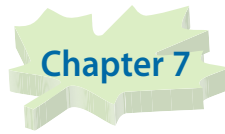
It is clear that the anchor for English-language services remains the legislative framework reflecting the fundamental importance of language and communication in the provision of human services. The legislative provisions that guarantee the right to services in English, within system limits, also guide the multitude of players that comprise the health and social services system. Experience has taught

community leaders that when the integrity of the legislation is maintained, progress is made. When that integrity is questioned for whatever reasons, it is not only a threat to English-language services, but to the future of English-speaking communities as well. Communities must be “fire hall ready” to respond to any new political scenarios that may stimulate old debates about the legitimacy of legislative guarantees. It is also clear that sustaining progress and meeting new challenges will continue to require cooperation between the provincial and federal levels of government, with formal recognition of English-speaking communities as full partners. In this manner, federal policy and resulting measures supporting Quebec’s initiatives will reflect the interests of all stakeholders, reinforce current public investments and ensure the long-term commitment of government to the vitality of English-speaking communities.

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The Artistic and Cultural Vitality of English-Speaking Quebec

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“Those communities that are richest in their artistic tradition are also those that are the most progressive in their economic performance and most resilient and secure in their economic structure.”

– John Kenneth Galbraith, economist

“When a community invests in the arts, they are not opting for cultural benefits at the expense of economic benefits. Extensive research shows that in addition to being a means of social enrichment, the arts are also an economically sound investment for communities of all sizes.”

– Robert Lynch, president and CEO,
National Association
of Arts Councils, USA

“Community development is seen as a process by which people come together to address common concerns or problems in a systematic fashion, strengthening their sense of community and becoming empowered through the process. If the arts are seen as ‘a part of’ the community as opposed to ‘apart from’ the community, the chances for this kind of community building are greatly enhanced”.

– Bernie Jones, community development
and planning consultant

Introduction

This chapter traces the evolution of the English-speaking arts community in Quebec and its relationship to the English-speaking community of Quebec (ESCQ), Quebec's French-speaking community at large, and beyond. In keeping with the Community Development Plan of the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN; 2005), we define the Quebec arts and culture sector as including all disciplines within the creative arts, and both professional and amateur artists. Section 1 of this chapter reviews recent developments in English-speaking arts and culture and recent social changes affecting them. In Section 2, current issues relating to linguistic and non-linguistic-based arts are discussed, culminating in the formation of the English Language Arts Network (ELAN). Section 3 highlights the emergence of two community and multi-cultural organizations, *Diversité artistique Montréal* and the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN). Section 4 examines issues shared across the arts: funding, training and translation. Section 5 discusses arts and culture in the regions outside Montreal, while Section 6 touches on three related sectors: mass media, sports and leisure. The final section outlines future “best and worst case” scenarios for the development of the arts and culture sector of the ESCQ. The chapter ends with some recommendations for developing the vitality of the ESCQ in arts and culture.

1. Historical Development of Quebec's Anglophone Arts and Culture

The event that launched Quebec as a cultural powerhouse was Expo '67. It gave massive exposure to head-spinning art and new technology, an international infusion of fresh ideas and possibilities, and the demolition of old walls and barriers. It was the official coming of age of modern Quebec—the springboard for an entire generation of writers, actors, musicians, dancers and filmmakers who reflected this new reality back to an excited and grateful audience.

English-speaking Quebecers shared the excitement of Expo '67, but the dramatic political and economic changes in the 1970s—notably Bill 101—had a negative effect for the many thousands of Anglophones who left the province in search of stable, prosperous and

English-dominant environments (Bourhis, 2001; Caldwell, 1994). In the years following the FLQ crisis and the election of the French nationalist *Parti Québécois* government in 1976, the most prominent Anglophone narrative was a story of upheaval, rupture and a sense of betrayal or at least indifference on the part of the Francophone community to the trauma that provoked this unprecedented exodus (Stevenson, 1999). By the 1990s, a less dramatic parallel narrative began to emerge—the story of English speakers who strongly identified with Quebec and were finding new ways to live and work here, increasingly in French. The Anglophone artistic community has been a trailblazer in the process of transformation from independent solitude to integrated minority.

In 1991, it was still ground-breaking for the *Conseil québécois du théâtre* to create a seat on its board for an Anglophone theatre artist. In 1995, months of negotiation were necessary for The Writers Union of Canada and the *Union des écrivaines et écrivains québécois* to co-sponsor an evening of bilingual readings. However, by 2005 it was perfectly natural for Anglophones to actively participate at every level of organization for the Montreal World Book Capital. As bridges were built, it became more natural for Anglophone artists to establish collaborative alliances and to create opportunities in the traditional French-speaking sector.

It was a long-standing and openly stated belief at the old Ministry of Culture—pre-*Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec (CALQ)*, established in 1993—that English-speaking artists were less dependent on government grants than Francophone artists because unlimited sponsorship funding was available to them from the wealthy Anglophone business community in Westmount. Any truth that may have been attached to that myth during the golden era of the two solitudes was long gone by the 1980s and 1990s.

Businesses owned or controlled by English speakers were extremely reluctant to associate publicly with any activity perceived to exclude the Francophone majority. Non-linguistic events such as music or dance festivals, which were accessible to all communities, found it easiest to obtain support. Organizers of linguistic cultural events discovered they could best solicit sponsorship support if they were bilingual or multilingual. The Montreal Film Festival and the *Festival*

Trans-Amériques (formerly the *Festival du théâtre des Amériques*) were two good examples. The Blue Metropolis Literary Festival, founded by Anglophones, obtained significant financial support by following that format. There has been a perception that making events bilingual gives English-language activities a better chance of obtaining significant private funding in Quebec. Theatre institutions such as Centaur and the Segal Theatre (formerly the Saidye Bronfman Centre) are exceptions to this rule, due to well-connected board members and tireless fundraising efforts.

Today's increasingly bilingual Anglophones are much more inclined than earlier generations to improve their second language skills in French and integrate more fully into Quebec cultural life by attending Francophone cultural events or buying cultural products in French. The unintended consequence of this trend has been that the small local audience for Anglophone-Québécois culture has become even smaller as English speakers increasingly attend French-language productions. This trend is similar to the phenomenon seen in primary and secondary education: English-speaking Quebecers who have the right to send their children to either English or French schools increasingly send them to French schools. While their children benefit by becoming perfectly bilingual, the English-language school system as a collective asset suffers from declining enrolment across the province (see Lamarre, this study). However, just as Anglophones are increasingly attending French-language productions, it is now much more common to see Francophones at English-language productions. The theatre sector has worked very hard to develop this mixed audience. The Quebec Writers' Federation's (QWF) annual literary awards are increasingly attended by Francophone writers, translators and media. Anglophone artists such as the McGarrigle Sisters, Leonard Cohen and Margie Gillis have established solid followings in the Francophone milieu. The number of artists straddling both language communities is increasing. English-language artists have received *Masque* awards in the theatre sector and Anglophone writers have been awarded major recognition such as the *Grand Prix de Montréal* in 2004 and the *Prix Athanase-David* in 2006.

However, outside Quebec, the Anglophone-Québécois brand is almost invisible. Most festivals in Canada and abroad think of

Francophones when they invite artists from Quebec. Anglophone-Québécois artists are often either misidentified as Americans or perceived to be generic Canadians. The QWF studied the situation of invisibility and launched a pilot project in 2007 in collaboration with ELAN (Soderstrom, 2005). The project aims to identify well known Anglophone-Québécois writers with their home province in the minds of festival directors. The project seeks to link Anglophone-Québécois writers as a vital component of Quebec's dynamic artistic environment. The QWF's current "Raising the Profile" project seeks to increase awareness and coverage of Anglophone-Québécois writing among book reviewers and entertainment editors. This pilot project may later be expanded to include all artistic disciplines.

Currently, the only sector that has developed a distinct Quebec brand is pop music. The *New York Times* and *Spin Magazine* published articles in 2005 featuring the many innovative bands emanating from Montreal. The other arts sectors need to catch up. The best way for Québécois Anglophones to achieve higher visibility is for artists to undertake national tours. This imperative is best understood in the music sector whose infrastructures and economics are supportive of touring. The publishing industry, with the assistance of Canada Council, makes it possible for writers to tour new books and participate in readings—if they are invited. It is expensive and difficult for theatre and dance companies to tour. Canada Council's funding criteria add to the difficulty by not supporting tours unless they are in at least three provinces, and CALQ only supports international tours.

Recommendation: We recommend that Canada Council and CALQ create a development plan and devote appropriate resources to support touring by English-speaking Quebec artists within Quebec and across Canada.

2. Linguistic and Non-Linguistic Arts Sectors: The Current Situation

Despite the many challenges it faces, the English-speaking arts community in Quebec is relatively strong in number. Compared to both the French-speaking majority in Quebec and the French-speaking minority in other provinces, the English-speaking minority in Quebec

has a slightly higher proportion of workers in the arts, entertainment and recreation industries (Minority-Majority Index of 1.04 in the arts, and 1.08 in entertainment and recreation). Across Quebec, workers in these industries total 8,510. Of these, 5,188 reside in Montreal (Floch, 2007, based on 2001 Census Canada data).

English speakers in Quebec have a higher than average participation in several of the multitude of arts and cultural occupations. Leading the list: authors, writers and librarians. Compared to French-speaking Quebecers, the English-speaking minority has more than twice the proportion of persons employed in these occupations. Other occupations in which the English-speaking minority has, proportionally, a significantly higher participation rate are as follows: Conservators and curators (Minority-Majority Index of 1.90); Actors and comedians (1.80); Theatre, fashion, exhibit and other creative designers (1.77); Conductors, composers and arrangers (1.73); Painters, sculptors and other creative artists (1.63); Musicians and singers (1.54); Editors (1.52); Photographers (1.43); Graphic designers and illustrators (1.39); Artisans and craftspeople (1.35); Dancers (1.35); Producers, directors, choreographers and related occupations (1.31). The occupations where Quebec English speakers are most under-represented are technical support workers in various fields—the performing arts (including movies and broadcasting), graphics arts, museums, libraries and archives (Floch, 2007, based on 2001 Canada Census data).

An examination of the age groups of English-speaking arts professionals supports the prediction that Anglophone artists will maintain their proportionally strong showing in the future, as well. With the exception of painters, photographers and artisans, at least 25% of the English speakers in all of the above occupations are age 34 or younger (Floch, 2007). Overall, then, the demographic data sketch a portrait of an Anglophone arts professional as someone who is entrepreneurial and gives expression to his or her own creative voice. The English-speaking arts community in Quebec is not only strong in numbers; it is also robust in terms of originality, initiative and potential development. Currently, four organizations in Quebec represent English language-based arts (theatre, writing/publishing and film/video). They are the Quebec Drama Federation (QDF), the QWF, the Association of English-Language Publishers (AELAQ) and ELAN.

Founded in 1990, the Quebec Drama Federation grew out of the Dominion Drama Festival, started in 1932, and was restructured as the independent Quebec Drama Festival in 1972. With its membership now numbering more than 400 English-speaking individuals and dozens of companies, QDF represents professional and aspiring theatre companies, theatre artists and theatrical practitioners, along with educators who provide theatrical training. The theatre community is also represented by numerous professional associations, including Canadian Actors Equity and the *Union des artistes* in Quebec.

The QDF has initiated studies in various areas, including reports on the development needs of the English-speaking theatre community. One of these, undertaken by the *Institut nationale de recherche scientifique* (INRS), studied the need for dedicated creation space for English-speaking theatre artists (Bellevance & Gauthier, 2003). This study led to discussions with CALQ further exploring this need. The Cake Report resulted in a new initiative known as “Off Interarts”, a pilot project offering a multi-disciplinary space for rehearsals, readings and small workshops (www.offinterarts.org; Carlsen & Devine, 1999). Another study prepared by QDF with financial support from the Official-Language Communities Development Program (OLCDP) of Canadian Heritage, focused on the needs of the regions to have professional theatre brought to their areas (De Bono, King & Needles, 2003).

The literary sector in Quebec was organized in the early 1990s by the QWF and AELAQ. The mandate of the QWF is to promote and encourage English-language writing and writers in Quebec; the mandate of the AELAQ is to advance the publication, distribution and promotion of English-language books from Quebec.

In addition to hosting an annual gala awards ceremony recognizing and celebrating the best of English-language writers from Quebec, the QWF offers its 600-plus members a quarterly newsletter, workshops, a mentoring program, the Writers-in-Schools initiative in secondary schools and in CEGEPs and the “Writers Out Loud” reading series. QWF’s collection of more than 600 books submitted for the annual awards is housed in the Atwater Library in downtown Montreal.

The Blue Metropolis Literary Festival is one of the major success stories in the English-language arts community of Quebec. Founded in 1997 as a QWF pilot project, the Blue Metropolis Foundation is a Montreal-based non-profit organization dedicated to bringing people from different cultures together to give them direct access to readings, public interviews of authors and panel discussions of the highest calibre. In the decade since its creation, the Blue Metropolis Festival has become a focal point of literary gatherings encompassing work from the international community presented in English, Spanish and French.

AELAQ provides resources for its members to manage the complexities of publishing, and produces the quarterly *Montreal Review of Books*. The Review has a circulation of 20,000, with copies distributed to bookstores across Canada.

ELAN was created as a multidisciplinary umbrella group almost thirty years after the founding of the *Fédération culturelle canadienne-française (FCCF)* by the Francophone minority communities outside Quebec. This tardiness in mobilization by Quebec's English-speaking arts community can be explained by a number of factors, including lack of cohesion, a low critical mass and impediments to collective organization. Artists had no financial resources to enable them to mobilize, and they had little reason to believe that the minority official-language community programs offering support to Francophones outside Quebec would be extended to the Anglophone minority of Quebec.

Under the Interdepartmental Partnership with the Official-Language Communities program (IPOLC), the FCCF successfully lobbied in 1999 for a matching grant program between the Canada Council and the OLCDP of Canadian Heritage. In 2001, the Quebec office of Canadian Heritage's OLCDP negotiated a comparable agreement with the Canada Council for the benefit of English-speaking minority artists in Quebec. An oversight committee, representing all artistic disciplines, was formed to monitor the implementation and results of the program. Periodic meetings of the members of this committee over the next two years laid the foundation for mobilizing Quebec's English-speaking artists. Participants could clearly see the potential benefits of sectoral cohesion, increased organizational

capacity and a critical mass of voices. However, no existing organization possessed the resources to mobilize the disparate arts community. The Quebec office of Canadian Heritage's OLCDP took the initiative to provide funds and encourage other federal partners to organize a gathering of leading Anglophone artists.

The Quebec Arts Summit took place in November 2004. The vast majority of artists who attended the Summit had devoted the previous decade(s) to creating a personal environment that enabled them to live and work productively in Quebec. Their varied success stories were both encouraging and stimulating. At the end of the 3-day meeting, it was obvious that English-speaking artists had much to gain by sharing their expertise, contacts and resources. The plenary group voted to create a network. Within a few days ELAN was born. Concrete results were immediate. Both Canadian Heritage's OLCDP and Canada Council were forthcoming with financial support to make ELAN operational.

The first priority for ELAN was to create an active website to facilitate communication with and among future ELAN members. The second priority was to reach out to the non-linguistic arts sectors that were under-represented and received few services in English. One immediate result of ELAN's creation was its membership in the QCGN. This facilitated a dialogue with the many regional associations and other sectoral groups, and English-speaking artists are now more closely involved with the leadership of the English-speaking community than they have been in decades. All of the umbrella arts organizations (ELAN, QDF, QWF and AELAQ) face a further difficulty in that they cannot easily diversify their funding sources. These organizations represent members who individually raise funds for their own operations. Because the sources of funding for organizations and individuals are often the same, the umbrella organizations' efforts to diversify operational funding sources can be perceived as jeopardizing their members' hard-won financial support.

The Film/TV sector does not currently have an organization to represent its English-speaking artists, other than an informal association known as the Montreal Film Group, which is more of a social network. The English-language Film/TV Council of Quebec comprises

organizations but not individual artists. ELAN's Film/TV members have actively engaged in advocacy on policy issues of concern to this sector.

Non-linguistic arts such as music, dance and the visual arts are ill-served in terms of English-language support organizations which work on behalf of these disciplines. The music sector is highly fragmented into subgroups of classical music, jazz, blues, pop, etc. No single organization represents all musicians, other than the *Guilde des musiciens du Québec*—a union-based association that negotiates contracts and wages for performing artists, but not recognition. Members of the *Conseil québécois de la musique* (CQM) are musical societies with a professional status. CQM is a non-profit organization whose purpose is to coordinate the activities of member organizations, improve their operations and promote and defend their interests before public and private institutions. It primarily works in French, although individuals may receive some services in English (in person only). The *Société professionnelle des auteurs et des compositeurs du Québec* (SPACQ) was recognized under the Status of the Artist legislation. It is the only organization representing musical creators in Quebec by defending the rights and the moral, professional and economic interests of authors and composers, as well as the rights inherent in their works. SPACQ has recently translated its website into English.

Dancers have access to the services of the *Regroupement québécois de la danse* (RQD), a non-profit organization that defends and protects the rights and interests of more than 500 performing dance professionals. A large number of these dancers are English-speaking but few RQD services are available in English.

Visual artists are represented by the *Regroupement des centres d'artistes autogérés du Québec* (RCAAQ) and the *Regroupement des artistes en arts visuels du Québec* (RAAV), which primarily serve their clients in French.

Recommendations: It is proposed: 1) that recognized umbrella organizations be assisted to receive funding from separate sources (public and private) so their funding does not compete with that of their members; 2) that the issues of lack of space and limited visibility be studied and resolved; and 3) that the non-linguistic arts receive greater support through ELAN and discipline-specific umbrella groups.

3. Changing Contexts: Multi-Cultural and English-Speaking Community Networks

According to the 2001 Canada Census, 28% of Montreal's population were immigrants, and 88% of immigrants to Quebec chose to live in the region of Montreal (Jedwab, 2004). Artists from Montreal's immigrant population and numerous ethno-cultural communities have long participated in building and transforming Montreal's cultural scene. Thanks to the creation of *Diversité artistique Montréal (DAM)* in December 2006, professional artists from ethno-cultural communities are now better able to participate fully and equally in Montreal's vital cultural scene, whether through innovation, tradition or general integration. DAM was formed following a 2-year intensive examination of the realities of multiculturalism in the arts by the *Conseil des arts de Montréal*. The mission of DAM is to promote cultural diversity in the arts and culture through recognition and inclusion of all artists and cultural practitioners within professional arts networks, professional cultural organizations and performance outlets in Montreal. DAM also has the responsibility to maintain an active and critical watch over policies and procedures that could discriminate against artistic and cultural proceedings.

Many professional artists from ethnic minorities face a challenge when presenting their work in Quebec: being of another culture, they may not necessarily be recognized as professional. Many work primarily in French, but the second language of some is English. However, often their work is in the music and dance disciplines, where little or no language is involved. A few theatre companies who perform in English could be considered multicultural. Three examples are: *Q-Arts Theatre*, whose artistic director and main performer are both Hungarian; *Théâtre Deuxième Réalité*, whose artistic director and performers are Russian and perform in both English and French; and *Teesri Duniya*, whose Artistic Director is from India. These artists are now all residents of Quebec and consider themselves to be part of the social fabric of this community.

This mix of multiculturalism in the arts community of Quebec adds a richness and vitality of spirit to the local arts community. Festivals such as the international *Nuits d'Afrique*, *Accès Asie*, *Festival du Monde Arabe de Montréal*, *Carifête* and *Suoni Per Il Popolo* bring

Montreal alive with sights and sounds from all cultures. DAM serves all these arts groups by providing all information and services in both official languages, a situation that is not necessarily evident in other organizations serving the arts community. Table 1 shows the ethnic origins of artists in Montreal, without mentioning whether they are English or French speakers.

Table 1
Respective Share in Various Arts Occupations (%), by Ethnic Origins
(Canadian, French and British – CBF, Aboriginal and Ethnic Groups
Other than CBF – by Single Declarations), Montreal Region, 2001

Various Arts Occupations	Ethnic Origin (%)		
	Canadian, French, and British	Aboriginal	Other Ethnic Origins
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	7.4	2.7	18.9
Producers, directors, choreographers and related occupations	79.5	0.8	19.7
Musicians and singers	74.6	—	25.4
Dancers	83.3	—	16.7
Actors and comedians	79.7	2.1	18.2
Painters, sculptors and visual artists	72.8	1.2	26.0
Total percentage	69.2	2.7	28.1

Source: From Jedwab, J. (2004). Arts and diversity in Montreal: Preliminary findings and recommendations for further research.

Although the proportion varies somewhat among the different disciplines, it is clear that a significant number of arts professionals in Montreal were born outside Canada and are from ethnic origins other than French and British. With adequate recognition and support, they have much to contribute in terms of new energy, stimulating art forms and capacity to build bridges of understanding among various ethnic groups in the culturally diverse Quebec of today.

The Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) is a non-profit organization bringing together English-language community organizations across Quebec for the purpose of supporting and assisting the development and enhancing the vitality of the English-language minority communities, as well as promoting and supporting the use of the English language in Quebec. One of the primary areas of need identified in the QCGN's Community Development Plan (2005) is the arts and culture sector. This theme is repeated in the Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative report (QCGN, 2007) and in the vitality indicators case studies research carried out for the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

Recent meetings with staff and ministers of the federal departments of Canadian Heritage, Industry Canada, Canada Economic Development and Human Resources and Skills Development Canada underline the trend. We are beginning to see a slow awakening among community architects and partners to the realization that the arts can be instrumental in regenerating a community's vitality and cultural identity, building capacity and attracting youth to settle in English-speaking communities in Quebec, especially in the rural regions. This growing recognition of the importance of the arts takes place in the context of a tide of English-speaking out-migration that has been repeatedly documented in census data over the past thirty years (Jedwab, this study).

The recommendations of the Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative report concerning the arts and culture sector include the creation of a Cultural Task Force in 2008 (QCGN, 2007). The Task Force will design and develop a multi-year strategy to promote cultural resources of the English-speaking community in the Greater Montreal region. This strategy will include promoting Montreal as a creative environment, with the aim of retaining and attracting English-speaking creative workers and enhancing the commercialization possibilities of the community's cultural talents and products. It will also involve partnering with French-speaking cultural resources in presenting English-language cultural products in French and vice versa, and partnering with English schools to enrich heritage, artistic and cultural programs as a component of community-education partnerships.

4. Issues in the Arts

Arts and culture in schools such as attending performances or obtaining a hands-on introduction to the arts have long been considered valuable stimulation for students. Exposure to art and artists has progressively decreased as school budgets have been cut and new skills such as second language learning and computer literacy have been prioritized. Another problem is the tendency in the educational system to have non-artists teach the arts. Bringing real artists into the schools via Artists-in-Schools programs has proved popular and valuable. The English-speaking community has recognized culture as a key priority for the development of identity, creativity and youth retention (QCGN, 2005). Artists-in-Schools programs also provide valuable employment for artists and contribute to creating the next generation of arts lovers and artists. The link between culture and education is a priority for community development.

Several professional training schools exist in Quebec for English-speaking arts students. For language-based arts, these include the John Abbott, Dawson and Marianapolis colleges, Concordia, Bishop's and McGill universities, and the National Theatre School. Francophone training institutions for the arts include the St. Laurent, St. Hyacinthe and St. Jerome colleges, Montreal and Laval universities and the *Université du Québec* system, the Montreal and Quebec City conservatories and others. These institutions graduate an average of 2,000 arts professionals per year, including about seventy-five from the Anglophone training schools. Employment opportunities for these particular Anglophone students in Quebec are not abundant in the language-based disciplines, although this differs among disciplines. For example, it is easier for a writer to be based in Quebec than it is for a performing artist. Inevitably, we see an out-migration of these young talents as they seek employment elsewhere in Canada. The exception to this trend is music, given that it is easier for musicians to tour widely while maintaining their base in Quebec. Another problem for Anglophone actors in Quebec is that if they are not fully bilingual, their ability to find employment, even in the Film/TV sector, is very limited.

The situation is different for many artists in the non-language-based sectors. Because Montreal is a major international dance centre, English-language dancers are drawn to Quebec-based companies that tour the world. Many forms of music thrive in Montreal, although the performers tend to tour extensively. Visual artists often form their own cooperatives and have the option of living outside Montreal in regions such as the Eastern Townships and the Laurentians where the cost of living is cheaper.

A problem that cuts across all disciplines, but is particularly acute for language-based arts, is translation. Applications for funding from Quebec government programs or the private sector in Quebec usually require translation from English to French, as do the reports to these same agencies. Press releases and other publicity must also be translated. This is a costly and time-consuming requirement which can impede access to provincial funding programs. Funding agencies often do not take this factor into account.

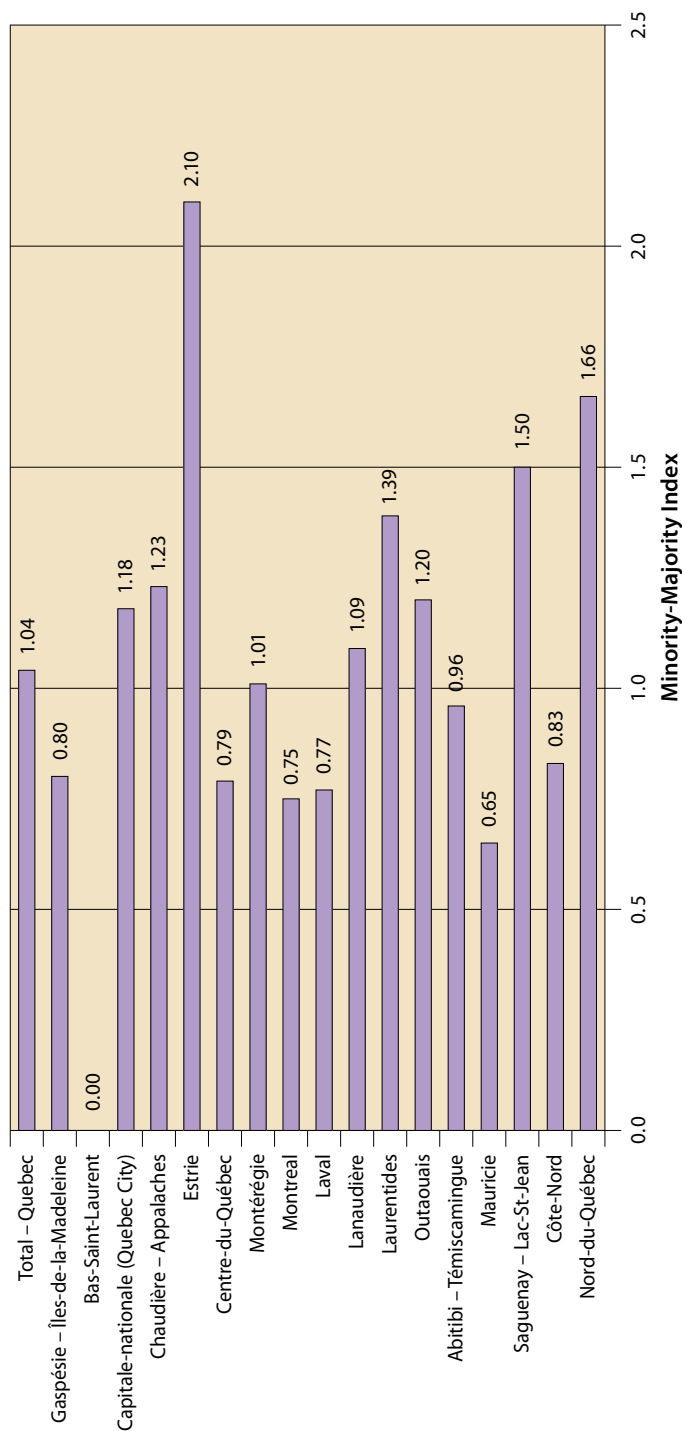
Recommendations: We propose the following: 1) that ELAN and school boards collaborate to assist educators to develop stronger connections between the education and arts sectors; 2) that training institutions in the arts place more emphasis on assisting new graduates to establish careers in Quebec rather than on seeking financial gain through graduating as many students as possible; and 3) that resources be developed to provide affordable translation services for Anglophone artists submitting written texts to Francophone funding agencies.

5. Arts and Culture in English-Speaking Communities Outside Montreal

Arts and cultural activities vary widely among the various regions. In comparison to the French-speaking majority, English-speaking communities in some administrative regions have an extraordinarily high proportion of their population employed in the arts and culture sector (e.g., Estrie, Nord-du-Québec). Others have a much lower proportion of arts workers than do their French-speaking counterparts (e.g., Mauricie, Centre-du-Québec). The overall portrait can be seen in figures 1 and 2, based on data from the 2001 Canada Census (Floch, 2007).

Figure 1

**Anglophones* (15+) Working in the Arts, Entertainment and Recreation Industries,
Relative to Francophones in the Same Region (Minority-Majority Index**), by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001**



* First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) is a derived variable based on the responses to language questions in the Census of Canada.

** The minority-majority index (MMI) compares the value for the minority community with that of the majority community.

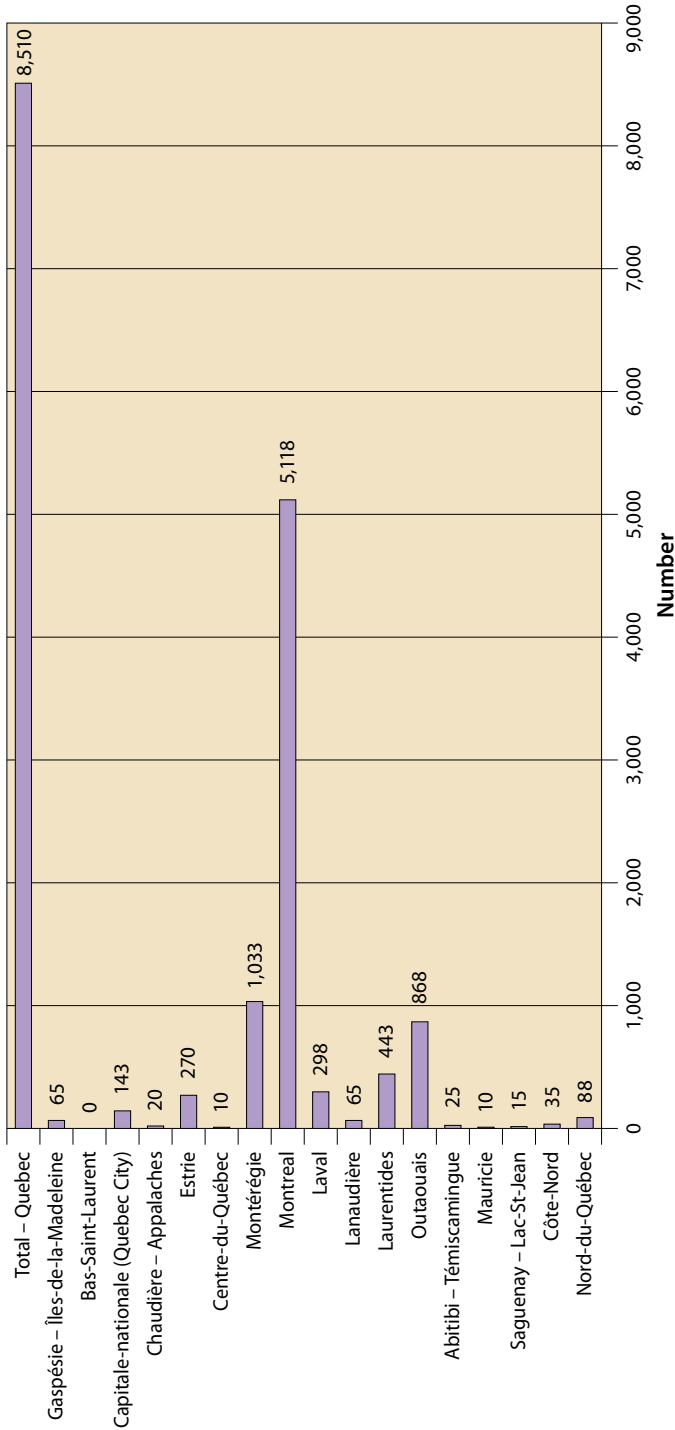
Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, February 2004, based on 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

It is also interesting to compare the level of Anglophone arts employment in various regions to that of English-speaking Quebec as a whole, and French speakers outside Quebec. Relative to the proportion of workers in the arts, entertainment and recreation industries in these two groups, regions which have a considerably higher proportion of English-speaking arts workers are Capitale-nationale (Quebec City), Estrie, Laurentides and Outaouais (Floch, 2007, based on 2001 Canada Census). Looking at the English-speaking population aged 15+ for these regions, the percentage of the population employed in the arts, entertainment and recreation industries is 2.3% in Quebec City; 2.5% in the Estrie (in the Eastern Townships); 2.9% in the Laurentians; and 3.0% in the Outaouais. These regional proportions compare to 1.8% in English-speaking Quebec as a whole, and 1.7% in English-speaking Montreal (Floch, 2007, based on 2001 Canada Census). In actual numbers, of course, the portrait looks very different (figure 2). Of the 8,510 Quebec Anglophones working in the arts, entertainment and recreation industries, 3,392 (40%) reside outside Montreal, and 1,033 of these are in the Montérégie region, which is adjacent to Montreal (Floch, 2007, based on 2001 Canada Census).

A 2007 telephone survey of English-speaking regional associations outside the Montreal region invited informants to describe the arts and cultural scene in English in their region, and to compare it to the situation in French. They were asked what, if any, initiatives their organization had carried out over the past five years to encourage English-speaking arts and culture in their region. Finally, they were asked about support offered by federal, provincial or municipal governments or other sources for arts initiatives, and about the needs and obstacles facing English-speaking arts and culture in their region. Tables 2, 3 and 4 summarize the responses for ten geographical areas where generalist English-speaking organizations exist.

Responses indicate that arts in English are virtually non-existent in most regions, except for occasional amateur events, or that English-speaking artists are isolated from each other and quasi-invisible to the region's English-speaking community. A "disconnect" was noted between artists and their communities even in the Eastern Townships, with its high proportion of English-speaking arts professionals, and Gatineau/West Quebec, with several active theatre groups.

Figure 2:
**Number of Anglophones* (15+) Working in the Arts, Entertainment and Recreation Industries,
by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001 (Floch, 2007)**



* First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) is a derived variable based on the responses to language questions in the Census of Canada.
Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, February 2004, based on 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

Table 2
Arts and Culture Survey, Quebec Eastern Regions, 2007

Region	Arts in English	Arts in French	Initiatives	Support	Needs	Obstacles
Magdalen Islands: Council for Anglophone Magdalen Islanders (CAMI) English-speaking population: 700 (5% of total population)	Non-existent; occasional amateur events. Cinema closed (satellite TV).	Much more active, a lot of home-grown talent.	Organized Geordie tour. 3 museums; occasional events.	Little or none from governments. Geordie theatre tour.	Venues. Arts in schools.	High cost of leisure activities. Community apathy (satellite TV).
Gaspé: Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA) English-speaking population: 9,000 (10% of total population)	Many artists, but isolated. Storytelling, talent shows, painting. Occasional shows, but attendance is low.	Much more developed in schools (drama, visual arts, etc) Festivals, museums, interpretation sites, many summer event.	Heritage website in works. Storytelling festival, book, CD; memoire-writing. Advocacy with French-speaking agencies; included ESC in book fest (week-long literacy activities).	Canadian Heritage OLMDP funding QAHN: create heritage website. Georgie theatre tour Family Ties: drama in after-school activities.	Arts in schools. Cultural competitions. Financial support.	Lack of funding: turned down by Canada Council; CRE.
Metis-sur-Mer: Heritage Lower Saint-Lawrence (HLSL) English-speaking population: 800 (1% of total population)	Painters, supported by tourism. Strengths: Metis area; Rimouski (university, music). Villages: traditional dancing.	Similar; same geographical isolation.	Events: art shows, books-readings, music.	Little or no funding from government sources. Geordie theatre tour.	Information: calendar of local events. Financial support.	Isolation; but is a way of life.

Source: Survey on Arts and Culture in English-speaking Communities outside Montreal: Eastern Regions. Interviews with representatives of regional organizations carried out in 2007 by Rachel Garber.

Table 3
Arts and Culture Survey, Quebec Northern and Western Regions, 2007

Region	Arts in English	Arts in French	Initiatives	Support	Needs	Obstacles
Lower North Shore: Coasters' Association and Quebec Labrador Foundation (QLF) English-speaking population: 3,648 (31% of total population)	Crafts are strong; traditional skills network. QLF, Coasters, tourism association support museums. Traditional music and dance in villages.	Similar; same geographical isolation.	Heritage-theme festival – each village to organize an activity that high- lights its heritage. Oral history project, support museums..	Canadian Heritage OLMDP projects; Council of Mayors supports small projects.	Permanent full-time worker to strengthen music, dance, language arts sectors. On-going financial support.	Population lacks money to buy arts products. People leave home 6 months of the year to work.
North Shore: (North Shore Community Association) English-speaking population: 1,595 (2% of total population)	Not active at all. No English theatre, no movies. Annual theatre tour for youth in some communities.	A lot of options to attend events, shows, movies.	Youth activities linked with arts; partner with school board to help bring cultural shows.	Canadian Heritage OLMDP. School board helped fund Geordie Theatre tour.	Arts in schools. More shows for general population.	Distance – small communities are vastly spread apart.
Rouyn-Noranda: Neighbour's Regional Association of Rouyn-Noranda English-speaking population: 1,200 (2.8% of total population)	Non-existent: Christmas play with Grade 4 students.	Vibrant: theatre house, singing, No. 3 film festival in Canada. Arts professionals are very welcoming... in French.	Through a Canadian Heritage-funded project, had a theatre group come in, but nothing sustainable.	No support from any level of government, because English- speaking arts don't exist.	To develop local talent, we need know-how, finances, exposure. Maybe an artist-in-residence to help jump-start this?	Lack of local know-how, artists who identify with English-speaking community.
Gatineau/West Quebec: Regional Association of West Quebecers English-speaking population: 53,920 (17% of total population)	Local theatre groups. Weekly email of events; much talent that is not exploited.	More visible, more funding. French cultural activities book in Gatineau is 3 times larger than English.	Weekly activities list; bulletin on website; helped ACT company get started; sell tickets for them, they use our facilities.	Canadian Heritage Official Languages; no other support.	Information in English about arts events, activities, classes and financial assistance for people who want to study in the arts.	(Lack of) Funding. Can't have public event in English only – our style is cramped.

Source: Survey on Arts and Culture in English-speaking Communities outside Montreal: Northern Regions. Interviews with representatives of regional organizations carried out in 2007 by Rachel Garber.

Table 4
Arts and Culture Survey, Quebec Central and Southern Regions, 2007

Region	Arts in English	Arts in French	Initiatives	Support	Needs	Obstacles
Capitale-nationale (Quebec City): Voice of English-speaking Quebec English-speaking population: 12,000 (2% of total population)	One theatre group, 1-2 productions per year. Movies, yes, but they don't stay long. Morrin Centre is active with cultural projects, literature, arts. Annual Celtic festival.	More options – movies, plays, concerts. We're rather disadvantaged.	VEQ partners with the Morrin Centre and help publicize their events.	Morrin Centre (cultural center) has support from all governmental levels, but other important initiatives (Quebec Art Company theatre group, the Shannon Dancers, the Fraser highlanders) are not funded.	Support the groups just mentioned; develop arts and culture with youth.	Morrin Centre has been a great project but other lesser projects or initiatives seem to be left aside. For instance, the Shannon Dancers are winning many competitions and titles, but all their funds come from parents or fundraising efforts.
Thetford (Amiante, Lotbinière, Érie): Megantic English-speaking Development Association English-speaking population: 773 (1% of total population)	Grassroots groups organize local dance or music shows. MCDC has annual dinner-show; MCDC organizes movie night once in a while.	Light years ahead! Regular shows by major artists; movies; summer festival; theatre.	Organize annual dinner-show, occasional movie nights; brought Geordie theatre.	Geordie theatre 4 years ago. MCDC's program funding (Canadian Heritage). No other sources.	Funding to form theatre company, organize festivals on on-going basis.	Terribly difficult to find affordable entertainment in English! Current funding programs are out of our league.
Eastern Townships: Townshippers' Association English-speaking population: 41,000 (6% of total population)	Very active: theatre, music; visual arts. Also active: literature, photography, movies. Lots of creativity, but few outlets for exposure. Music: small groups without financial support. Communities with many artists: Sutton, Brome Lake, Estrie. Tourism helps support arts.	Larger audience base for movies, theatre, literature. Music, festivals etc. receive more funding, more media attention. Theatre is less active.	Sell Townships books and music in English. Published Taproot, 3 books of collected Townships writings and art. In Brome-Missisquoi, collaborate with CLD cultural committee.	Canadian Heritage OLMDP program funding and one new project in collaboration with ELAN. No other governmental support. Fundraising, small local grants, but not enough.	Information about funding sources; professional development opportunities in region; arts in schools; improved media coverage.	Language and lack of information are barriers to artists' obtaining financial support and selling works. Funding programs not adapted to rural reality.

Source: Survey on Arts and Culture in English-speaking Communities outside Montreal: Central and Southern Regions. Interviews with representatives of regional organizations carried out in 2007 by Rachel Garber.

Notable sparks of vitality burn in two very isolated communities: the Lower North Shore and Metis-sur-Mer. Respondents in both areas reported that traditional music and dancing in villages were alive and well. In the Lower North Shore, a traditional skills network supports craftspeople, and in Metis-sur-Mer, tourism helps support painters who are attracted to the region. In both these regions where geographical isolation is paramount, the arts scene in French was noted to be very similar to that of the English-speaking community.

The situation seems to be very different in other regions, where respondents reported that professional and amateur arts in French were much more active, visible and well supported financially than those in English. Very little current support for the arts was identified. Several respondents mentioned with longing the Geordie theatre tour from Montreal a few years earlier, supported by the OLCDP of Canadian Heritage. Respondents said that often their generalist organizations did not qualify under the discipline-based funding programs for the arts, or they lacked the expertise or French-language skills required to obtain support for arts and culture.

A notable exception is ArtWorks, a 6-month project that Townshippers' Association carried out in 2007 in the Eastern Townships, in collaboration with ELAN. The project sought to identify English-speaking arts workers, bring them together to assess their needs, and give them information about funding, employment and entrepreneurial opportunities in the Townships. The goal of the project was to strengthen links between English-speaking Townships artists and their community, give them greater access to ELAN's resources, and inspire them to create the means to improve their visibility and career paths in the regions. Evaluation of this project is pending.

In areas where English-speaking artists are few in number, and where distances, isolation or financial need are extreme, respondents identified even more basic needs in order to develop the cultural vitality of their communities. Four key needs they mentioned were arts in schools, financial support, information in English, and professional arts mentors or development agents to develop local talent. "Maybe we need an artist-in-residence to help jump-start this," suggested one respondent. Several respondents noted that consistency and continuity

were needed in meeting these needs. The short-term interventions of projects or periodic tours are not sufficient to effect lasting change. Interviewee responses closely correspond to findings of the QCGN's Community Development Plan (2005), which identified a number of challenges for English-speaking arts and culture, including a severe lack of facilities and expertise to support arts activities in regions outside Montreal. Other challenges are shared by both urban and rural artists, but their effects may be exacerbated in rural regions because of the lower population levels.

Foremost among the major needs identified by respondents were arts and cultural programs in schools and communities that embrace all levels of skill and experience. Such programs not only stimulate community vitality, they contribute to a rich sub-stratum from which a new generation of professional artists will emerge.

Second, many governmental funding programs for the arts seem to have been designed for an urban context, where the larger number of arts professionals permit different disciplines to have separate venues. They are ill-adapted to the rural landscape: interdisciplinary structures are usually ineligible for funding, yet the lower population levels in rural areas often force multiple disciplines to share a single structure. For example, regional associations, because they are not specialized, are not eligible for book-publishing subsidies. This limitation is exacerbated by a lack of knowledge among rural artists about where to obtain funding or how to qualify for professional support programs.

Third, outside a few major regional centres, facilities and expertise to support arts and cultural activities are lacking in communities which do not have the critical mass to sustain the necessary infrastructure. This lack has become more acute in recent decades as English-speaking audiences for performing artists have steadily diminished, in tandem with the population decline.

Fourth, the isolation of regional artists is severe, and their low income levels prevent them from travelling to Montreal to obtain resources and information. Many are unaware of ELAN or other arts organizations, and these organizations have neither the contacts nor the financial resources to travel to the regions to provide workshops or conferences.

Recommendations: Developmental strategies tailored to each region must be put in place and receive consistent support. First, regional associations and ELAN should collaborate in informing rural artists about funding opportunities. While bringing Montreal talent to rural communities can be an enriching experience, a more grassroots approach is needed as well to strengthen the regions' English-speaking arts and culture. Second, community arts programs in schools and other venues would help mobilize the existing social capital and engage youth in their communities. Third, an information and visibility campaign for rural artists would provide information about funding, entrepreneurial support and professional development opportunities. Another avenue for development lies within the context of local cultural initiatives at the municipal or MRC level. These measures would provide the foundation for real exchange between urban and rural artists, and cross-fertilization among English-speaking artists from various regions, to their mutual benefit.

6. Related Sectors:

Mass Media, Sports and Leisure

Mass Media. The traditional English-language media in Quebec, like their audience, have struggled to reposition themselves during recent decades. Entertainment coverage is heavily dominated by news about foreign arts and culture, from the latest block-buster extravaganza to the most titillating celebrity gossip. This is a global phenomenon. Quebec Anglophones share with their Francophone neighbours a feeling of being overwhelmed by a flood of foreign films, CDs, books and magazines—all backed by international promotion budgets that local artists can only dream about.

One specific handicap for Quebec's English-speaking artists is that the Anglophone media, in an effort to enlarge their audiences, are increasingly inclined to feature Francophone artists and their work. This information benefits the Anglophone public in many ways. However, the amount of air time and number of pages are finite: This coverage of French cultural events reduces coverage of English-speaking artists and weakens their relationship with their traditional audience in Quebec.

English-speaking artists seem to remain more of a novelty than an integral part of arts coverage by French-language media in Quebec. Anglophone-directed events like the Fringe Festival and the Blue Metropolis Literary Festival still receive little attention. Centaur Theatre, Segal Theatre and smaller companies have managed to attract attention by featuring Francophone playwrights in translation, and prominent Francophone actors and directors.

Musicians, particularly a new generation of artists like Susie Arioli, Sam Roberts, Coral Egan and bands like Arcade Fire, have been the most successful in engaging the Francophone media, which is considerably more accepting of Anglophone artists as full-fledged Quebecers than in the era of the two solitudes.

Access to English-language radio in many outlying regions of Quebec is a major lack. This particular problem is noted in a report prepared for the QCGN by Qu'anglo Communications and Consulting (Maynard, 2004). It noted that the population of certain regions (i.e. Metis-sur-Mer and areas of the Lower North Shore) cannot receive any radio signals in English because the towers or satellites do not reach the areas.

In 2007, Rachel Garber carried out a telephone survey of English-speaking regional associations outside the Montreal region. Informants were asked to describe the media serving the English-speaking community in their region, and to compare it to the media in French. They were asked what, if any, initiatives their organization had carried out over the past five years to encourage or collaborate with English media. Finally, they were asked what, if anything, was needed to strengthen English media in their region, and what might stand in the way of this happening. In general, respondents viewed local English media as very limited compared to the French media. An exception is the Lower North Shore, where the lack of transportation and the geographic isolation of its small communities are the limiting factor for both the English- and French-speaking communities. In many areas, CBC Radio was seen as a lifeline, although geographical coverage was reported to be incomplete. Challenges vary in intensity from region to region, but a shared problem is a lack of qualified journalists due to limited financial resources, and an insufficient population base to ensure adequate support from advertising or subscriptions.

Another challenge is the formidable competition from satellite TV and radio in English from adjacent areas (Ottawa, Montreal, New Brunswick), which provide little or no local content. Local print media is very minimal and struggling financially. Micro radio via internet was mentioned by several respondents in more isolated communities as a possible grassroots, cost-effective solution. Mass media have a unique role in making arts and culture accessible to minority community members, and certainly need better support to enable them to adequately fulfil this role.

Sports and Leisure. Sports have many parallels to the arts, both in their professional and amateur manifestations. Both sports and arts can transcend barriers to unite people of different languages and cultures. There is no consensus about where Canada's national sport originated, but the rules of hockey were written at McGill University in the 1870s. During its first decades, the Stanley Cup (1893) was regularly won by teams from Montreal that were mainly drawn from the English-speaking community (the AAAs, the Shamrocks, the Victorias and the Wanderers). The first French-speaking team to join the National Hockey League was the *Canadiens*, who won their first Stanley Cup in 1915-1916. Hockey was one of the earliest activities that brought English-speaking and French-speaking communities together in large numbers. After the demise of the Maroons in 1938, the Montreal *Canadiens* became the home team for all Quebec hockey fans. In recent decades, fewer of the players have been Francophone or even Canadian, yet *Canadiens'* games continue to be one of the hottest tickets in town. The symbolism of language remains volatile in Canada's national sport. In 2007, the captain of the *Canadiens*, Saku Koivu, was criticized for addressing fans in English (his second or third language) rather than French, which he has failed to master after a decade in Montreal. This incident is a reminder that language politics continue to divide Quebecers even when sports and the arts bring them together at the local amateur level: every town and suburb has an arena where kids of both official languages play amateur hockey together.

University football was mostly an English-Canadian sport until 1996 when the *Université Laval* joined the Ontario-Quebec Intercollegiate Football Conference. The *Université de Montréal* joined

in 2002 and the *Université de Sherbrooke* in 2003. A new league was formed for the three English and three French universities. University football, like NHL hockey, has become a sport shared by all Quebecers, although Anglophones and Francophones will watch television broadcasts or read newspaper reports in their own language.

Amateur sports such as baseball, soccer, basketball, figure skating and athletics provide an opportunity for the various linguistic communities to come together, although the language of communication used in the sports world continues to be a complex issue. Minorities are more inclined to communicate in the language of the dominant majority, so bilingualism tends to work in one direction, usually favouring French in Quebec.

Recommendation: We propose that access to radio networks in English be made available to the outlying regions of Quebec as soon as possible.

Conclusion – Cultural Vitality for Quebec Anglophones

A growing body of literature points to social and economic benefits resulting from community arts programs as well as the work of arts professionals (Cohen, 2002; Lowe, 2000; Madden, 2005; Quinn, 2006; Radbourne, 2003; Rogers, 2005). To reap these benefits, communities need to provide an adequate cultural infrastructure—venues, training, opportunities for professional exchange, financial support. This infrastructure has been identified as a major factor fostering creative work (Arieti, 1976).

Community arts programs (both urban and rural) can help mobilize social capital, building an entrepreneurial social infrastructure from the bottom up. This approach fosters sustainable economic growth, as well, in contrast to industrial recruitment as a strategy for economic development. Recruited industries often pay low wages and have short-term success. They move in, receive governmental incentives, and shut down a few years later (Crowe, 2006).

In short, arts workers and arts programs contribute more than their fair share to community development. History shows a consistent pattern in economically depressed areas whose re-birth was spearheaded by the arts community. Where artists move in, other

entrepreneurs follow, and both quality of life and economic development are enhanced. This mix fosters entrepreneurial activity, which provides employment opportunity, which in turn helps stem the tendency of a community's youth to leave the region and helps give the community a viable future.

In the Quebec English-speaking community, this perspective has yet to be strategically put into action. Not only are arts professionals experiencing difficulties, the linguistic minority communities, especially outside Montreal, have an urgent need for cultural and economic revitalization through a strengthened arts sector. Based on current data and trends, we project three possible developmental scenarios.

Worst Case Scenario. The worst scenario we can envisage would be a breakdown of recently created networks. Conditions and factors that would produce this result include a reduction of existing resources including funding, staff and services for ELAN, QDF, QWF, AELAQ, QCGN and the regional community associations. Negative consequences for the ESCQ: a serious reduction in existing organizational capacity would reverse the sense of community rejuvenation that has emerged in recent years. As well as contributing to stagnation of the ESCQ and out-migration, especially of youth, it would cause serious isolation and fragmentation for all artistic disciplines.

Most Likely Scenario. The most likely scenario would result from the continuation of current trends: increasing collaboration and networking among QCGN, ELAN, QDF, QWF, AELAQ and other groups; increased collaboration with Francophone associations and colleagues (FCFA and FCCF); and increasing presence of the arts in regions, creating employment and stimulating tourism.

Conditions and factors that would produce this result include the renewal of Interdepartmental Partnership with the Official-Language Communities programs between Canadian Heritage and Canada Council and Telefilm; targeted funding for greater collaboration between arts service organizations, artists in the regions and community organizations; collaboration with *Tourisme Québec* to generate funding to promote arts and culture as a valuable component in tourist packages; and greater development of arts in education. Positive consequences for the ESCQ would include increased vitality throughout the arts and culture sector, an enhanced sense of identity

and belonging throughout the ESCQ, particularly in the regions, and youth retention and increased employment.

Best Case Scenario. The best case scenario for arts and culture would be a radically renewed Anglophone community in which strong leaders from sectors such as business, media, education and culture would regularly work together to identify developmental opportunities, problems and solutions. Arts would be viewed as a key aspect of community development, and consistent and sufficient financial support would be provided to create an arts-based quiet revolution within the ESCQ.

Conditions and factors that would produce this result include a coherent federal plan for support of minority language culture; creation of an Anglophone cultural space in Montreal; regular exchanges between Montreal and other regions; and greater implication of artists in the education system including performances, workshops and mentorship. Active implementation of the Commissioner of Official Languages' recommendations concerning English-language arts and culture in the next federal action plan for official language-minorities is a key element for such a revival in Quebec. Other elements include active implementation of QCGN's stated objective of making arts and culture a priority for community development; the creation of a task force to open doors in the education sector; and making funds available for multiple-purpose exchanges such as artists-in-residence, workshops and performances in outlying regions, or bringing rural artists to Montreal.

Positive consequences for the ESCQ: the community's economic development would be greatly strengthened, diminishing the number of English speakers leaving Quebec, and strengthening cultural identity, social cohesion and vitality. This renewed English-speaking community would encompass all regions and would be fully integrated within the majority Francophone community.

In summary, we propose the following key recommendations in descending order of priority for the revival of arts and culture in the ESCQ.

Arts and culture must be prioritized in community development initiatives. The renewed federal action plan for official-language minorities must give ELAN, other arts networks, English-speaking regional

associations and schools adequate and consistent funding to support the revival of Anglophone arts throughout Quebec. First steps would be to create arts-in-schools and artist-in-residence programs throughout English-speaking Quebec, enable touring by English-speaking Quebec artists within Quebec and across Canada, and provide instrumental support such as translation, professional exchanges, development of entrepreneurial and employment capacities, and funding information for artists in all regions of Quebec, including greater support to non-linguistic arts professionals.

Consultations in the arts and regional English-speaking communities are needed in order to create a coherent strategy to provide adequate cultural spaces and visibility for English-speaking arts, and engage training institutions in assisting their new graduates to establish careers in Quebec. Funding programs should be re-crafted in consultation with English-speaking arts professionals and community groups in all regions of Quebec, so they become more reality-based and accessible. Finally, arts organizations must receive stable funding (public and private) from separate sources, so their funding does not compete with that of their members.

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Politics of Community: The Evolving Challenge of Representing English-Speaking Quebecers

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In his widely acclaimed work on the institutional completeness of ethnic communities, sociologist Raymond Breton (1964) maintained that the greater the degree of a community's organizational capacity the stronger its sense of group consciousness. Institutional completeness is characterized by the degree to which a given group possesses a network of institutions that can respond to the needs of those who identify with the community. Originally applied to ethnic communities, the notion of institutional completeness equally applies to persons that identify on the basis of religion or language amongst other markers of identity.

Quebec's minority English-speaking population is considered high in its degree of institutional completeness with a wide network of schools, health and social services, media and cultural organizations. In the Montreal region, where there is a high concentration of English speakers, language loss or transfer to the French language is quite low, and until recently this was also true for Anglophones residing in areas outside the metropolitan region.

By virtue of its institutional completeness one would expect Quebec's English-speaking population to possess a strong sense of group consciousness. And yet there is much debate about whether

language is in fact a powerful expression of identity or a galvanizing force for Quebec's English speakers. Indeed, it has been argued that the community lacks a capacity to mobilize and only comes together when it feels its interests are threatened. The absence of strong communal identification is widely believed to be reflected in the ongoing challenges that the Anglophone minority has encountered with respect to its governance structures and leadership. In the case of Quebec English speakers, assessment of its institutional completeness often fails to sufficiently account for the regional and demographic diversity of the group. Moreover, the community's institutional depth may be a factor in what might be described as "its incompleteness" in the degree to which it is represented in the decision-making organizations in the broader society. What are the current challenges for English-speaking leadership in representing institutional concerns, and what strategies have worked best in ensuring that government(s) give proper consideration to the views and concerns of English speakers? How can the existing institutional structures and their leaders work together to properly reflect the concerns of Quebec English speakers to provincial government decision makers?

1. Institutional Completeness: Is the Glass Half Full, or Half Empty?

Given that political representation, institutional presence and a "developed" community are amongst the most important pillars of group vitality, one might assume that the English-speaking community of Quebec (ESCQ) is "institutionally complete." On the surface such assumptions may appear to be sound. According to a database compiled by the Quebec Community Group Network (QCGN) in 2003, there were over 2,000 English-language community groups and institutions, including schools and health and social service facilities, in the province of Quebec. From this, one could assume that the community is well developed on the institutional support front. For instance, when it comes to educational institutions, there are three English-language universities, five community colleges (CEGEPs) and nine school boards, and so one could assume that the community is well served in the education sector.

But the Quebec English-speaking community's institutional completeness is quite uneven and upon close examination one discovers that the community is often struggling to maintain what has been built in the past. Apart from the regional differences in the level of institutional completeness, those bodies that are often referred to as contributing to community vitality are frequently mandated to serve a broader constituency. McGill University describes itself as "an international university whose main language of instruction is English (see: www.McGill.ca). Concordia University is an English-speaking institution which caters to a local student body which is mainly multilingual and multicultural. As an undergraduate university, Bishop's University's enrolment has dropped by one-third (from 3,000 down to 2,000), a decline almost entirely due to a lower number of students coming from Ontario. The principal of Bishop's University, Robert Poupart, seeks to remedy the situation by recruiting more undergraduates from out of province. None of the three English-language universities or the five English-language colleges (CEGEPs) mentions the term "English-speaking community" anywhere in its mission statement. Moreover, Anglophone CEGEPs outside the Montreal area have significant Francophone enrolment and indeed in some instances the majority of the students are Francophone.

When the Community Association of Saguenay – Lac-St-Jean (CASL) closed its doors in March 2007, the event went largely unnoticed in the Montreal Gazette newspaper, though the local CBC Community Network serving the eastern part of Quebec did cover the event. This closure revealed that some English-speaking communities in Quebec face social and cultural conditions that undercut their "institutional completeness". Anne Gilbert (1999) in *Espaces franco-ontariens* noted that "the idea of Francophone spaces also means centres of power ... and he who speaks of power speaks of empowerment and autonomy." How does this idea apply to the English-speaking communities of Quebec and their respective degrees of empowerment and autonomy?

1.1 One Language, Diverse Realities

The English-speaking community of Quebec is often seen as a monolith, when it is in fact made up of two very different communities. The Montreal Metropolitan Area includes Montreal, Laval and the South Shore of the island. Anglophone communities in the rest of Quebec (ROQ) include the following regions of the province: Lower North Shore, North Shore, Saguenay, Gaspé, Magdalen Islands, Lower St-Lawrence, Quebec City, Eastern Townships, Montérégie, Laurentians, Outaouais and Abitibi – Témiscamingue. Anglophones established in the Montreal Metropolitan Area possesses much of the institutional base: post-secondary institutions, teaching hospitals, business headquarters, and a critical mass in culture and communications. The current challenge in Montreal is how to address the diversity of its constituency which is increasingly multi-ethnic and multi-racial. The Mainland communities face isolation, large distances, and economic and demographic decline amongst their primary challenges. Preventing further erosion of their institutional base is paramount to the short-term survival of some of the smaller English-speaking regional communities of the ROQ.

1.2 English-Speaking Quebec: An Aging Population

The English-speaking population of Quebec is not exempt from the demographic decline currently afflicting the province: one of the lowest birth rates in the developed world. Quebec Anglophones have a birthrate of 1.5 children per women between 15 and 49 years of age (Statistics Canada, 2006). The needed replacement rate is 2.1 per woman, while the average fertility rate in developed countries is 1.8 per woman. Combined with the exodus of 275,000 younger and middle-aged populations between 1971 and 2006, many English-speaking communities across Quebec are grappling with an aging population. Census data shows that Quebec Anglophones have a higher proportion of seniors without any special institutional means to accommodate their needs (Statistics Canada, 2001; Marmen & Corbeil, 2004). English-speaking communities, particularly in the ROQ, have a multi-faceted challenge of maintaining somewhat depleted population levels (Jedwab, 2004 & this study). In a federal/provincial context regulated

by the policy of “where numbers warrant”, the capacity to support English institutions depends directly on the demographic strength of the English-speaking communities of Quebec.

1.3 The Diversity of English-Speaking Communities in Quebec

The traditional English-speaking community of Quebec (ESCQ) has, as part of the evolving ethnic and cultural make-up of Canada, become more diverse over the last thirty years, particularly in and around the island of Montreal. Historically the ESCQ originated from the British Isles, an ancestry which is still very much present in regional communities of Quebec. However, the English-speaking communities residing on the island of Montreal are composed of a majority of English speakers whose ethnic origins are other than those of the British Isles, with 20% belonging to visible minorities from the Caribbean, India, and Africa (Jedwab, 2004). The English-speaking community of Quebec (ESCQ) will be increasingly composed of a population that “uses” the English language without it being their mother tongue nor necessarily their first official language spoken. Hence the definition of the English-speaking community that emerged from the consultations for the Community Development Plan prepared by the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) in 2005 concluded that:

The English-speaking community of Quebec is made-up of multiple communities that are diverse, multicultural and multiracial. These communities include citizens throughout Quebec who choose to use the English language and who identify with the English-speaking community.

Many “English speakers” in Quebec will have gone to school in French, will likely work in French and interact at home in another language. Yet they may seek services such as health care in English, play sports and socialize in English, and most likely engage in cultural and communications activities in English (television, Internet, etc). Given these multiple identities, some may question whether English-language institutions can secure support to address the full range of these community needs.

1.4 Global Language, Local Communities

Because English, as a language, is pervasive across the globe, it gives the impression that all is well in the English-speaking community of Quebec (ESCQ). If language were the only criterion for community vitality, that perception might be well-founded. But it is not, and there are numerous examples of where this perception of language vitality obscures the situation at the community vitality level:

- There is no such thing as an “English-language hospital” in Quebec: all state-financed medical facilities are officially French-language that may, by *fiat*, offer specified services in English. The fact that some of these facilities enjoy a considerable presence of English speakers does not overcome their status as French-language institutions in character and operations.
- The English-speaking community is struggling to nurture and retain its own institutional leadership as reflected by the fact that an increasing number of English-language institutions are run by decision-makers who do not necessarily have a cultural background emanating from the English-speaking community.
- The English-speaking communities of the Outaouais do not receive any daily newspaper or radio coverage from the rest of Quebec. Their print news comes from the Ottawa Citizen, while Quebec provincial coverage on the radio is weak given that CBC Radio news originates in Ottawa or Toronto. While the English-speaking communities of the Outaouais region receive broadcasting from National Public Radio (NPR) in the US, they receive little radio information about what affects them most in their daily lives: decisions and events in their home province.

1.5 Bilingual by Nature

One of the most dramatic changes in the English-speaking community over the last three decades has been the rise of bilingualism: from 37% in 1971 to 69% in 2006. This should be no surprise given the requirements for speaking French in the workplace, and the demand for French immersion and bilingual courses in the English education system. It is a reflection of the determination of those in the English-speaking community who have chosen to remain in Quebec. This

change, however, is coming with a cultural price: English youth, being the most bilingual of all population segments in Quebec (80% bilingual in the 15-24 age range), increasingly place less emphasis on their linguistic identity, while exogenous relationships at work, with friends, and in marriage are on the rise. As an example, many small regional and rural English schools are only able to stay open because there are sufficient numbers of French/English mixed marriages with eligibility certificates who have chosen to exercise their right to English-language education. Given freedom of language choice at the collegiate level (CEGEP), all five English-language CEGEPs have significant numbers of Francophones within their student body. At least two English CEGEPs might have difficulty staying open without Francophone enrolment (Heritage College in Gatineau, and the St-Lawrence Campus of Champlain Regional College).

1.6 From Elite to Minority Status: Leadership and Mobilization Issues

When in the 1960s Raymond Breton wrote about institutional completeness, governments were somewhat less interventionist and, consequently, language communities often had a more significant role in developing their own services in areas such as health care, social services and to a lesser extent in education. However, since the Quebec “Quiet Revolution” such services have been increasingly offered either directly by the Quebec government or outsourced to community institutions that are themselves dependent on State support. In discussions of institutional completeness, there has been a tendency to devote insufficient attention to the role played by governments in supporting the community’s organizational capacity. Even if the leadership of a community is not directly dependent on the state, its overall institutional vitality will likely be dependent on government support all the same. In the long run, harmonious relations between minorities and the state are necessary conditions for maintaining the institutional vitality of such communities.

In Quebec, the leadership and institutions representing the English-speaking communities are often affected by the delicate relationships with and between the provincial and federal governments.

Perhaps the best example of this is the demise of the principal advocacy group for Quebec Anglophones, Alliance Quebec. After more than two decades of community service, the organization's decline was in large part due to its sole dependency on funding from the Official Languages Support Program of the federal department of Canadian Heritage. The federal government's decision to withdraw funding from Alliance Quebec was related to problems of leadership and governance. Without alternative community financial support, Alliance Quebec had no choice but to close down.

Linguistic minorities need to safeguard their institutional support while interacting with the state administration and mainstream society. Federal and provincial support of minority institutions depends on majority group endorsement of such institutional support. This invites a question as to the conditions under which the leadership of the ESCQ is most effective in securing and developing minority institutional support. Historically, it is often contended that English-speaking Quebecers exercised significant overt and covert influence on provincial political decision-making (Stevenson, 1999).

Prior to the 1970s, several observers contend that relevant Anglophone community issues were dealt with informally with the Quebec government via intermediaries through elite accommodation. Stevenson (1999) describes this as "*consociational democracy*", an approach that he feels was most effective in representing the concerns of Quebec's English speakers prior to the 1970s. In effect, given the insufficient share of English-speaker representation in the Quebec public administration and National Assembly, and the concentration of Anglophones in Montreal, Stevenson contends that their prospects for influencing broader French society were limited where majoritarian democracy guided decision-making. If, as respectively contended by Stein (1982) and Stevenson (1999) the English-speaking community once operated relatively autonomously, it was due to the minimalist role played by the provincial government in the areas of education and health and social services prior to the "Quiet Revolution". By the time the French state had grown tenfold in the 1970s, elite accommodation with Anglophones was no longer seen as possible or desirable by the empowered Francophone majority.

Lately, observers often identify the main problem of the English-speaking community as one of disempowerment: in this case the feeling that either individually or collectively, English-speaking Quebecers have little influence on Quebec society (Stevenson, 1999). Beginning in the 1960s through the 1970s, successive provincial administrations introduced public policies aimed at making language the basis for community needs, measures which strengthened the salience of language as a badge of group identification for both Francophones and Anglophones in the province. It was during the 1970s that language emerged as the principal marker of social identity for many English speakers (Caldwell and Waddell 1983). Several analysts contend that government language policies during that decade (e.g. Bill 22, 63, 101) resulted in English speakers transitioning from their identification with Canada's English-speaking majority to becoming a language minority within the predominantly Francophone province (Caldwell, 1984, 1994a, b). Consequently, Quebec's English-language communities needed to adopt strategies to defend institutional interests that were principally influenced by decisions made by French provincial authorities. With the demise of *consociational democracy*, Quebec Anglophones would eventually be compelled to defend their rights through collective action as a minority group (Stevenson, 2004).

2. A Brief History of English-Speaking Advocacy in Quebec

Stein (1982) contends that the transformation to minority status emerged with the introduction of Bill 22 by the provincial Liberal government in 1974 that made French the sole official language of the province. In the eyes of most Anglophones, he adds, the legislation reduced the English-speaking community to the status of a minority as any other in the province, or as a second-class language group.

According to Stein (1982) the Anglophone community may be described as having gone through at least three development phases since the end of the Second World War. The initial phase of self-confident "majority group" consciousness was characterized by reliance on covert elite pressure on Quebec officials to secure political favors for Quebec English speakers. This pressure was exerted primarily through

face-to-face and telephone contacts between Anglophone business and community leaders on one hand and Francophone government officials on the other, often through the intermediary of key Anglophone members of the Quebec government legislature.

The second phase is one of defensiveness, marked by a loss of confidence on the part of Quebec Anglophones that began with the Quiet Revolution. It is in this period that the provincial government representing the empowered Francophone majority encroached on the hitherto autonomous English-language institutions. Stein (1982) concludes that Anglophones were no longer a self-governing community, but were subject to the will of the growing interventionism of the Francophone majority. This was highlighted by reorganizing and standardizing educational structures, government regulation of professional and charitable institutions, regrouping of municipalities, and the creation of regional and metropolitan governments. During this second phase, Anglophones had difficulty coming to grips with their declining elite status and many nurtured the illusion that their former influence could be regained.

The third phase was one of minority self-awareness and action that developed following the election of the sovereignist Parti Québécois government in November 1976 and the adoption of the Charter of the French Language, known as Bill 101, in 1997. Stevenson (1999) describes the election of the Parti Québécois as a catalyst for Anglophone angst and the result was a revival of the preoccupation with interest group politics, which had taken a back seat to electoral politics following the emergence of Quebec governments with no meaningful Anglophone representation.

The idea that over the course of the twentieth century the interests of the English-speaking community were effectively defended by an influential English-language elite calls for a definition of who formed the “community” at that time. In fact Stein (1982) tacitly acknowledges that community awareness as a collectivity was low prior to the 1970s. Rarely did Quebec’s Anglo-Protestants defend the interests of the English-speaking Catholics or the growing Jewish population. Nor did these groups frequently coalesce around a set of common goals or concerns (Rudin, 1984). The very idea of what constituted the “rights” of English speakers in Quebec would have held a vastly

different meaning in the pre-1960 period when pan-Canadian legal protections focused on minority religions and only dealt with language rights when they intersected with one's faith. In short, it would be difficult to describe Quebec Anglophone individuals defending the institutional concerns of the English-language schools and hospitals as the precursors of the community advocates that emerged in the 1970s. Indeed the majority-minority transition undergone by Quebec Anglophones since the 1970s, as viewed by much of Quebec sociology, tends to draw upon a past image of the English-speaking community rather than situating its reality in a more contemporary context.

2.1 Legitimacy and Representation

Stevenson points out that the leaders of the Anglophone community realized that the development of English-language advocacy organizations that emerged in the late 1970s required the laborious construction of an identity for English Quebecers (Stevenson, 1999). The Government of Canada played a critical role in support of such advocacy bodies and in turn in the identity construction of the English-speaking population. In 1977, the Canadian government began making funds available to Quebec's English-language advocacy bodies under the programs aimed at assistance to official language minorities. The federal government also desired that the Anglophone advocacy groups reach out to English-speaking members of all ethnic communities so as to construct a more unified and inclusive set of community structures.

The 1980 referendum on Quebec sovereignty further enhanced the need for cooperation within the overwhelmingly federalist English-speaking population. In the aftermath of the majority vote in favour of federalism, there was a reinforcement of the notion that a single comprehensive organization with a mass membership would have a more credible claim to speak for the community than a collection of smaller groups. This idea was endorsed by the federal government agencies. Alliance Quebec was created in May 1982 as a provincial federation of English-speaking Quebecers funded mainly by Canadian Heritage. Describing itself as a volunteer-based, community organization, Alliance Quebec strived for the promotion of minority language rights and was committed to the preservation and enhancement of

the English-speaking communities and their institutions. Defense of national unity and the promotion of English-language rights were fundamental priorities for Alliance Quebec in the discharge of its mandate.

2.2 Government and Governance

Tracing the origins of the funding programs to official minority language groups, Pal (1993) contends that the key assumptions in such programs is that the groups must be agents of their own development, express their own aspirations and address their own needs. As Pal puts it "...OLMG funding could therefore be only a catalyst and would by definition be driven by the associations' demands and definitions of their needs." Not surprisingly, institutional leaders wanted minimal interference in determining the priorities arising from the multi-year financial support provided by the federal government. But the English-language minority advocacy groups in Quebec had virtually no other sources of financial support aside from that provided by the federal government. Few expected that funding would ever be extended by the Quebec Government. Representatives of minority language organizations readily acknowledged that without the federal government's contribution it would not be possible to ensure their base programs and some would cease to exist (Canada, 2003b).

Institutional legitimacy often required that minority language organizations strike a delicate balance between the accountability to both government funding bodies and community stakeholders. The degree to which organizations supported by the government fairly represent their constituents is of ongoing concern to federal government funding agencies. The democratic character of an organization can be a vital factor in government approval of its funding. But possessing democratic structures may not suffice if the objectives of the organization representing official language minorities did not conform to those established by the government funding authority. Hence, despite the federal government's desire not to interfere in a funded organization's governance and programming, at times it might be compelled to intervene. This issue was particularly delicate for the federal government given its often tenuous relations with the ruling sovereignist governments of the Parti Québécois.

Although they occasionally revisited their program objectives in Quebec, federal government official language minority programs targeted such things as outreach to members of the official language community; the development, vitality and growth of official language minorities; and improved relations between the minority language communities and the majority Francophone population. Priority was extended to programs aimed at maintaining, expanding or establishing institutions or strengthening access to educational, social, cultural and economic services and at achieving official recognition, through legislative or constitutional reform, of the rights of official language communities to such services. Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s, evaluations of the program's effectiveness revealed that progress had been achieved on most fronts with the exception of generating increased sensitivity on the part of the majorities to the concerns of the official language minorities, a goal that remained elusive (Pal, 1993).

After narrowly averting defeat in the 1995 referendum on sovereignty, the mainly federalist Quebec Anglophone minority became increasingly concerned with the threat of Quebec separation from Canada. Shortly thereafter, the emphasis on preserving national unity seemed to move to the very forefront of Alliance Quebec's agenda along with the defense of constitutional and human rights as opposed to community development or minority rights. Although the federal government was well aware that minority language organizations supported Canadian unity, their program funding was not directed towards such political purpose. Consequently, if the funded organization's promotion of minority language concerns was seen as too intertwined with advocating for Canadian unity, it risked raising questions over whether the funds were indeed being allocated according to federal guidelines.

Despite the federal government's traditional desire to support minority language organizations with broadly-based membership, during the 1990s it became increasingly sensitive to the concerns of smaller Anglophone communities outside of Montreal. Such communities feared that under the auspices of province-wide advocacy they would be subsumed by an organization that was more preoccupied with fostering Canadian unity than ensuring access to services in the English language in the ROQ.

In 1995, the creation of the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) provided a mechanism through which the federal government could distribute funding to the various organizations addressing more practical minority language concerns. Derived from its member organizations, its mandate was to promote and facilitate cooperation and consultation with the provincial and federal government with respect to the development and enactment of policies directly relevant to the English-language minority communities. It would support and assist its member organizations in pursuit of this goal through a coordinated approach to community development amongst and between member organizations and other partners.

2.3 Revisiting Advocacy

While federal government funds have traditionally supported Quebec's minority language advocacy bodies, the English-language schools, hospitals and social services are supported by provincial authorities. Consequently, representatives of such institutions interact principally with Quebec Francophone officials and very often deal with government authorities and public servants that advocate Quebec sovereignty. Between 1994 and 2003, the Francophone majority elected the Parti Québécois as the government of Quebec. In effect, the federally-funded minority language groups were advocating on behalf of English-language institutions that were largely dependent on provincial funding support, except education, by virtue of article 23 of the 1982 Canadian constitution.

In Montreal, most English-language schools, hospitals and cultural institutions have their own advocacy programs or networks, and over the years have rarely relied upon minority language organizations to take up their causes. In fact, on some occasions they have discouraged such bodies from intervening in "their" concerns. Scowen (1991) argued that school commissions and hospital boards should form the essential framework that supports the entire English-speaking community. He insists that their leaders should have no hesitation about affirming the essential English character of these vital institutions. However, many hitherto English-language institutions have been hesitant to affirm such an identity, in part out of concern that by doing so they would alienate or erode their influence with the Quebec

government and its Francophone voters. Although widely regarded as part of the heritage of Quebec's Anglophone community, English-language schools and health institutions were redefining their mission in response to reorganization of their services according to geographic boundaries, an evolving multiethnic and multiracial clientele and a growing number of French-speaking Quebecers who used the services of "*de facto*" English-language institutions.

3. Issue-Based Governance of English-Speaking Quebec

There appears to be no single issue which a majority of English-speaking Quebecers regard as the most important matter affecting their condition as a linguistic minority in Quebec. A CROP survey conducted in 2005 for the CHSSN reveals that approximately 33% of Anglophones regard issues surrounding their minority status as most important, including equal rights for Anglophones, national unity and language of commercial signs. Another 33% think that access to English-language services is paramount: in health, education and employment. There is some divergence between the priorities expressed by Montreal Anglophones who are more inclined to identify the issues of "minority status" in Quebec as the principal preoccupation versus those in the ROQ who are more concerned with access to public services in the English language. Only a small percentage of Anglophones consider improved relations with Francophones as their main priority. This latter issue is one that the federal government funding agencies regard as a priority and one where they feel that progress has been limited. Yet when surveyed, a majority of Anglophones and Francophones describe relations between the language communities as positive.

Despite the relatively limited threat of language loss through assimilation to French, important numbers of Anglophones have left the province since the 1970s. Optimism about the community's future prospects remains relatively low. In a Decima poll conducted for Canadian Heritage in 2006, as many as a third of Anglophones surveyed were not confident that their community would continue to exist in the future. As seen in table 1, only 35% of Quebec Anglophones were strongly confident in the community's ability to keep young

people in the region, a score much lower than for Francophones in Ontario (54%) and in Manitoba (47%). This weak level of optimism was not much greater than for some Francophone communities outside of Quebec where language loss through assimilation was greater. Moreover, with the exception of the Franco-Albertans, table 2 shows that the English-speaking communities of Quebec are less optimistic about their capacity to remain strong in the future (58%) than all Francophone communities outside of Quebec (68% to 78%). Taken together, these results attest to the pessimism experienced by Quebec Anglophones regarding their declining vitality in the province.

Table 1
Strong Confidence in the Ability of the Community
to Keep Young People in the Region (%),
Selected Provincial Official Language Minorities, 2006

Official Language Minorities	Totally Confident (7-10 on 10-Point Scale) (%)
Nova Scotia Francophones	33.6
New Brunswick Francophones	39.5
Quebec Anglophones	35.2
Ontario Francophones	53.8
Manitoba Francophones	47.3
Alberta Francophones	33.3

Source: Canada (2006): Decima for the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Table 2
The Capacity of my Community
to Remain Strong in the Future in my Region (%),
Selected Provincial Official Language Minorities, 2006

Official Language Minorities	Totally Confident (7-10 on 10-Point Scale) (%)
Nova Scotia Francophones	67.6
New Brunswick Francophones	78.1
Quebec Anglophones	58.4
Ontario Francophones	72.3
Manitoba Francophones	74.8
Alberta Francophones	55.6

Source: Canada (2006): Decima for the Department of Canadian Heritage.

4. Current Leadership of Quebec's English-Speaking Communities

Leadership is a function of the input an individual can make into the community's capacity for concerted action, into the total power of the community in relation to the problems and opportunities it encounters (Breton, 1991). The strength of communal expressions of identity very often depends upon the extent to which a group is able to mobilize persons around shared interests and objectives. Those charged with defining and implementing a community's agenda can play a decisive role in shaping such objectives. As noted, striking a balance between the requirements of funding bodies and the development needs of grassroots community members is no simple task and often depends on charismatic leaders able to mediate such divergent goals.

The issue of leadership of minority English-language advocacy bodies has been the object of ongoing attention by the organization's funders and constituents. A survey of one hundred English-speaking community representatives found near unanimity over the importance of leadership for community development, constituents and community leaders each ranking the issue at nine on a ten point scale. Although virtually every Anglophone respondent regarded leadership as important, they differed over its degree of effectiveness. In the 2004 leadership survey, Anglophone respondents tended to rank themselves as more effective (6.7 out of 10) than did members of the Anglophone community polled in 2002 (4.8 out of 10). In 2000, a CROP-Missisquoi survey of some 3,100 Quebec Anglophones asked whether the English-speaking community had strong and effective leadership. There were significant variations in opinion (CROP, 2000). Close to 40% of Anglophone respondents who were in the categories of the young, the unemployed, and seniors did not consider the leadership of the Anglophone community to be effective. For the remaining respondents categorized as economically active, results showed that 50% felt that leadership of the Anglophone community was not effective, with as many as 60% of Anglophone undergraduates sharing this view.

4.1 Perceived Effectiveness of Community Institutions and State Services

A Canadian Heritage survey (Canada, 2006) asked Anglophones in Quebec ($n = 567$) and Francophones in the rest of Canada (ROC, $n = 1506$) to rate the quality of leadership in their respective communities. Results showed that only 46% of Quebec Anglophones were confident that their leadership was strong, effective and represented their interests. In contrast, as many as 70% of Francophones in the ROC were confident that their leadership was strong, effective and representative of their community interests.

As seen in table 3, the same Canadian Heritage survey (Canada, 2006) asked Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the ROC to rate each of their community institutions in their commitment to serving the interests of their respective language community. Results showed that the majority of Quebec Anglophones felt that English mass media institutions (68.2%), English post-secondary education institutions (63.9%), arts and culture institutions (61.8%), and health and social service institutions (50.6%) best served their community interests. In contrast, Quebec government public sector institutions were seen as least likely to serve such needs (37.8%). Table 3 shows that the majority of Francophones in the ROC rated primary-secondary schools (68.2%), post-secondary French education (61.6%), health and social services (56.4%), and mass media institutions (53.1%) as most committed to serving Francophone interests. Francophones in the ROC were also quite likely to rate community-based organizations (47.7%) and the French media (53.1%) as strongly committed to serving the needs of their Francophone communities. Unlike Anglophones in Quebec, close to half the Francophone respondents in the ROC rated provincial public sector organizations (49.5%) as being strongly committed to serving the needs of their language community.

The same Canadian Heritage survey (Canada, 2006) also asked which level of governance best represented the interests of Anglophones in Quebec and of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada (ROC): these were the government of Canada, the provincial government and the local municipality. As seen in table 4, Quebec Anglophones and Francophones in the ROC were also asked to rate how satisfied they were with each of these levels of government as

Table 3**Institutions Most Committed to Representing and Serving the Interests of My Language Community in My Province, Anglophones in Quebec, and Francophones in the Rest of Canada (ROC), 2006**

Institutions Strongly Committed (7-10 on the 10-Point Scale)	Anglophones in Quebec (%) n = 567	Francophones in the ROC (%) n = 1,506
Organizations in media and communications	68.2	53.1
Organizations in post-secondary education and training	63.9	61.6
Organizations in health and social services	50.6	56.4
Organizations in arts and culture	61.8	51.1
Organizations in primary and secondary education	46.7	68.2
Community-based and not-for-profit organizations	44.3	47.7
Provincial public sector organizations	37.8	49.5

Source: Canada (2006). Decima for the Department of Canadian Heritage.

regards access to services in their own minority language. Over 40% of Anglophone respondents in Quebec rated their local English municipality (43.1%) and the Canadian government (41.4%) as best able to represent their community interests, while the Quebec provincial government was seen by only 28.1% of Anglophones as serving their community interests. Table 4 also shows that the majority of Quebec Anglophones were very satisfied with access to English services in the Canadian government (64.2%) while just over 40% were satisfied with English services at the municipal level (42.5%). However, even fewer Anglophones (24%) were very satisfied with English-language services provided by the Quebec provincial government.

In the case of Francophones outside of Quebec, over 40% feel that the provincial government (40.3%) and the federal government (43.3%) are excellent at representing their community interests. Close to half the Francophones in the ROC (49%) also rate their municipal government as excellent in representing their community interests. Table 4 also shows that the majority of Francophones in the ROC

Table 4
Proportion of Respondents who Perceive Each Level of Government as Excellent
in Representing their Community Interest (%), and Satisfaction with Access to Minority Language Services
in Each Government Level (%), Anglophones in Quebec, and Francophones in the Rest of Canada (ROC), 2006

Perception of representation/access	Government of Canada		Provincial Government		Local Municipality	
	Anglophones in Quebec	Francophones in the ROC	Anglophones in Quebec	Francophones in the ROC	Anglophones in Quebec	Francophones in the ROC
Excellent at representing own interests	41.4	43.3	28.1	40.3	43.1	49.0
Very satisfied with access to services in own language	64.2	62.5	24.0	57.0	42.5	58.7

Source: Canada (2006) Decima for the Department of Canadian Heritage.

are very satisfied with their access to French services in the government of Canada (62.5%), local municipality (58.7%) and provincial government (57%). Thus a majority of Francophones in the ROC are very satisfied with their access to French services offered by their respective provincial governments. However this level of satisfaction with provincial language services is enjoyed by less than a quarter of English speakers in Quebec.

Finally, the same Canadian Heritage survey (Canada, 2006) showed that 42.5% of Francophones outside of Quebec felt that access in French to programs and services from the government of Canada had gotten better over the past five years, compared to only 27.6% of Quebec Anglophones who felt services in English had improved during the same period. As regards provincial programs and services, the survey showed that 40.4% of Francophones in the ROC felt that French services from their provincial government had improved during the last five years. In contrast, only 17% of Quebec Anglophones felt that English services provided by the Quebec government had improved during this period. Clearly, the majority of Quebec Anglophones feel that English-language services from the federal and especially the Quebec government have not been improving.

4.2 Community Mobilization Strategy: Angryphone or Lamb Lobby?

Stevenson (1999) notes that there has been considerable debate amongst Quebec Anglophones about the relative merits of “quiet diplomacy” traditionally practiced by advocacy groups defending the community versus a more confrontational style in making claims on behalf of minority English speakers (Alliance Quebec). The term “lamb lobby” is used to refer to the more conciliatory approach to advocacy while the more “in your face” strategy or the confrontational style is referred to as the “angryphones”. Stevenson observes that: “the academic literature on interest group politics leans towards the view that the most successful interest groups are those that work quietly behind the scenes and have a good rapport with the government and bureaucracy” (lamb lobby). However, he observes that the more militant type of interest group activity can also be useful in mobilizing the support

of the minority and in bringing their grievances to the attention of non-supporters within both minority and majority communities.

Nonetheless, Stevenson (1999) arrives at the somewhat pessimistic conclusion that in the majoritarian democracy that Quebec has become, a relatively small minority cannot expect many victories via the political process and notably, he adds, where it is widely viewed as enjoying undeserved privileges. Indeed, opinions collected from a 2007 survey conducted by the firm Leger Marketing with a representative sample of 810 Francophones and 191 non-Francophones (Allophones and Anglophones) reveal that members of the Francophone majority have ambivalent views towards the Anglophone minority of Quebec. Results obtained in the survey show that the majority of Francophone respondents (61%) feel that Quebec Anglophones have yet to realize that they are a minority in Quebec, a perception shared by only 38% of non-Francophones. Results also show that only 36% of Quebec Francophones agree that Anglophones understand that they are a minority in the province; however, this view is endorsed by nearly 60% of non-Francophones. Consistent with these views, 65% of Quebec Francophones feel that Anglophones act like they are a majority, while only 28% of non-Francophones share this view. As to whether the Quebec Anglophone minority needs to be better represented in the Quebec public administration, as many as 71% of non-Francophones agree with this employment equity measure whereas only 30% of Francophones endorse this position. These results are disconcerting, given that a Quebec Human Rights Commission (CDPJ, 1988) study controlling for language competence, level of education and years of work experience showed that while mother tongue Anglophones made up more than 8% of the Quebec population, only 2% were employed in the Quebec public administration, a trend unchanged more than a decade later (Quebec, 2000a; 2002b).

The Leger Marketing survey also showed that while 54% of non-Francophones agreed that Anglophones are a founding people of Quebec society, only 41% of Francophones endorsed this view. While 65% of non-Francophones agreed that Anglophones understand Quebec society, only 33% of Francophones shared this view. While as many as 43% of Quebec Francophones agree that Anglophones are

too aggressive in making their claims, only 25% of non-Francophones share this perception. Conversely, while 33% of non-Francophones think that Anglophones are too timid in making their claims, only 17% of Francophones endorse this view. Taken together, these survey results show that members of the Francophone majority are not very sympathetic to the view that English-speaking Quebecers encounter significant disempowerment in Quebec.

On a more positive note, the same Leger Marketing Survey (2007) shows that the majority of Quebec respondents appreciate the economic contribution of Quebec Anglophones. When asked whether Quebec Anglophones make an important contribution to the provincial economy, as many as 87% of the Quebec respondents agreed. The majority of respondents (75%) also agreed that Anglophones made an important contribution to Quebec history.

5. Declining Institutional Control

Reduced Anglophone representation in the provincial cabinet of the Quebec National Assembly is the current lament heard in the English-speaking communities, and there are other areas where the decline in political and institutional influence has been felt. As mentioned previously, there is still glaring under-representation of Anglophones in the Quebec civil administration as well as in large municipalities like Montreal (Bourhis & Lepic, 2004). While Anglophones have never, since the emergence of bigger provincial government, occupied more jobs in the civil administration than the current level of 2%, the growth of the civil service in terms of both size and scope has meant that the tasks related to social intervention and support once carried out by community institutions has been taken over by the state without the commensurate transfer of community participation.

5.1 Social Economy

Across Quebec there are ninety-five “*Centres locaux de développement*” (CLD), fifteen “*Centres régionaux de concertation et de développement*” (CRCDD), and seventy-seven outlets for the “*Société d’aide au développement des collectivités*” (SADC). In addition, another eighty-nine regional and provincial organizations listed by the Quebec government

are involved in assisting local and regional communities in the areas of employment and economic development. A sampling of various websites and documentation indicate that only a few offer any English-language services, and/or have much in the way of Anglophone participation. This situation exists in other sectors of the province that have an impact on community development, including the “*Chantier de l’économie sociale*”. Even in those sectors where the English-speaking community enjoys stronger institutional support such as education and health services, there are only a few provincial organizations that rival the institutional completeness of the Francophone majority in Quebec.

5.2 Regional Restructuring

Another development that has eroded the vitality of the English-speaking communities is the regionalization of power across the province of Quebec. While regionalization has its advantages, including greater local decision-making and better resource allocation, the English-speaking communities have not been active participants in the process either in the conceptualization of policies or the application of programs. The latest embodiment of this policy direction has been the establishment of the “*Conférences régionales des élus*” (CRE), a form of supra-Montreal Regional Council, with a mandate and resources to develop broad policy and programs covering all aspects of social, economic and cultural development across different regions of the province. Our review of CRE websites reveals that of the more than 700 representatives on the seventeen regional bodies across the province, only fifty representatives have Anglophone names (7%). Discounting the thirty-five Anglophone representatives serving the CRE in the Montreal region, one can expect only one Anglophone representative per CRE across the other regions of the province. Five of the seventeen CREs appear to have no Anglophone representation at all. Furthermore, there are very few Anglophone representatives outside of the municipal category of representation such as the socio-economic and cultural categories representing “the milieu”. Given that Aboriginal communities have specific seats set aside for their communities on some of the CREs, Anglophones should be mobilizing to also obtain similar representation.

5.3 Federal Government Devolution to Provincial Jurisdiction

While some transfers of power and responsibility from the federal to the provincial level have been largely administrative (e.g., collection of the GST), some transfers of responsibilities have had long-term negative implications for the English-speaking communities of Quebec. Two such transfers were manpower and training (from Human Resources Development Canada to Emploi-Québec) and federal-provincial joint control over immigration. The obligations inherent in the application of the Official Languages Act have, in these two cases, been largely set aside, giving way to the political pressure exerted by Quebec to take full control of these important jurisdictions. Consequently, such transfers resulted in the erosion of bilingualism as the language of work in the relevant bureaucracies and the decline of English-language services for the Anglophone minority of Quebec. The official language rights of the English-speaking minority of Quebec were sacrificed, without adequate compensatory support, to the political imperative of national unity.

The English-speaking community of Quebec, in relation to federal programs, is not treated as a “national” minority. Therefore, the ESCQ have greater difficulty garnering political attention to its causes and accessing resources designated for national minority programming. The ESCQ lacks institutional importance; it has no official presence in Ottawa, especially in comparison to the twenty-three national Francophone organizations from the ROC funded under the Development of Official Language Communities Program by the Department of Canadian Heritage.

6. Harnessing the Tides: Some Recommendations for Anglophone Community Leadership

What strategies might the English-speaking community of Quebec consider to become more effectively organized at the community level and thus become more empowered in pursuing the protection and enhancement of its institutional completeness? We propose the following four recommendations designed to avoid community decline while improving the institutional vitality of the English speaking communities of Quebec.

6.1 Political Mobilization

Developing a concerted political strategy seems of primary importance given the insufficient attention directed by the dominant political class to the English-speaking communities of Quebec. Thus the associative network of the ESCQ must be maintained while linkage with English-speaking institutions in education, health and social services must be nurtured and developed. Politically, some have advocated changes in the provincial electoral system to proportional representation as a means to restore some political influence to the English-speaking communities. Arguments made in favour of “rep-by-pop” include the redress of regional imbalances in representation and the frequent discordance between popular vote and actual number of seats obtained in the Quebec National Assembly. However, using rep-by-pop might not result in improving Anglophone representation and the idea of establishing a coalition of Anglophone representatives under this system might engender political isolation. Therefore, while initially appealing, this strategy requires in-depth analysis of the possible outcomes before pushing for this option.

6.2 Leadership

The municipal arena is one area of political activity where the English-speaking community is still actively present and can actually constitute the demographic majority of a given municipality or neighbourhood. There are still many Anglophone councillors at the municipal level, and some Anglophone mayors and representatives at the level of the MRCs and on the island of Montreal. However, in the ROQ, there is very little evidence of a coordinated Anglophone approach as regards municipal affairs. At the *Fédération québécoise des municipalités* (FQM), which represents Quebec municipalities and MRCs outside of the three principal metropolitan areas (Quebec, Montreal and Gatineau), there is very little Anglophone representation. Given the direct connection and impact that municipal structures have upon local communities, and the prominent position of municipal representation within the CREs, it is imperative that the ESCQ examine ways to become more effectively organized for the following reasons:

- Legislative and regulatory protection for bilingual communities has diminished;
- Reductions in local Anglophone populations and the impact of municipal mergers have brought some communities below the bilingual status and “where numbers warrant” thresholds for English-language services;
- The on-going devolution of provincial programs to the regional municipal level means that municipalities will have much greater responsibility for community development activities in the future (i.e., *Pacte rurale* and *Conférences régionales des élus*).

To harness the critical mass of English-speaking political representation at the municipal level, steps must be taken to engage English-speaking municipal representatives to assess and plan for the creation of an English-language municipal forum (or federation/council) that would:

- Provide a place for networking and information exchange amongst English-speaking municipal representatives;
- Provide a bridge between urban and rural English-speaking municipal representatives;
- Provide a mechanism for effective representation at the provincial level for matters affecting the socio-economic development of English-speaking rural communities;
- Provide a space for leadership and mentorship development at the municipal level with the view of preparing key local community architects for their eventual role as deputies at the Quebec National Assembly and Federal Parliament.

6.3 Employment Equity and State Representation

The Quebec government needs to reconcile its discourse concerning the historic importance of the English-speaking community with the more concrete action of employment equity for jobs in the public administration, linguistic training, information and service provision. One opportunity for change is the fact that there will be significant

levels of retirement from the Quebec civil service in the coming years. The timing is propitious given the increased number of job openings in the Quebec public service combined with increased levels of French-language capability amongst Quebec's English speakers. Focus on the preparation and recruitment of English-speaking candidates for the Quebec civil service, including visible minorities and cultural communities, would create a framework for redressing the abysmally low level of current English-speaking employment in the Quebec public administration. It would also form the critical mass that could not only raise awareness of ESCQ and visible minority issues within the provincial administration, but would provide a more complete range of services for the English-speaking population of Quebec (Kalev, Dobbin & Kelly, 2006).

Another area where the English-speaking communities can replenish their institutional completeness would be their designation as a national "official language minority" at the federal level. Thus, Quebec Anglophone organizations and institutions that have typically been regarded as "provincial" in their mandates would obtain the same status as that granted to French-language organizations and institutions in the rest of Canada (ROC) for many years. Even for Quebec Anglophone organizations that have achieved some national status (i.e., QCGN, Community Table, CHSSN), the operationalization of this status is often devolved (relegated) to the provincial administrative units of respective federal departments in terms of programs and funding. To enshrine this status, the English-speaking communities of Quebec need to establish a fully functioning office in Ottawa.

6.4 Communities

While the absolute number of "English speakers" in Quebec has been on the rise, so too have the multiple identities of its population (Jedwab, 2004). For many English speakers, the language is not the principal marker of their identities. On the other hand, English is the language of public use for an ethnically diverse population when it comes to employment, education and health and social services. In consultations held in 2005 for the QCGN's Community Development Plan, representatives of Montreal's cultural communities and visible

minorities strongly indicated that social justice and employment equity were also important issue in their daily lives and, as English speakers, such values must be respected and addressed.

Dialogue with representatives of cultural and ethnic communities has to be pursued with greater vigour and continuity to determine the scope of services these communities wish to receive in English. English services must be improved to address such needs along with the institutions and organizations that provide them. In addition, given the resources that do exist in the English-speaking communities, both institutional and organizational, what can the English-speaking communities contribute as a way of resolving concerns over social justice faced by members of cultural and visible communities? Further, some debate must ensue on the possibilities of convergence of official language and multi-cultural support programming by Canadian Heritage in the Montreal region given the significant crossover between the targeted communities.

7. Conclusion

There is a growing sense that decisions about community development must be made as close to the community as possible. Hence, those Anglophone organizations that are closest to the citizen have the best chance to mobilize constituents. In those areas where schools, health and social service networks are strongest, the advocacy functions are most likely to be assumed by those reporting to their governing bodies. As their immediate financial support tends to be provincially-based, there may be some disconnect with the minority language organizations that are largely funded by the federal government and a risk of greater disconnection from the provincial service organizations. This increasingly seems to be the case in Montreal. In the ROQ, however, where there is less community infrastructure, the opportunities for advocacy on the part of the federally-supported English-language organizations may indeed be better. However, without a connection to and between the institutional base of English-speaking Montreal, there is a risk of further weakening the ability of communities to create change in favour of increased vitality. Questions about how leadership is effective in addressing community needs are often connected

to what a group regards as its main interests and priorities. The issues that communities deem important will evolve based on changing social, economic and political circumstances. For leadership to remain effective it has to adapt to the changing concerns of its constituents.

Stevenson (1999) believes that a single advocacy organization has difficulty simultaneously employing both “quiet diplomacy” and confrontation to achieve community ends. As he notes: “access to policy-makers and policy implementers, and the influence that results from it, will not normally be granted to groups or individuals with a reputation for public protest and hostility to the government...” This has also been characterized as the difficulty of community organizations seeking to be simultaneously a “hunter and a herder” in their activities. On the other hand, Stevenson notes, the two approaches are not mutually exclusive so long as they are done by distinct and separate organizations. In effect, the “angryphones” can make the “lambs” look more reasonable and responsible by contrast, and thus help decision-makers understand that some issues need to be addressed so as to avoid public confrontation. Hence, Stevenson concludes, that there is room for both types of approaches within Quebec’s English-speaking community. However, a number of considerations have worked against such an approach in the past and are unlikely to change in the near future. First, the regional and ethnocultural diversity of English-speaking Quebec means that, independent of the level of agreement on issues, the levels of dependency and the respective resources at the disposal of communities within the English-speaking community are uneven. Therefore, consensus around strategy is difficult to obtain, notably between Montreal and the rest of Quebec. But perhaps the more important issue is that the principal funder of English community advocacy, the government of Canada, might be ill-advised to endorse a more aggressive stance if it risks undercutting objectives and goals in the area of federal-provincial relations. In addition, community-directed initiatives to build partnership and service arrangements with Quebec provincial institutions and agencies would certainly face greater resistance in a context of more militant advocacy.

Under these circumstances, there are three avenues of action that the English-speaking community can pursue to enhance institutional completeness. These are not exclusive but are areas that have received

insufficient attention from community architects and stakeholders to date. They address each of the three levels of government that form the foundation for the various “institutions” that provide communities with a framework to initiate, implement and maintain community-based programs and services. The three propositions would go some way in securing the gaps in the “completeness spectrum” as needed complements to current initiatives already underway.

The first is the area of municipal government which offers the English-speaking communities of Quebec more prospects for political engagement, notably in areas where English speakers are concentrated as substantial minorities or as local majorities. This is reflected in the strong protest voiced by Anglophone citizens against the forced merger of municipalities in Montreal during the early part of this decade. As the CREs become increasingly important in the daily lives of Quebecers through the coalescence of political networking, English-speaking Quebecers must be involved in policy development and program implementation. To not be present in an effective manner within municipalities and the CREs will result in a further loss of political influence. Anglophones must mobilize to create an effective framework for municipal activism and obtain appropriate representation on the CREs and other supra-regional structures.

The second is the presence of English-speaking Quebecers in the provincial public administration, which would not only redress the deficit in terms of employment but would also start to inject an English-speaking community perspective into policy formulation, service design and delivery. This enhanced representation of Quebec Anglophones might also be an asset in the federal public administration within the province, particularly in regional communities where the level of Anglophone participation is significantly less than that achieved in the Montreal Metropolitan Region. The opportunity presented by baby-boomer retirements and a more bilingual cadre of English-speaking candidates ready for civil service employment is very timely. The English-speaking community should wait no longer for promised provincial government action (i.e., employment equity programs) but should mobilize to promote, support and train young bilingual anglophones of all cultural backgrounds to actively compete for these government positions.

The third is the pursuit of “national status” at the federal level. Because the English-speaking community is confined to one province, it faces structural impediments to equitable access to the processes and activities that influence, formulate, and implement federal policy and programs. The English-speaking community of Quebec must establish a greater presence in Ottawa. The ESCQ must seek framework agreements that will foster the structure and capacity to participate in federal activities related to official language minority community policy development and program implementation as a true national player. In the context of the 2004 renewal of Part VII of the Official Languages Act, this would be a significant “positive measure.” Likewise, and despite the Quebec Community Groups Network’s departure from Quebec City, official representation of the ESCQ in the provincial national capital must also be bolstered.

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Social Psychological Aspects of French-English Relations in Quebec: From Vitality to Linguicism

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Following the “Quiet Revolution” the Francophone majority of Quebec focused on the threatened status of the French-language relative to English, not only in Canada but also within their own province. In contrast, it is only since the aftermath of Quebec’s “Quiet Revolution” that English-speaking Quebecers have seriously considered their declining vitality as a linguistic minority relative to the Francophone majority in the province. When considering the fate of their respective counterpart, Quebec Francophones have tended to focus on the prestige and drawing power of the English language relative to French in both Quebec and North America, while ignoring the decline of the Anglophone community as a minority group in the province. Conversely, Quebec Anglophones have focused on the dominant position of the Francophone majority in the province while asserting that French is no longer threatened as the majority language in Quebec. Thus the “two solitudes” often speak at cross purposes when it comes time to consider their respective fate in Quebec: while Francophones feel most concerned about the fate of their own language relative to the spread of English, Anglophones feel most concerned about the decline of their own community relative to the Francophone dominant majority in the province.

The first part of this chapter provides an inter-group analysis of how language laws such as the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) succeeded in changing the respective vitality of the Francophone majority and of the Anglophone minority in Quebec. The second part

of the chapter offers a selective review of empirical studies showing how the use of French and English changed following thirty years of language planning in favour of French in Quebec. The third part of the chapter provides an overview of recent social psychological studies exploring issues such as multiple identities, feeling of belonging, feeling of threat and of being a victim of linguicism in Quebec.

1. The Vitality of Quebec Francophones and Anglophones

The group vitality framework was originally proposed to analyse the Quebec context at the time when sociolinguistic research was developed to guide the crafting of the Charter of the French language (Bill 101) adopted by the Parti Québécois government in 1977 (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). Group vitality was defined as that which makes a language community likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within multilingual settings. The more vitality a group was assessed to have, the more likely it was expected to survive collectively as a distinctive linguistic community within its multilingual environment. Conversely, groups that had little vitality would be expected to assimilate more readily and eventually disappear as distinctive linguistic communities (Bourhis & Landry, this study).

The vitality framework was used as an analytical tool to assess the position of Quebec's French-language majority relative to the English-speaking elite of the day in three socio-structural domains: demography, institutional support, and status. In the 1970s, four factors were identified as undermining the future of the Francophone majority in Quebec: 1) the decline of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada (ROC); 2) the drop in the birthrate of the Quebec Francophone population from one of the highest to one of the lowest in the Western world; 3) immigrant choice of the English rather than the French educational system for their children; and 4) Anglo-domination of the Quebec economy (d'Anglejan, 1984; Laporte, 1984). Between 1969 and 2010, successive Quebec governments promulgated a number of language laws designed to address each of the above factors undermining the long-term prospects of the French language in the province (Bill 63, 1969; Bill 22, 1972; Bill 101, 1977;

Bill 57, 1983; Bill 142, 1986; Bill 178, 1988; Bill 86, 1993; Bill 40, 1997; Bill 170, 171, 2000; Bill 104, 2001; Bill 115, 2010; see Bourhis, 2001a; Bourhis & Lépique, 1988, 1993, 2004; Corbeil, 2007; Rocher, 2002; Woehrling, 2000, 2005). Thirty years after its adoption, the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) remains the most important of these language laws (Corbeil, 2007; Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002).

Indeed, the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) was the legislative tool designed to address the perceived threat to the French majority following the vitality assessment of its demographic, institutional support and status position relative to English in Quebec and Canada (Bourhis, 1984a; Corbeil, 2007). Bill 101 guaranteed the rights of every Quebecer to receive communication in French when dealing with the Quebec public administration, semi-public agencies, and business firms, as well as the right to be informed and served in French in retail stores. The law also ensured the right of all employees to work in French and not be dismissed or demoted for the sole reason of being unilingual French. As regards the language of work, Bill 101 stipulated that business firms with more than fifty employees were required to apply for a “*francisation* certificate” which attested that they had the necessary infrastructure to use French as the language of work within their organization (Bouchard, 1991; Daoust, 1984). From 1996 onwards, the *francisation* certificate was necessary for business firms wishing to tender their services to the provincial government (Bouchard, 2002).

Bill 101 also guaranteed English schooling to all present and future Quebec Anglophone pupils (Mallea, 1984). All immigrant children already in English schools by the time Bill 101 was adopted, along with their current and future siblings, were also guaranteed access to English schooling. However, the law made it clear that all subsequent immigrants to Quebec from Canada or abroad were obliged to send their children to French primary and secondary public schools; freedom to attend English-medium schools was abolished by Bill 101. Nevertheless, the law did not affect freedom of language choice at the primary and secondary school levels for wealthy parents wishing to enrol their children in full fee-paying private schools. Given that post-secondary education was optional in Quebec as in the ROC,

freedom of language choice was guaranteed to all post-secondary students, who could choose to attend either French or English-medium colleges (CÉGEPs) or universities in Quebec.

Finally, Bill 101 contained a controversial clause that banned languages other than French from the “linguistic landscape”, including road signs, government signs, and commercial store signs (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Conversely, informational, religious, political, ideological, and humanitarian messages could be written in English as long as their aim was not lucrative. These linguistic landscape regulations under the supervision of the *Commission de protection de la langue française* had the advantage of producing visible changes in favour of French less than a year after the adoption of Bill 101 (Bourhis & Landry, 2002).

Though Bill 101 contained some measures related to corpus language planning, its major aim was to improve the status of French relative to English within Quebec society (Bourhis & Lepicq, 1993). During the three decades following the adoption of Bill 101, many studies and analyses acknowledged its success in increasing the status and use of French relative to English in many public institutional settings (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 1984a; 1994a; 2001a; Bourhis & Lepicq, 2004; Fishman, 1991; Fraser, 2006; Levine, 1990, 2002). However, many Québécois Francophones including language activists, separatist party militants and academics consider that the law did not go far enough and has been unduly diluted by Quebec and Canadian Supreme Court rulings, thus claiming that French is still threatened in Quebec (Corbeil, 2007; Plourde, 1988). Numerous analyses are devoted to assessing the effectiveness of current and proposed language laws designed to more firmly establish the predominance of French in Quebec against a backdrop that highlights the increasing presence of non-Francophone immigrants in the province and the threatened minority status of French in North America (Georgeault & Pagé, 2006, Plourde, Duval & Georgeault, 2000; Stefanescu & Georgeault, 2005). Numerous government commissions must also report on the health and status of French in the province, thus keeping the language debate topical in the media and amongst various factions claiming that the French language is more or less threatened in the province (Quebec, 1996, 2001).

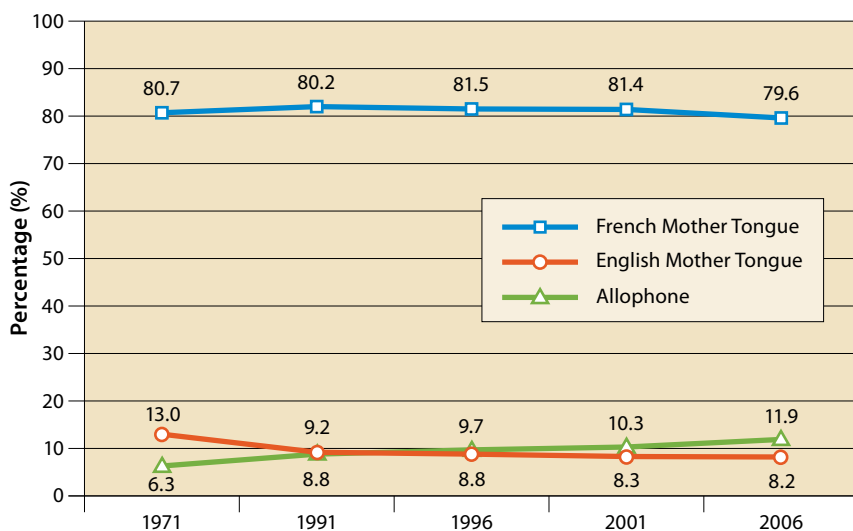
However, relatively few attempts were made to assess the impact of Bill 101 on the vitality of the Anglophone communities of Quebec (Bourhis, 1994b, 2001a; Jedwab, 2004; Johnson & Doucet, 2006; Stevenson, 1999). Accordingly, based on our previous analyses, different components of the group vitality framework will be used to assess the impact of Quebec's language laws on the vitality of the Anglophone minority contrasted with that of the dominant Francophone majority in the province (Bourhis & Lépique, 2002, 2004; Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). Cause and effect relationships are difficult to establish when evaluating the impact of language policies on language behaviour and demolinguistic developments (Bourhis, 2001a; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The Quebec case is no exception, and the above caveat must be taken into consideration when assessing the evidence presented in this section of the chapter.

1.1 Bill 101 and the Demographic Vitality of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec

The fundamental variable likely to influence the vitality of language groups is the *demographic factor* (Giles *et al.*, 1977). Demographic variables are those relating to the number of individuals constituting the language community, as well as the number of those who still speak the language and their distribution throughout a particular urban, regional, or national territory. The number component refers not only to the absolute number of language speakers, but also to their birth and mortality rates, endogamy/exogamy, and patterns of immigration/emigration. Further, the distribution component includes such variables as the numeric concentration in various parts of the territory, the proportion of group members relative to that of other linguistic groups, and whether or not the group still occupies its "ancestral" or "national" territory

What impact did pro-French language laws have on the demographic vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone communities in Quebec? The immediate reactions to Bill 101 of many Francophones were quite positive, since the law was seen as being effective in securing the linguistic future of the French majority in the province (Bourhis, 1984b; Levine, 1990; Maurais, 1987). As seen in figure 1, while the

Figure 1

Percentage of Mother Tongue* (L₁) Populations, Quebec, 1971-2006

* Mother tongue: First language learned at home as a child and still understood by census time
 Source: Canada (2006). Decima for the Department of Canadian Heritage.

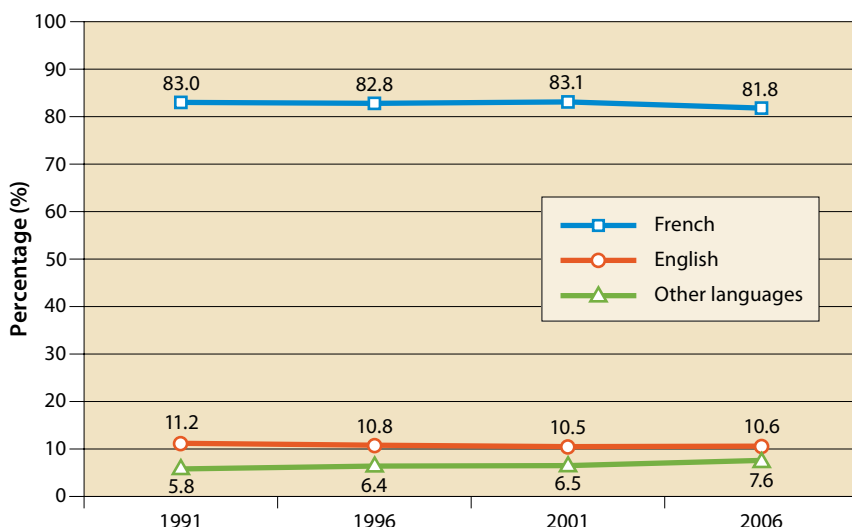
number of French mother tongue speakers increased by over a million from 1971 to 2006, the proportion of French mother tongue (L₁) speakers in Quebec remained stable from 1971 (80.7%: 4,860,410) to 1991 (82%: 5,585,645), and in 2006 (79.6%: 5,916,840). The minor drop of 0.8% in the proportion of French mother tongue speakers from 2001 to 2006 was due mostly to the increase in the proportion of Allophones in the province from 6.3% (390,415) in 1971 to 11.9% (866,000) in 2006 (figure 1).

However, in the Montreal metropolitan region, the proportion of French mother tongue speakers (L₁) dropped from 68.1% (2,255,610) in 1996, to 65.7% (2,356,980) in 2006. This decrease reflects the fact that Quebec Francophones have tended to move to the outer suburbs of Montreal during the last decades (Levine, 2002), while more than 85% of immigrants to Quebec settle in the Montreal region, a trend reflected in the proportion of Allophones residing in the Metropolitan region, which rose from 27.7% (484,970) in 1996 to 32.6% (594,525) in 2006.

Bill 101 sought to ensure knowledge of French as the public language of all citizens. Language use at home is a private matter beyond the reach of the State. Thus language use at home (HL) should not be used as an indicator of the success of Bill 101 in promoting the French language.

However, language use at home, when contrasted with mother tongue, can be used as an indicator of linguistic assimilation, especially for linguistic minorities. As seen in figure 2, Quebec residents have used mostly French at home during the last three decades: 80.8% (4,870,100) in 1971, 83% (5,651,790) in 1991, and 81.8% (6,085,155) in 2006. Taken together, these trends in mother tongue and home language use suggest an increasing intergenerational transmission of French from 1971 to 2006. For instance, more residents reported using French at home (HL) than the number of French mother tongue speakers (L_1) in 1991: L_1 : 5,585,645 vs. HL: 5,651,790 = +66,145 (+1%); and even more so in 2006: L_1 : 5,916,840 vs. HL: 6,085,155 = +168,315 (+2.2%). Thus, compared to the drawing power of French as the home language in 1991, the 2006 census results suggest a doubling

Figure 2
Language Most Frequently Used at Home (French, English, and Other Languages), by Percentage (%), Quebec, 1991-2006



Source: Census of Canada 1991 to 2006.

in language shift in favour of French. Of course, French activists are most interested in the drawing power of French relative to English during this period.

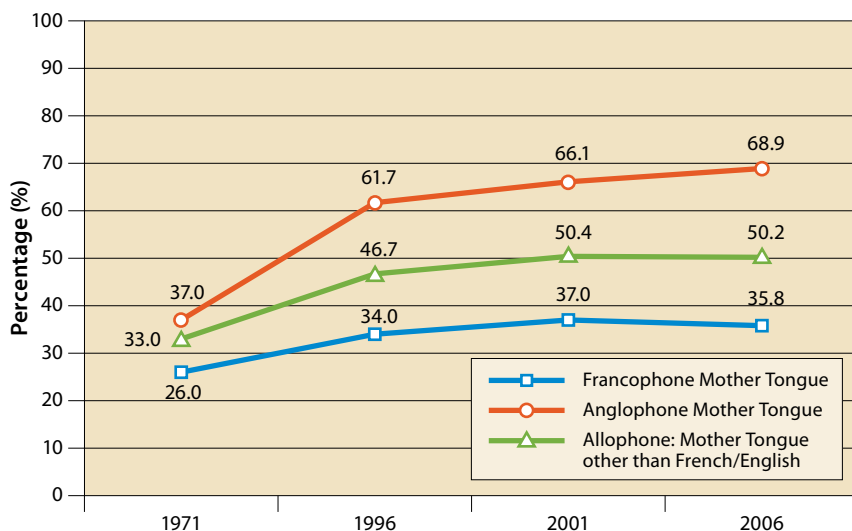
When comparing scores presented in figures 1 and 2 for English mother tongue and English use at home, the following patterns emerge. More Quebec citizens reported using English at home than the number of English mother tongue speakers in 1991: L₁: 626,195 vs. HL: 761,805 = +135, 610 (+21.6%); and also in 2006: L₁: 607,165 vs. HL: 787,885 = +180,720 (+29.7%). Though in absolute terms, almost as many individuals switched to French as their home language (168,315) as those who switched to English (180,720) in the 2006 census, the relative drawing power of English (+29.7) remained much greater than that of French (+2.2%) during this period. However, it is noteworthy that English language use at home in the Quebec population dropped from 14.7% in 1971 to 10.5% in 2001, and remained at 10.6% in 2006. Even if the majority of Anglophones declared using English at home (85.7%) in the 2001 census, 12.5% declared using French, thereby attesting to the rising “drawing power” of French among Quebec Anglophones. While these trends could be seen as encouraging for those who wish French to increase its drawing power as the language of the home, French-language activists remain outraged as they consider it abnormal that the language of a minority such as Anglophones should have more drawing power than French in the province. Such concerns ignore the role of English as the *lingua franca* of business, technology and culture in North America for all Quebecers.

As seen in figure 1, Allophones who have neither French nor English as a first language (L₁) increased from 8.8% of the population in 1991 (598,445) to 11.9% in 2006 (866,000), reflecting recent immigration increases in the province. When contrasting mother tongue (L₁) and home language use (HL) of Allophones in the province, one notes a steady loss in the transmission of heritage languages in the 1991 to 2006 census. In 1991 the loss in heritage language transmission in the home was: L₁: 598,445 vs. HL: 396,690 = -201,755 (-33.7%). In the 2006 census, this heritage language loss was similar: L₁: 866,000 vs. HL: 562,860 = -303 140 (-31.5%). Census results show that Allophones who declared using English as the language of the home

dropped from 61% in 1996 to 49% in 2006. Conversely, Allophones who declared using French as their home language increased from 39% in 1996 to 51% in 2006. Thus by 2006, Allophones were assimilating as much to French as to English at home, though such language shifts represent a net loss of multilingual and multicultural diversity for Quebec society.

The growing integration of Quebec Francophones within the North American economic and cultural mainstream is implied by the gradual increase of French-English bilingualism among Francophones. As seen in figure 3, whereas only 26% of French mother tongue speakers reported being French-English bilingual in 1971, this proportion had increased to 37% in 2001 but remained similar at 36% in 2006. Thus Francophones, as the dominant majority in Quebec, do not feel as much pressure to learn English, even though learning English today is more likely to result in “additive bilingualism”, a linguistic asset contributing to greater cognitive development and a broadening of cultural horizons, without undermining mother tongue skills and

Figure 3
French-English Bilingualism for Francophones (French L₁),
Anglophones (English L₁), and Allophones (L₁ Other than French
or English), by Percentage (%), Quebec, 1971-2006



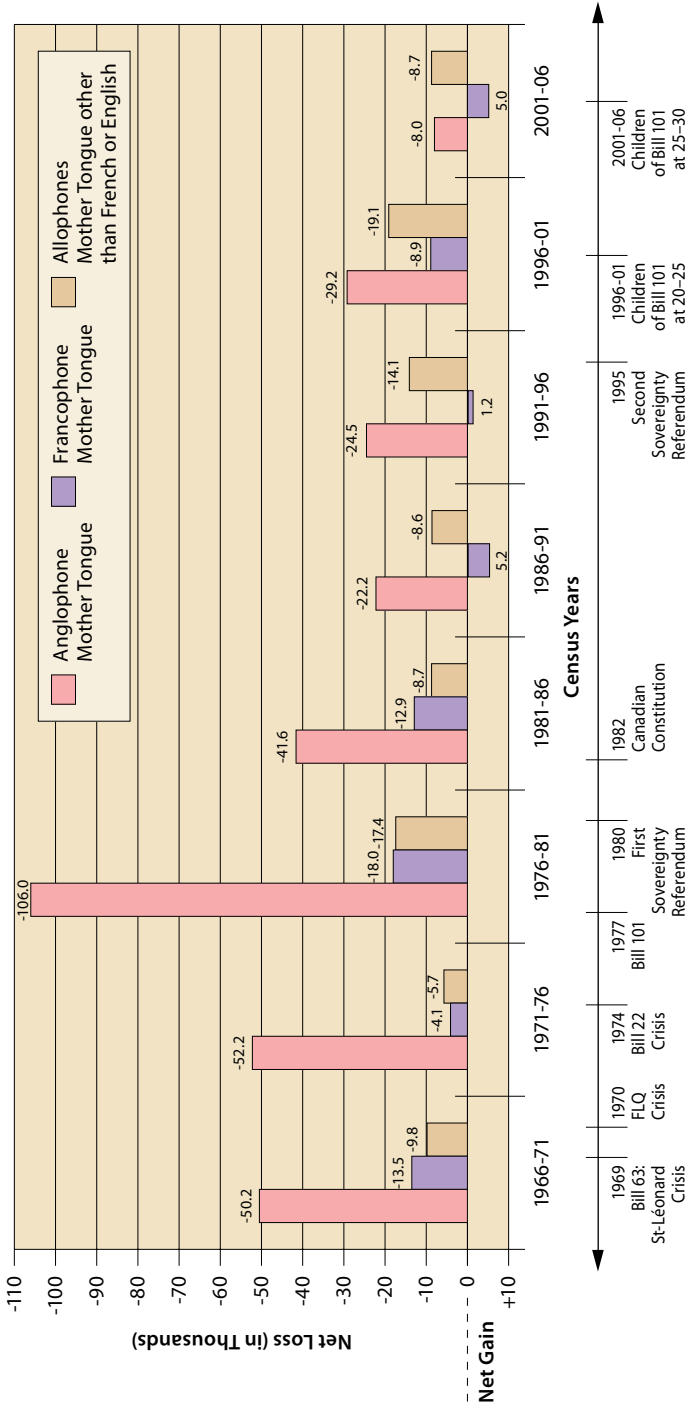
Source: Census of Canada 1991 to 2006.

cultural attachment to the ingroup (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). As seen in figure 3, an increasing proportion of Anglophones have become French/English bilinguals since the adoption of Bill 101, and for most of these Anglophones especially in Montreal, this bilingualism was more likely to be “additive” than “subtractive”. However, for minority language groups whose overall vitality is weak and/or declining, learning the language of the dominant majority may result in “subtractive bilingualism” when acquisition of the second language (L_2) is achieved at the cost of losing fluency in the L_1 mother tongue and may result in eventual linguistic and cultural assimilation to the dominant language group. For some of the Allophones who have become French and/or English bilinguals, this bilingualism may result in a “subtractive bilingualism” at the cost of the heritage language, a trend seen above in the loss of heritage language use at home amongst Allophones in the Province.

Though the English language is not threatened in Quebec, Bill 101 did have the intended effect of eroding the demographic vitality of the Anglophone minority in the province. Anglophone reactions to Bill 101 were largely negative because the law was seen as threatening the traditional elite status of the English minority in the province (Clift & McLeod Arnopoulos, 1979; Freed & Kalina, 1983; Legault, 1992; Scowen, 1991; Stevenson, 1999). It forced many Anglophones to see themselves as a low status minority rather than as individuals belonging to a dominant elite (Caldwell, 1984, 1994, 1998). Following the election of the pro-sovereignty Parti Québécois in 1976, many Anglophones, dissatisfied with Quebec’s language laws and fiscal policies, emigrated to Ontario and other provinces of Canada (Caldwell, 1984, 1994, 2002; Rudin, 1986). Emigration from the province and a low fertility rate were key factors that contributed to the erosion of the demographic vitality of Quebec Anglophones (Castonguay, 1998, 1999).

As seen in figure 4, the outmigration of Quebec Anglophones was particularly important in the decade following the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 and the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977: Net loss = -106,000. However, note that Anglophone outmigration in the 1966 to 1976 decade coincided with the linguistic tensions surrounding the adoption of Bill 63 in 1969 (-50,200) and of Bill 22 in 1972 (-52,200).

Figure 4
Net Interprovincial Migration of Anglophones, Francophones, and Allophones
(Arrival-Departure = Net Loss, in Thousands), Quebec, 1966-2001



Source: Census of Canada 1966 to 2006.

Census results showed a decline of 12% in Quebec's English mother tongue population between 1971 and 1981 (Caldwell, 1984). This net loss of English mother tongue speakers occurred among the more qualified and economically mobile elements of the Anglophone community, a trend still very much in evidence in the 2001 census (Floch & Pocock, this study). By this century, these outmigration trends took their toll on the proportion of Anglophones in Quebec. As seen in figure 1, while English mother tongue speakers made up 13% of the population in 1971 (788,830), this proportion dropped to only 8.2% by 2006 (607,165), a net drop of 181,665 Anglophones in the province. English mother tongue speakers also dropped in the metropolitan Montreal region, from 13.6% (451,855) in 1996 to 12.5% (448,325) in 2006. This phenomenon affected mainly young Anglophones aged between 15 and 30, for whom the outmigration rate from Quebec to the rest of Canada was 15.8% between 1996 and 2001. However, note in figure 4 that the exodus of Anglophone minorities was lowest in 2001-2006 (-8,000) since Bill 101. Note that Allophones have also been steadily leaving Quebec since Bill 101, including the children of Bill 101 in 1996-2001 (-19,000) and in 2001-2006 (-8,700). Figure 4 does show some Francophone outmigration between 1966 and 2006 with a peak after Bill 101 in 1976-1981 (-18,000). However, there were Francophone gains to Quebec in 1986-1991 (+5,200) and recently in 2001-2006 (+5,000).

The outmigration of many unilingual Anglophones, combined with more Anglophones learning French, had an impact on the proportion of Anglophones who declared having knowledge of French as a second language in the province. Thus for Anglophones who stayed in Quebec, the percentage of bilinguals increased from 37% in 1971 before the adoption of Bill 101, to as much as 68.9% in 2006 (figure 3). The 2006 census also showed that as many as 80% of young Anglophones (between 15 and 30 years of age) were bilingual in Quebec.

However, according to Magnan (2004), this high rate of bilingualism among Quebec Anglophones was not sufficient to prevent their exodus from the province. Magnan's study revealed that it was their feeling of not being accepted by the Francophone majority, especially in the work world, that lead many Anglophones to emigrate from

Quebec. A study by the Quebec Human Rights Commission showed that whereas Quebec Anglophones made up 8% of the provincial working population, their presence as employees in the Quebec government public service was less than 2%, a trend obtained after controlling for French-language skills, number of Anglophones applying for Quebec government jobs, and years of experience in the Quebec workforce (CDPDJ, 1998; CRI, 2001). Surveys also revealed that political uncertainty due to the separatist movement in the province, language laws, and more promising economic opportunities in the ROC remain important reasons for the outmigration of Quebec Anglophones (Amit-Talai, 1993; Lo & Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994; Radice, 2000).

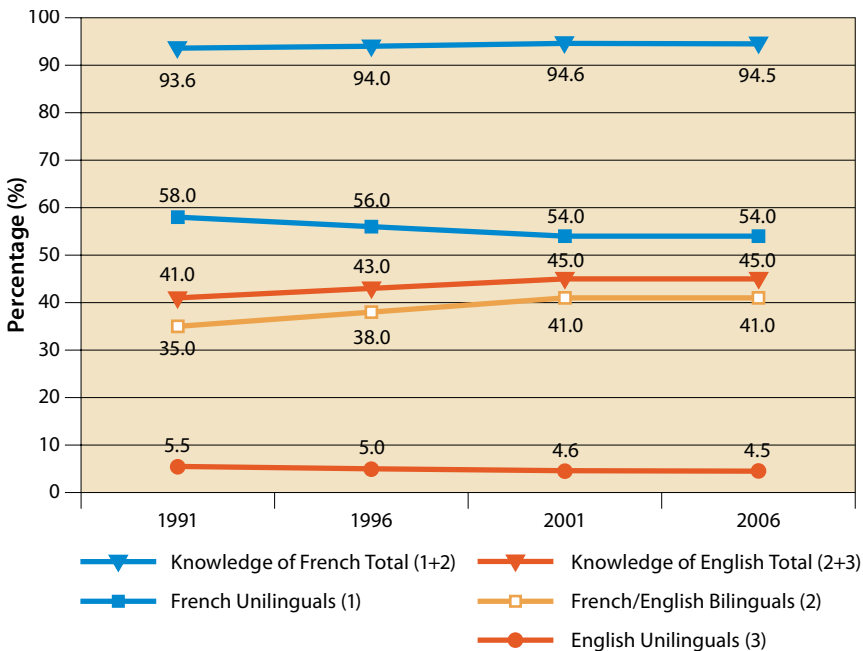
Despite an optimal rate of intergenerational transmission, it is clear that the Quebec Anglophone minority is experiencing a sharp decline on more fundamental indicators of demographic vitality such as absolute and relative group numbers, outmigration, and fertility rates (Caldwell, 2002; Henripin, 2004; Jedwab, 1996, 2004; Piché, 2001). With a declining fertility rate from 3.3 children per woman in 1961 to only 1.6 in 1996 and few prospects for a substantial immigration from Anglo-Canada, Quebec Anglophones have recognized their growing dependence on the linguistic integration of Allophones and international immigrants who settle in the province (Bourhis, 1994b; Stevenson, 1999).

Growing linguistic tensions between the Francophone and Anglophone host communities put added pressure on Allophone minorities to openly “take sides” in the Quebec linguistic debate (Bourhis, 1994b). One response of Allophones was to learn both French and English. As seen in figure 3, the rate of French-English bilingualism amongst Allophones increased from 33% in 1971 to 50.2% in 2006, with as many as 80% of young Allophones (age 15-30) declaring they were French-English bilinguals. With the knowledge of their heritage language, as many as 50% of Quebec Allophones can be considered trilingual, thus creating a linguistic and cultural capital that contributes to the diversity of Quebec society, especially in Montreal. Combining Allophones who know only French or both French and English, census results show that the proportion of Allophones who declared a knowledge of French increased from 47% in 1971 before

the adoption of Bill 101 to as many as 73.5% in 2001. Conversely, the proportion of Allophones who declared having a knowledge of English remained stable from 1971 (70%) to 2001 (69.1%).

As mentioned, a key role of the Charter of the French Language was to promote the conditions necessary to ensure the widespread knowledge of French as the shared public language of Quebec society. Figure 5 provides data on the knowledge of French and English amongst the population of Quebec based on the 1991 to 2006 Canadian census. As can be seen in figure 5, there are still some English unilinguals in Quebec, though their share of the provincial population dropped from 5.5% in 1991 to 4.5% in 2006. Most English unilinguals are older Anglophones who did not leave Quebec and a number of recent Canadians from the ROC as well as some new Canadians recently established in the province. In contrast, more than 50% of the Quebec population can afford to stay unilingual French

Figure 5
Knowledge of French or English in Total Population,
by Percentage (%), Quebec, 1991-2006



Source: Census of Canada 1991 to 2006.

in the province: 58% in 1991 and 54% in 2006. Bilingualism in the general population of Quebec is slowly rising from 35% of the population in 1991 to 41% in 2006. The knowledge of English is also rising in the province: from 41% of the population in 1991 to 45% in 2006. However, the greatest success of Bill 101 has been its role in ensuring that the vast majority of the provincial population knows French: a steady majority of 93.6% in 1991 and 94.5% in 2006.

Taken together, these trends show that the Charter of the French Language and related laws have had the effect of improving the demolingistic ascendancy of the Francophone majority in Quebec, have fostered the demographic decline of the Anglophone minority, and have increased the knowledge of French amongst both the Allophone and Anglophone minorities of the province.

1.2 Bill 101 and Institutional Support

Institutional support constitutes a second dimension likely to influence the vitality of language communities (Giles *et al.*, 1977). Institutional control relates to the formal and informal representations gained by language communities in the various institutions of a community, region or state (see Bourhis & Landry, this study). Formal support is achieved by linguistic groups whose members have achieved positions of control at decision-making levels in various state and private institutions. Informal control refers to the degree to which a language group has organized itself as a pressure group to represent and safeguard its own language interests in local and national institutional settings. Institutional support for language communities can be gained for the provision of municipal, regional and national government services, in primary to higher education, in the military, in the mass media, across the linguistic landscape, and in politics, industry, business, finance, culture, sports, and in religious institutions (Bourhis, 2001a, Bourhis & Barrette, 2006). This section offers a brief overview of the impact of Bill 101 on two key institutional domains: education and business ownership including language of work.

Education is a key element of institutional support, especially for linguistic minorities who depend on schooling in their own language as a way of supporting the intergenerational transmission of their heritage language in majority group settings. In the aftermath

of Bill 101, Anglophones were most concerned about the erosion of their educational institutions resulting from the fact that most new immigrants to Quebec could no longer choose to send their children to English schools but were obliged to send their children to the French primary and secondary school system (Mallea, 1984; Mc Andrew, 2002). Bill 101 has had its intended impact on enrolments within the English school system of Quebec. Allophone enrolment in the English school system dropped from 85% in 1972 to only 20% in 1998, while their enrolment in the French primary and secondary school system increased from only 15% in 1972 to 80% in 1998. Thus, following Bill 101, Anglophones could no longer count on immigrants to maintain the demographic base necessary to keep open key English-medium schools across the province (Chambers, 1992). Enrolment in English-medium schools across the province dropped from 248,000 in 1971 prior to the adoption of Bill 101, to only 108,000 in 2007 (Lamarre, this study). Studies suggest that this 60% drop in the number of students enrolled in the English school system was also due to the declining birth rate of Quebec Anglophones as well as socio-political and economic factors which reduced the number of Anglo-Canadians from the ROC willing to settle in Quebec (Quebec, 1996).

The drop in the number of English-speaking students has been felt most dramatically in isolated schools across regions of the province which do not benefit from the large Anglophone population base found in the Montreal region (Lamarre, this study). This problem is compounded by the dearth of English-speaking teachers available for primary and secondary schools in the regions, while recruitment of complementary service professionals is also difficult. Especially in the greater Montreal area, middle class Anglophone parents have been keen to enrol their children in French immersion programmes offered by English schools (Lamarre, 2000, 2007). The proportion of Anglophone pupils in French immersion classes increased from 24% in 1981 to 32% in 1998 and to as much as 41.3% in 2004. Furthermore, a growing number of English mother tongue students are enrolled in the French school system: from 10% in 1972 to 17% in 1995, and to 21.4% in 2007 (Quebec, 1996b, Lamarre, this study). Quebec Anglophones are the most bilingual students in the Quebec school system (Mc Andrew, 2002). However, on the island of Montreal, poor

urban Anglophones of multiethnic origin are often those whose economic background limits their access to French immersion, putting extra pressures on inner city schools faced with declining services and deteriorating infrastructures (Lamarre, this study). Clearly, restrictions on access to English schooling implemented since Bill 101 have had a major impact in reducing the size and the institutional support for the English educational system across the province.

The three publicly-funded English universities in Quebec were attended by 60,000 full-time and part-time students at the undergraduate level while 160,000 students were registered in the seven French universities. As in the past, the 1996 census showed that the proportion of Quebec Anglophones with a university degree was greater (21%) than for the Quebec Francophones (14%) and for the Canadian population as a whole (16%). Of those enrolled in post-secondary education, more than 92% of Quebec Anglophones chose English-medium colleges and universities, a trend which remained stable in the 1980s and 2000s. Anglophone enrolment in French at the collegiate level increased marginally from 5% in 1980 to 6.6% in 1990, while enrolment in French universities remained stable at around 7% up until the 2000s. A brain drain of English-speaking university graduates also occurred since the adoption of Bill 101. From 1976 to 1986, the net outmigration of English-speaking university degree holders was as high as 40% (26,550 graduates). This Anglophone brain drain remains persistent as revealed in the 2001 census (Floch & Pocock, this study). The exodus of young university-trained Anglophones is not only having a negative impact on the development of Quebec society as a whole, but also undermines the present and future capacity of the Anglophone minority to renew the highly trained decision-makers needed to maintain their institutional vitality in education, health care, social services, and in business and finance.

Bill 101 was designed to improve the use of French as the language of work in privately-owned industries, businesses, and financial institutions across Quebec. In an economic study conducted five years after the adoption of Bill 101, Ridler and Pons-Ridler (1986) estimated that the switch to the use of French as the language of work cut as much as 0.5% of the provincial economic output, while 2% of employment was lost. The election of pro-independence governments, two referendums

on Quebec separation, fiscal policies and the *francisation* of the Quebec workplace contributed to the departure of many Anglo-Canadian business firms. The resulting outmigration of Anglophone employees and administrators had an impact on the position of Francophones and Anglophones in the work world. For instance, in the Montreal region, while the proportion of Anglophone administrators dropped from 34% in 1971 to just 18% in 1991, the proportion of Francophone administrators and professionals within the workforce increased from 55% in 1971 to 68% in 1991. Also, the proportion of Anglophones holding senior administrative positions dropped from 47% in 1971 to 20% in 1991, and the proportion of Francophones holding such positions increased from 41% in 1971 to 67% in 1991. In their recent analysis of the ownership of the Quebec economy using employment data from the censuses and a Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey, Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt (2007) concluded:

...impressive growth in the ownership of Quebec's economy by francophones from 1961 to 2003, with the overall rate up by 20 percentage points; ... a decline in foreign ownership of Quebec's economy by 26 percent between 1961 and 2003, while Anglophone Canadian ownership declined by 44 percent. (p. 11)

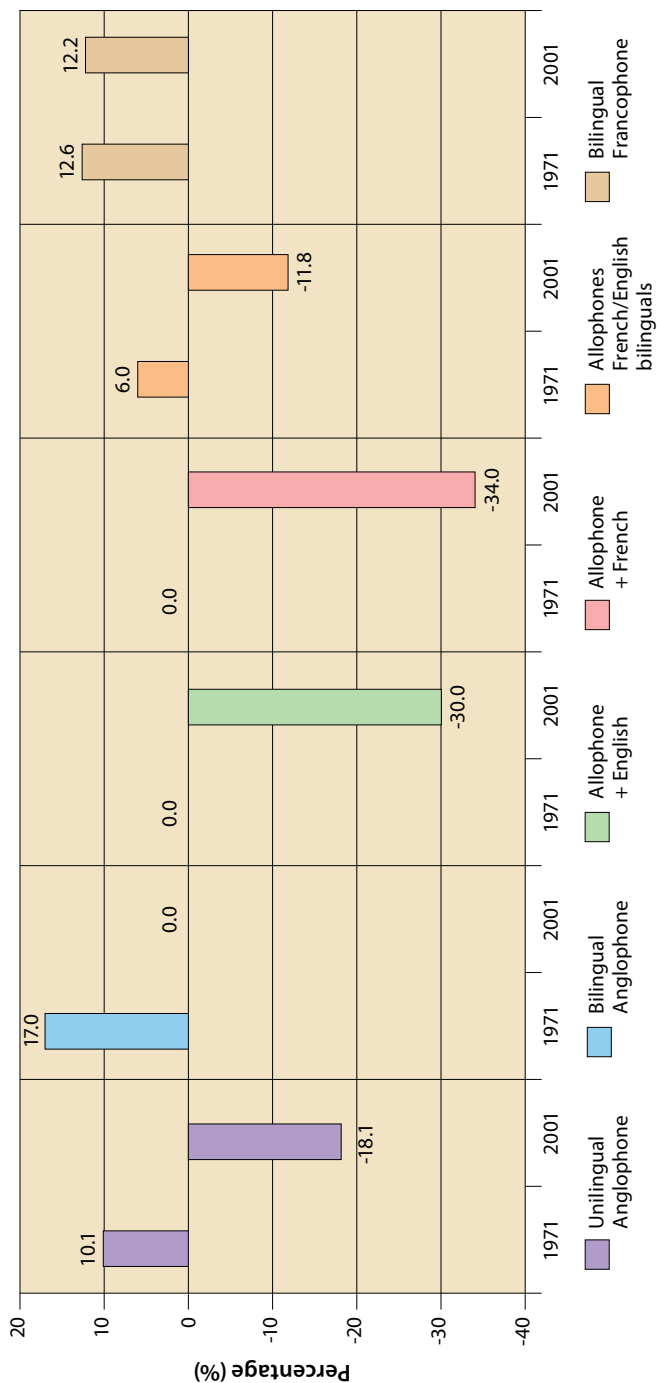
The modernization of Quebec society and the cumulative effect of Bill 101 can also be credited for improving the income position of Francophones relative to that of Anglophones and Allophones in the province. Controlling for education, experience, and age, government studies showed that in 1970, Anglophone unilinguals or bilinguals earned 8% more in annual salary than bilingual Francophones and 16% more than unilingual Francophones (Quebec, 1996a). By 1990, the income gap between Francophones and Anglophones was considerably reduced or reversed in some cases. Carefully controlled studies showed that Anglophone unilinguals and bilinguals earned only 3% more than unilingual Francophones by 1990, while Francophone bilinguals earned 4% more than Anglophone unilinguals or bilinguals. In 1970, studies had shown that the "income premium" for knowing English in Montreal was 16%. By 1980, this income premium decreased to 6% and was further eroded to 3% in 1990 (Quebec, 1996a).

Using updated census data, Vaillancourt *et al.* (2007) used the labour income of unilingual Francophone men to calculate the per cent advantage of being unilingual or bilingual in the Quebec workforce from 1970 to 2000. As can be seen in figure 6, while a unilingual Anglophone had a 10.1% income advantage over a unilingual Francophone in 1970, by 2000 it was the unilingual Francophone that had an 18.1% income advantage over the unilingual Anglophone. While bilingual Anglophones had a 17% income advantage over a unilingual Francophone in 1970, this advantage was reduced to a zero advantage by 2000. In contrast, bilingual Francophones maintained their income advantage over unilingual Francophones: 12.6% in 1970 and 12.2% in 2000. The income position of Allophone men relative to Francophone unilinguals declined substantially from 1970 to 2000 in Quebec. While English-speaking Allophones had zero advantage in 1970, they suffered a -30% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. While French-speaking Allophones contribute to the strength of the French language in Quebec, they gained 0% income advantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 1970, and were even suffering a -33.9% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. Finally, while French-English bilingual Allophones enjoyed a 6% income advantage over Francophone unilinguals in 1970, such trilingual Allophones were suffering a -11.8% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. Results for women in the labour force were similar but more complex. Vaillancourt *et al.* (2007) conclude their study as follows:

The socioeconomic status of francophones in Quebec has increased substantially since 1960, whether one uses as an indicator mean labour income, returns to language skills, or ownership of the Quebec economy. The relative status of francophones within Quebec itself is under no immediate threat, though one might see a relative decline in the socioeconomic status of all Quebec workers in the North American context if policy makers fail to address concerns about productivity issues. (p. 11)

In seeking to account for the improvements in the socioeconomic status of Francophones in the past four decade, Vaillancourt *et al.* (2007) proposed the following key factors:

Figure 6
Income Differential of Unilingual and Bilingual Anglophones and Allophones Relative to Base Rate Unilingual Francophones (%), Quebec, 1971 vs 2001



Note: The horizontal line at zero is the baseline salary of a unilingual Francophone adjusted in constant dollar for 1971 and 2001.
 Source: Adapted from Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt (2007).

First, there was a significant departure of Anglophones from Quebec over the 1970-2000 period as a result of push factors (the threat of sovereignty, the passing of language laws in 1974 and 1977, and the moving of some head offices) and pull factors (including a general drift of economic activity toward the West, particularly the 1970-85 oil boom in Alberta). Anglophone migrants were generally younger and better educated than those who remained, which reduced the earnings potential of Anglophones who remained relative to substantially less mobile francophones. Unilingual Anglophones were also somewhat more likely to leave than bilingual Anglophones. Moreover, Anglophones had a better knowledge of French in 2000 than in 1970 thanks to more efficient learning techniques such as immersion, while allophones know French better in 2000 than they did in 1970 as a result of the language laws of the 1970s.

Second, as a result of the *Révolution Tranquille* of 1960-66, Quebec's public sector—government, hospitals, public enterprises—grew in size, hiring large numbers of qualified francophones. In turn, francophone-owned firms in the private sector grew by providing services in French to the public sector. ... The result of this large state intervention, Quebec Inc., significantly increased ownership of Quebec's economy by francophones and increased the labour income of francophones relative to Anglophones in the province...

Third, the increased purchasing power of francophones who have benefited from Quebec Inc. has also increased demand within Quebec for goods and services in French. This in turn, has increased the relative use of French in labour market and thus the relative value of French-language skills. (p. 11-12)

In 2001, for the first time in Canadian census history, Statistics Canada included questions related to the language of work. In Quebec, when comparing these results with earlier self-report studies, the proportion of Francophone workers (FMT) who declared working most often in French increased from 52% in 1971 to 95.7% in 2001 and 95.8% in 2006. Similarly, the proportion of Allophone workers who declared working mostly in French increased from 17% in 1971 to 56.6% in 2001 and to 59.3% in 2006. For these last two census years, when including the number of Allophones who also reported using French *regularly* at work, the total combined use of French at work was 76% in 2001 and 77.3% in 2006. Conversely, the proportion

of Allophones who used a language other than English or French at work (combining most often and regularly) was 22.3% in 2001 and dropped to 19.6% in 2006. Bill 101 also had an impact on the proportion of Anglophones using mostly French at work which increased from 2% in 1971 to 30.7% in 2001 and 31.6% in 2006. When including Anglophones who also reported using French *regularly* at work, the combined proportion of Anglophones using French at work was 65.4% in 2001 and 67.9% in 2006. (Canada, 2008; Quebec, 1996a). Finally, the proportion of the Quebec population that reported using English most often at work was 17.8% in 2001 and 17.1% in 2006. When including the proportion of the Quebec population also reporting using English *regularly* at work, the combined proportion using English at work was 39.5% in 2001 and 40.4% in 2006, this in a continental NAFTA setting where English is the *lingua franca* of work in both Canada and the USA. Given these results, it is possible to conclude that the *francisation* measures have met the objective of improving the use of French at work, particularly for Francophones and Allophones. The tendency is not as strong for Anglophones; however, we have seen that their demographic weight within Quebec, and therefore within the workforce, has been declining steadily since Bill 101.

1.3 Bill 101 and the Status of Language Communities

Status factors pertain to the social prestige of a language community, its socio-historical status, and the prestige of its language and culture within its own territory and internationally (Giles *et al.*, 1977). Even if status factors are not easily quantifiable in comparison with demographic and institutional support factors, social psychological research shows that the more status a language group enjoys, the more probable it is that its members will have a positive social identity, which in turn will influence its members to mobilize collectively to increase the vitality of their own group (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990, 2001, 2005). Even with effective leadership, being a member of a disparaged low status language group may undermine mobilization to improve institutional vitality. Negative stereotyping about low status language minorities can be internalized as self-disparagement and acceptance of diglossic language norms in favour of the prestige language for public functions and restriction of minority languages to lower status use in private

and informal settings (Bourhis & Maass, 2005; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Ryan & Giles, 1982). Such diglossic situations can be enshrined through language laws establishing the relative status of rival language groups within a given territory (Bourhis, 1984a, Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Wardhaugh, 1987).

The enduring international interest in the "Quebec case" stems from the fact that the ascendancy of two historically and culturally prestigious languages in the Western world is at stake in this region. Though a minority language in North America, French benefits from more vitality on the "status front" than if the Quebec case involved a minority language of a lesser historical or cultural influence in the West (Bourhis & Marshall, 1999). Within Quebec, the diglossic situation in favour of English relative to French was felt mostly in the work world of bilingual contact zones in Montreal, western regions along the Ontario border, and in the Eastern Townships along the U.S. border. A rich tradition of research on the social psychology of language attitudes and bilingual communication convincingly documented the diglossic situation favouring English rather than French as the language of social prestige in these contact zones (Bourhis, 1994b; Bourhis & Lepicq, 1993; Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Hamers & Hummel, 1994; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960). Studies showed that Anglophone students tested in their English high schools within French majority regions such as Quebec City were likely to use as much English in their everyday lives as Anglophones tested in the West Island of Montreal where they were a majority (Landry, Allard & Bourhis, 1997). The same study with French high school students showed that Francophone students tested in the English-majority West Island of Montreal were less likely to use French in their everyday life than Francophones tested in majority French settings such as Quebec City. Results point to the continuous appeal and prestige of the English language for Francophones and to the capacity of Quebec Anglophones to behave as majority group speakers in North America regardless of their declining demographic presence and institutional support within the province of Quebec.

Judicially, it is through the adoption of pro-French language laws such as Bill 101 that the changing status of French over English was most vividly enshrined (Bourhis, 1984a). Quebec language planners

vividly symbolized this changing status by banning government and commercial signs that included English-language messages and place names from the linguistic landscape (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). Removing English from the linguistic landscape is a way of demoting the status of that language relative to French, whose presence becomes uniquely predominant as a prestige language of public use in the Quebec visual environment. Empirical studies conducted with Francophone minority respondents across Canada showed that the more visible French was in the linguistic landscape, the more it contributed to the perception that the Francophone community enjoyed a strong vitality, and the more Francophones reported using French in public settings (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

Given the symbolic and informational consequences of having English removed from the Quebec linguistic landscape, it was not surprising that Quebec Anglophones mobilized to reintroduce the presence of English in the Quebec landscape and this, through cases brought to the Quebec and Canadian Supreme Courts and also to the Human Rights Court of the United Nations (Bourhis & Landry, 2002). Court rulings stated that freedom of expression included not only the content of messages but also the language in which such messages were conveyed. As a compromise, and despite the outcry of Quebec separatists, the Quebec government adopted Bill 86 in 1993, stipulating that languages other than French could be included on commercial signs as long as French was twice as predominant as the combined presence of all other languages included on such signs. Clearly, language status contributes to the vitality of language minorities and majorities in multilingual settings such as Quebec.

2. Sociolinguistic Norms and Bilingual Communication in Montreal

As seen earlier, diglossia refers to situations where co-existing languages differ in prestige and are assigned different social functions reflecting the power position of the language communities within the social stratification (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967, 1972, 1991). The language that enjoys a higher status is used for formal communication such as the public administration and management functions within the work world. In contrast, the use of the lower status language(s) is

optional and usually limited to informal communication in private settings such as conversations between family members and friends (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). While the languages are complementary, the function of the higher status language corresponds to more socially valued domains of public communication, often reflecting the advantaged position of its speakers.

2.1 Diglossia and Language Norms in Quebec

Before the adoption of Quebec language laws in the 1970s, English traditionally enjoyed a higher status than French, thereby reflecting the elite position of the dominant Anglophone minority. While English was the language of work and upward mobility, French was deemed more appropriate for informal or familiar exchanges, given the subordinate position of the Francophone majority in the province (Quebec, 1972). As in most other diglossic settings of the world, lower status Francophones in contact with Anglophones shouldered the effort of bilingualism and were likely to switch to English when communicating with higher status Anglophones. In contrast, few members of the Anglophone elite needed to learn French or converge to the linguistic needs of Francophone majority speakers (Taylor, Simard & Papineau, 1978). However, the adoption of Bill 101, which favoured the status and use of French relative to English reflected the changing power relationship between Quebec's two solitudes. Bill 101 reinforced situational norm favouring an increased use of French as the language of communication in business and commerce, especially in Montreal. In a sociolinguistic survey conducted five years after the adoption of Bill 101, results showed that Montreal Francophone undergraduates stated they were more willing to maintain French in a conversation with an Anglophone interlocutor than they had been before the promulgation of the law (Bourhis, 1983). Such reports were concordant with those of Anglophone undergraduates, who in the survey declared that Francophones converged less to English with them than had been the case before the adoption of Bill 101. Furthermore, Anglophone undergraduates reported that their own language switching to French with Francophone interlocutors had increased since Bill 101.

A more situated example of a sociolinguistic norm is the formal and informal rule governing the language choice of retail store clerks

towards their clients in bilingual encounters. Bill 101 formally specified that all consumers of goods and services have the right to be informed and served in French when dealing with store clerks and public employees. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of this component of Bill 101, two experimental studies were conducted, one in Montreal and the other in Quebec City (Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, 1988). Using a dialogue version of the matched guise technique, over 1200 Francophone and Anglophone high school students were asked to listen to recorded conversations between a client and a clerk (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Lambert *et al.*, 1960). In these content-controlled dialogues, the client and the clerk actors used different combinations of French and English language switches across four speaker turns. Students rated their impressions of the relationship between the client and the clerk across speaker turns and also rated the personality traits of the client and the clerk based on their language switching strategies and their background as Francophones and Anglophones.

Though complex in other ways, results showed that Francophone and Anglophone students systematically rated the clerk more favourably when he or she converged to the linguistic needs of the client than when he or she maintained his or her own language, this being particularly so when the clerk was portrayed as an Anglophone who converged to French with a client portrayed as a Francophone. Overall, the client/clerk encounter was also perceived as more harmonious when the clerk converged to the language choice of the client rather than when the clerk did not converge, and this whether the clerk converged to French or to English and whether students were tested in Quebec City or in Montreal. The more favourable rating of the clerk converging to French with the Francophone client was in line with the Bill 101 regulation stipulating that Francophones have a right to be served in French by store clerks. However, favourable ratings of the Francophone clerk converging to English as a way of accommodating to the linguistic needs of the Anglophone client were not in line with Bill 101 regulations. But such results did attest to the strength of the sociolinguistic norm favouring the linguistic choice of clients who, because of their buying power, impose accommodating language choices on clerks, especially in a setting where the offer of goods and services exceeds demand. Clearly, sociolinguistic norms regulating

language-switching behaviour can eventually be influenced by language policies designed to change the relative status of rival language groups in bilingual/multilingual environments.

2.2 Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Social psychological processes are important mediators of multilingual communication (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005). Communication accommodation theory (CAT) is the social psychological framework most pertinent to the understanding of language switching behaviour in cross-cultural encounters (Bourhis, 1979; Bourhis, El-Geledi & Sachdev, 2007; Gallois, Giles, Jones, Cargile & Ota, 1995; Giles *et al.*, 1977, 1987; Giles & Coupland, 1991; Sachdev & Giles, 2004). The CAT framework seeks to account for language-switching behaviour not only on the basis of sociolinguistic norms, but also depending on interlocutors' motives, attitudes, perceptions, and group loyalties (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991).

According to CAT, three basic speech strategies can be used in bilingual encounters: language convergence, language maintenance and language divergence. Convergence is a language strategy in which speakers choose to switch to the language of their interlocutor. Convergence can be used to improve communication effectiveness, reduce interpersonal uncertainty, or signal interpersonal liking. It may also be used as an ingratiating strategy or as a way of being perceived more favourably by one's interlocutor, especially if the code-switching is towards the accent or language of higher prestige in a given sociolinguistic setting.

In contrast, language maintenance is a strategy in which speakers choose to maintain their own speech style or language while communicating with ingroup or outgroup speakers (Bourhis, 1979). Finally, language divergence occurs when speakers choose to accentuate the differences between their own speech style and language relative to that of the outgroup interlocutor (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). Both maintenance and divergence are dissociative speech strategies which may reflect the speaker's personal dislike of his or her interlocutor. As an inter-group communication strategy, language maintenance and divergence may be used not only as a way of asserting one's own group

distinctiveness, but to also signify a person's rejection of the other as a rival or despised outgroup speaker (Bourhis, 1979; Bourhis, Giles, Leyens & Tajfel, 1979).

These three language strategies were documented at many levels including paralinguistic, content, style, accent, and language choice. Interestingly, studies showed that speakers were not always aware that they were modifying their communicative behaviours, though levels of awareness about divergence and maintenance were found to be more acute than for convergence (Giles *et al.*, 1987; Street, 1982).

CAT accounts for multilingual communication in terms of psychological processes at two distinct levels: inter-individual and inter-group. At the inter-individual level, CAT highlights the role of personal desire for social approval as the prime motivation for language convergence (Giles *et al.*, 1987). For instance, based on similarity-attraction theory (Byrne, 1969), it was proposed that increased similarity in speech styles would foster more liking between interlocutors. This hypothesis found support in an empirical study of French/English language switching conducted in Montreal (Giles, Taylor & Bourhis, 1973). It was found that bilingual Quebec Anglophone students perceived Quebec Francophone bilinguals more favourably when the latter converged to English than when they maintained French. Also, Quebec Anglophones were more likely to communicate in French with their Francophone interlocutor if the latter had previously converged to English than if he or she had maintained communication only in French.

Language convergence can also be accounted for by speakers' motivation to maximize "rewards" and minimize "costs" (Homans, 1961; Van den Berg, 1986). Other interpersonal determinants of language convergence include the need to foster intelligibility (Triandis, 1960), predictability (Berger & Bradac, 1982), and interpersonal involvement (LaFrance, 1979). Using interpersonal attribution theory, a study of language switching in Montreal showed that individuals were perceived more favourably when their language convergence was attributed to their personal dispositions and good will than when it could be accounted for by external pressures such as situational norms (Simard, Taylor & Giles, 1976).

In multilingual settings, language and accent often emerge as a key dimension of social identification and of inter-group differentiation between ingroup and outgroup speakers (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). At the inter-group level, social identity theory (SIT) and ethnolinguistic identity theory (ELIT) help account for language switching behaviour during inter-group encounters (Giles, 1978; Giles *et al.*, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1987; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In brief, SIT proposes that individuals are motivated to maintain or achieve a positive social identity, whereas ELIT is concerned with the search for psycholinguistic distinctiveness through favourable comparisons with outgroups on language and speech dimensions. Thus, SIT and ELIT are complementary in accounting for language maintenance and language divergence in terms of speakers' desire for achieving a positive social identity while establishing social differentiation from outgroup interlocutors. When language becomes the most salient dimension of group identity, linguistic divergence can be used to assert ingroup identification, contribute to positive social identity and accentuate boundaries between ingroup and outgroup speakers.

Experimental studies have shown that ingroup identification can be related to the positive evaluation of language maintenance and language divergence voiced by ingroup members during conversations with rival outgroup speakers (Bourhis *et al.*, 1975; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Tong, Hong, Lee & Chiu, 1999). Actual accent and language divergence was also documented in empirical studies of language behaviour. In Wales, adults learning Welsh in a language laboratory for cultural identity reasons used accent divergence by emphasizing their Welsh accent in English when responding to an outgroup English speaker who had voiced a culturally threatening message using the standard RP British accent (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). The strategy of language divergence was documented experimentally in a study conducted in Belgium with trilingual Flemish undergraduates (Bourhis *et al.*, 1979). Flemish undergraduates studying English in a language laboratory responded to a series of neutral or threatening questions voiced in French or English by a French Brussels confederate speaker. Flemish students converged to English when giving their answer to a content-neutral question voiced in English by the confederate. In

contrast, when the question was content-threatening and voiced in French, Flemish students diverged by switching to Flemish, disagreeing with the disparaging statements about the Flemish language, and using insulting epithets to describe the French confederate. The Welsh and Flemish studies showed that threatening messages to the linguistic identity of group members can trigger dissociative language strategies such as accent, language and content divergence. Language divergence can also occur under less threatening circumstances. Taken together, these empirical studies of language convergence and divergence provide support for basic premises of CAT in multilingual settings.

2.3 Bilingual Communication in Montreal: 1977 to 1997

Officially at least, Bill 101 was not designed to regulate French/English language use in private situations such as conversations between individuals in the home, with friends, or in anonymous encounters on the streets. However, the architects of Bill 101 posited that vigorous legislation in favour of French in public settings would trigger a “carry-over effect” in favour of French use in private settings such as the home, with friends, and on the street between strangers.

Four field experiments conducted on the streets of Montreal from 1977 to 1997 were designed to test the “carry-over effect” in favour of French use not only as the language of public discourse but also as the language of private communication between anonymous individuals on the street. The first study was conducted on the streets of Montreal in 1977, two months after the promulgation of Bill 101. The second street study took place two years later, in 1979, not only in the streets of downtown Montreal but also on the Anglophone campus of McGill University and on the Francophone campus of Université de Montréal (Bourhis, 1984b). The 1991 study was conducted both on the streets of downtown Montreal and on the Francophone and Anglophone university campuses, and included both a White and Black confederate (Moïse & Bourhis, 1994). The final study was conducted in 1997 using the same experimental design as the 1991 study (Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot, 2007).

In the four studies, Francophone and Anglophone pedestrians were randomly accosted by a discreetly attractive 20-25 year old female confederate who voiced a plea for directions in either fluent French

or fluent English. Pedestrians were accosted randomly during rush hours on weekdays in underground shopping malls of East downtown Montreal for Francophone respondents and in West downtown Montreal for Anglophone participants. The content-controlled 30-second plea was a query for the location of the nearest metro station. Undergraduate students at Université de Montréal and at McGill University were accosted randomly on crowded sectors of the campuses during daytime class hours and were asked the location of the university bookstore. In the 1977 and 1979 experiments, there was only a White confederate asking for directions. However, the 1991 and 1997 studies included both a White and a Black female confederate for the downtown and university campus experiments. Numerous studies have shown that visible minorities are more likely to be the victim of prejudice and discrimination than other minorities in both Quebec and Canada (Berry, 2006; Bourhis, 1994b; Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly & Jantzen, 2007). It was expected that White pedestrians may be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of a Black confederate than to those of a White confederate.

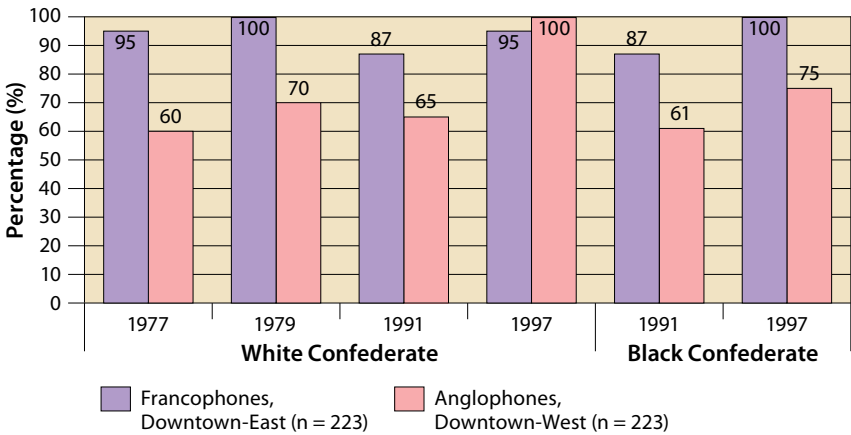
Pedestrians who, from their accent and their responses to a brief post experimental questionnaire, were not native speakers of either Montreal French or Montreal English were dropped from the analyses. Results obtained in the four field studies showed that all pedestrians did provide accurate information to the confederates. However, the language used by the pedestrians to provide directions to the confederate served as the main dependent variable. When responding to the confederate's plea, total or partial use of the pedestrian's second language was considered a convergent response. The use of a single word such as "bonjour" for an Anglophone or "good-bye" for a Francophone was coded as a convergent response on the assumption that the pedestrian made an effort to accommodate psychologically to the linguistic need of the confederate (Giles *et al.*, 1973). This lenient criterion for coding convergence was also designed to minimize lack of second language competence as an alternative explanation for respondents who used language maintenance while providing directions to the confederate. Montreal is the most bilingual city in Canada and all its citizens have had a chance to learn a few words of greeting and leave-taking in both French and English. For those participants who were accosted in

their mother tongue, the dependent variable was also the language in which they provided directions. In all cases, pedestrians accosted in their first language responded in their first language attesting to the fluency of the confederates in portraying themselves as native French or English speakers

The procedure used in all four experiments is a face-to-face version of the matched-guise technique (Genesee & Holobow, 1989; Lambert *et al.*, 1960). Accordingly, the confederates in each year of the study were chosen for their ability to speak both English and French fluently. The use of the same person to formulate the same message in both French and English had the advantage of controlling for paralinguistic variables, physical attractiveness, age, and dress style which was neatly casual in all experimental conditions across the four studies. The White and the Black confederates involved in each of the 1991 and 1997 studies were also carefully matched as regards physical attractiveness, age, as well as paralinguistic and speech style cues. All confederates involved across the four studies were carefully trained to voice the 30-second content-controlled message in a clear and neutral speech style.

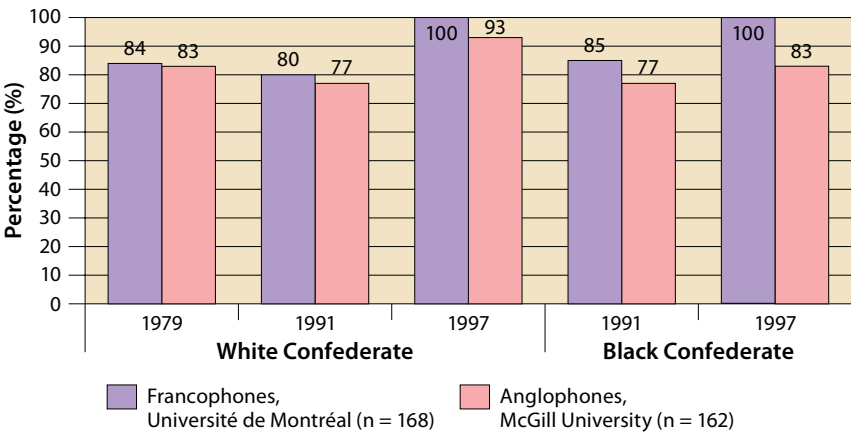
A basic goal of Bill 101 was to foster a pro-French climate that could make the use of French normal and spontaneous, especially amongst Quebec Francophones in bilingual Montreal. Could a “carry-over effect” of Bill 101 foster French-language maintenance amongst Francophones even when responding to an individual plea for directions voiced in English? As can be seen from figure 7a, the 1977 to 1997 studies revealed that downtown Francophone pedestrians overwhelmingly converged to English (95%-100%) when accosted in English by the White confederate. At Université de Montreal, where pro-French nationalist activism was evident in the mid 1970s, results of the 1979 and 1991 studies showed that Francophone undergraduates accosted in English were only slightly less keen to converge to English (80%-84%; figure 7b) than their older counterparts in downtown Montreal (95%-100%). Taken together, these results suggest that Bill 101 had little obvious impact on the private language choices of Francophones in their encounters with English speakers. Francophone

Figure 7a
**Language Convergence of Anglophone and Francophone Pedestrians (%),
Downtown Montreal**



Source: Adapted from Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot (2007).

Figure 7b
Language Convergence of Anglophone and Francophone Undergraduates (%), McGill University and Université de Montréal, Montreal



Source: Adapted from Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot (2007).

respondents seemed mainly concerned with accommodating the personal needs of their English interlocutors, thus accounting for the overwhelming use of English convergence.

Over fifteen years after the adoption of Bill 101, political events such as the 1995 Quebec referendum and the 1996-97 Quebec partition debate further polarized French-English political relations in the province. Thus, in the 1991 and 1997 studies it was expected that Francophones might be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of the English-speaking confederate, especially when she was portrayed as being doubly different by virtue of her first language and Black visible minority status. However, results showed that the proportion of Francophones converging to English did not differ as a function of the ethnicity of the confederate: 87%-100% converged to English with the Black confederate in downtown Montreal (figure 7a) and 85% to 100% of the Francophone undergraduates converged to her in English at the Université de Montréal (figure 7b). Thus, more than twenty years after the adoption of Bill 101, the majority of Francophones were consistent in converging linguistically with the English-speaking confederates and this, whether the confederate was White or Black or whether she addressed her plea for directions in Francophone downtown Montreal or at the Université de Montreal.

The proportion of Anglophones converging to the needs of the French-speaking confederates was quite stable both immediately and ten years after the promulgation of Bill 101. From 1977 to 1991, the proportion of Anglophones converging to French with the White confederates in downtown Montreal was quite stable: 60% in 1977, 70% in 1979 and 65% in 1991 (figure 7a). Furthermore, as seen in figure 7b, no significant differences were observed in the proportion of Anglophone undergraduates converging to French with the White confederate on the McGill University campus from 1979 (83%) to 1991 (77%). The ethnicity of the confederate did not have an impact on the proportion of Anglophones converging to French in downtown Montreal: in 1991, 61% converged to French with the Black confederate and 65% converged to French with the White confederate. Likewise on the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were as likely to converge to French with the Black confederate (77%) as with the White confederate (77%). However it remains remarkable

that despite a decade of language planning in favour of French, as many as 30% to 40% of Montreal Anglophones maintained English when responding to a Black or White confederate requesting a plea for directions in French. Such results were obtained even with the charitable criteria of counting a greeting or leave-taking word spoken in French as a convergent response by Anglophone pedestrians. That more than a third of Anglophone respondents in downtown Montreal maintained English when accosted in French reflects the enduring position of Anglophones as high status group members whose personal language choices need not be constrained by the linguistic needs of the Francophone majority. Indeed, it was in 1991 that the president of the pro-English Alliance Quebec, Reed Scowen, urged Quebec Anglophones to adopt English-language maintenance as a collective ethnic affirmation strategy during private encounters with Quebec Francophones across the province (Scowen, 1991).

However, by 1997, results in both downtown Montreal and at McGill University showed that the overwhelming majority of Anglophones converged to French (100% and 93%) with the White Francophone interlocutor (figures 7a-7b). Were Anglophones less likely to converge to French with the Black than the White confederate? Results of the 1997 downtown Montreal study showed that fewer Anglophones converged to French with the Black confederate (75%) than with the White confederate (100%). On the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were also less likely to converge to French with the black (83%) than with the white (93%) confederate.

Overall results obtained in these four studies suggest that Quebec language policies favouring French at the institutional level may have had a “carry-over effect” on private language behaviours, particularly on the ones adopted by Anglophones with White Francophones. Despite the political polarization which emerged during and after the referendum debate on Quebec separation in 1995, Anglophone pedestrians converged more to French in 1997 than they did in the field experiments conducted in 1977, 1979, and 1991. Thus the cumulative effect of Bill 101 did succeed in increasing their use of French, not only as the language of public discourse but also for private language use between anonymous individuals on the streets and on campuses of Montreal.

Though Bill 101 was also designed to increase the status and use of French by Francophones in the Montreal bilingual zone, results obtained with Francophone respondents showed overwhelming convergence to English with both White and Black Anglophone confederates. The strong proportion of Francophones converging to English may attest to the enduring status of English relative to French in Quebec and North America. These results confirm that even in private encounters with strangers, Francophone majority group members remain very sensitive to the linguistic needs of their Quebec Anglophone compatriots.

In the earlier studies from 1977 to 1991, private French/English-language choices seemed imbued with inter-group connotations related to ingroup identification, inter-group differentiation, and power differentials favouring the elite Anglophone minority relative to the lower status Francophone majority in Montreal (Bourhis, 1984b, 1994b; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Moïse & Bourhis, 1994). However, the patterns of language convergence obtained in the 1997 field study suggest that for both Francophones and Anglophones, French/English-language choices in bilingual encounters may be emptied of their divisive inter-group content. Though Francophone pedestrians could invoke Bill 101 as the legal framework supporting their quest for cultural affirmation and linguistic differentiation from Anglophone interlocutors, they did not choose language maintenance or language divergence to assert such social identity needs. Few Anglophones maintained English in the 1997 field study, though the diglossic elite status of English in Quebec could have been invoked to justify such a dissociative strategy. Instead, language choices in the 1997 field study were more strongly influenced by the individual and interpersonal needs of the Francophone and Anglophone interlocutors in the immediacy of their bilingual encounter. However, it remains that "critical incidents" in the Quebec political and linguistic debate could rekindle the use of language maintenance and language divergence as ingroup affirmative and inter-group dissociative language strategies.

Results obtained in downtown Montreal and on the McGill campus showed that Anglophone pedestrians were less likely to converge to the language needs of the Black Francophone confederate than those of

the White confederate. Studies conducted across Anglo-Canada have shown that Anglo-Canadians are sometimes ambivalent towards visible minorities such as West Indians and East Indians (Berry, 2006). Anglophones in Quebec may be particularly ambivalent towards visible minority Blacks who have chosen to integrate linguistically within the Quebec Francophone host majority rather than within the Quebec Anglophone host minority (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004). However, Francophone respondents were as likely to converge to English with the Black confederate as they were with the White confederate. Further research may be needed to confirm and explain these contrasting convergence responses towards the Black confederate in our field studies (Moïse & Bourhis 1994).

The 1997 results suggest that after twenty years of implementation, Bill 101 may have had its intended effects of improving the status and use of French by Quebec Anglophones. That both Anglophones and Francophones overwhelmingly converged and declared their intention to converge to each other's linguistic needs in the 1997 field study suggests that such intercultural encounters are being emptied of their divisive inter-group symbolism and may become more neutral and functional, at least as regards language choices in private face-to-face encounters between anonymous Francophone and Anglophone interlocutors. Could such harmonious language convergence results have been achieved in Quebec without the adoption of pro-French laws such as Bill 101? The diglossia literature suggests that dominant language groups rarely converge to the linguistic needs of their subordinated minorities or majorities. The Quebec case shows that language policies such as Bill 101 can create the institutional and normative pressures needed to reverse a diglossic situation which traditionally favoured English in the province. Though the Francophone majority succeeded in consolidating its institutional and demographic ascendancy over the English minority of Quebec, Francophone nationalists still feel threatened as an official language minority of 23% within Canada and as a linguistic minority of less than 2% within North America. Does the Quebec dominant majority have the linguistic and cultural security to promote the institutional support needed for the long term survival of its national minority of Anglophones within the province?

3. Multiple Identities, Feelings of Threat and Linguicism

Personal and social identities provide individuals with self-esteem, a sense of personal continuity, a framework of meaning through which people can understand the world, a way of distinguishing the self from others as individuals and as group members, and a sense of solidarity and security with members of the ingroup (Capozza & Brown, 2000). While shared social identity can provide group solidarity and altruism through connections of similarity, it can also lead to feelings of insecurity, rivalry and conflict through the demonization of outgroup ethnic, linguistic or religious differences. With the polarization of “us-them” categories comes the tendency to essentialize ingroup vs. outgroup characteristics, to include and exclude others on the basis of their social identities. These processes along with competition over scarce resources help account for the development of prejudice and discrimination against devalued outgroups, favouritism towards own-group members and the glorification of the ingroup social identity (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2006). However, people also belong to multiple social identities by virtue of their age, gender, family role, occupational status, and group memberships based on language, ethnicity, religion and national origin. There is no fixed hierarchy in which a person will always feel more strongly Canadian than they do a woman or a school teacher. Different social identities will light up or switch off depending on the social context and the immediate situation in which people find themselves (Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994). Thus while a Québécois Francophone may identify most as a dentist when working in Montreal, he may identify most as a Québécois when attending a professional conference in Toronto, and feel most Canadian when travelling as a tourist in South America.

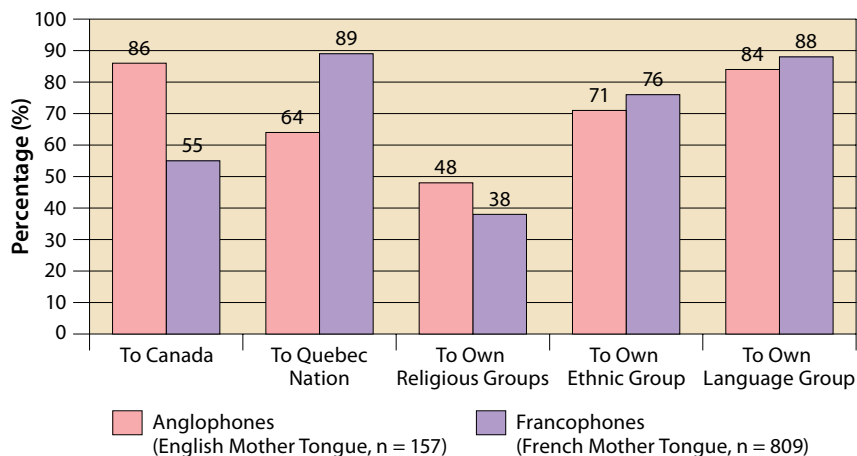
3.1 Sense of Belonging and Multiple Identities

The multiple identities of Quebec Francophones and Anglophones were explored in a 2008 survey commissioned by the Association of Canadian Studies. This Leger poll was conducted with a representative sample of the Quebec population made up of French ($n = 809$) and English ($n = 157$) mother tongue respondents sampled in Montreal and across the province.

As can be seen in figure 8a, results show that more Francophones (89%) have a strong sense of belonging to the Quebec Nation than do Anglophone (64%) respondents. Conversely more Anglophones feel they strongly belong to Canada (86%) than do Francophone (55%) respondents. Importantly, as great a proportion of Anglophones declared they had a strong feeling of belonging to their own language group (84%) as did Francophones (88%) respondents. Thus the vast majority of Quebec Anglophones and Francophones identify strongly with their own language group in the province. Likewise the majority of both Francophone (76%) and Anglophone (71%) respondents strongly identify with their respective ethnic group. Finally, even fewer Francophones (38%) identified strongly with their religious group than did Anglophones (48%). These results suggest that the recent hearings on religious “reasonable accommodations” held by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (2007-2008) may not have focused on the most important element of group identification for the Quebec population. No wonder so many testimonials dealt more with language, ethnic and national identity issues than with religious questions.

Figure 8a

Quebec Anglophone and Francophone Sense of Belonging to Various Groups, “Very Strong” and “Somewhat Strong”, Combined Responses (%), Quebec, 2008

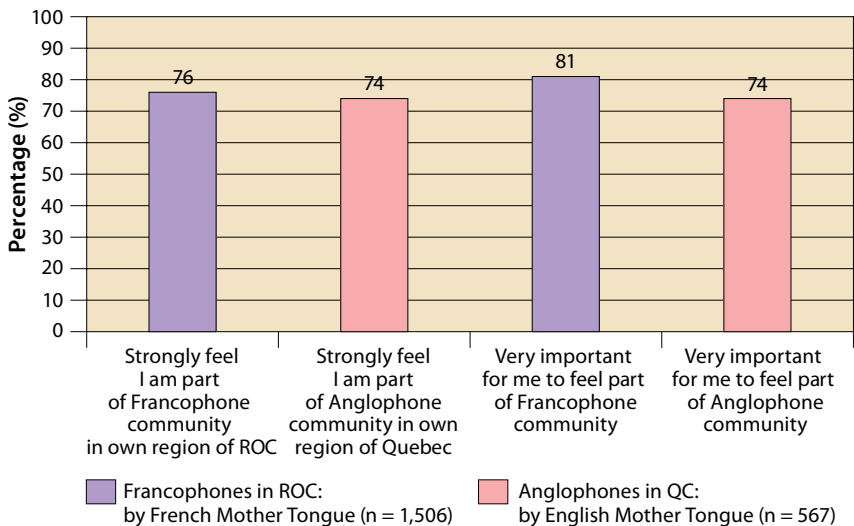


Source: Adapted from the Association for Canadian Studies (2008).

The Department of Canadian Heritage conducted a large survey of attitudes towards Canada's Official Languages (Canada 2006). The survey of the Canadian population included a sample of French mother tongue Canadians ($n = 1,506$) living in the rest of Canada (ROC), and a sample of English mother tongue respondents residing in Quebec ($n = 567$). As can be seen in figure 8b, results obtained with Francophones in the ROC showed that the majority of Francophones (76%) strongly identified with their Francophone community in their own region and also felt it was very important for them to be part of their Francophone community (81%). Importantly, results also showed that the majority of Quebec Anglophones (74%) strongly identified with their regional Anglophone community and also felt it was very important for them to be part of their own Anglophone community in Quebec (74%). Clearly, Anglophones in Quebec are as loyal and committed to their own language community as are Francophones in the ROC. From a public policy perspective these results suggest that it is as imperative for the federal and provincial governments to maintain and develop the vitality of Anglophones in Quebec as it is to do so for Francophone communities across the rest of Canada.

Figure 8b

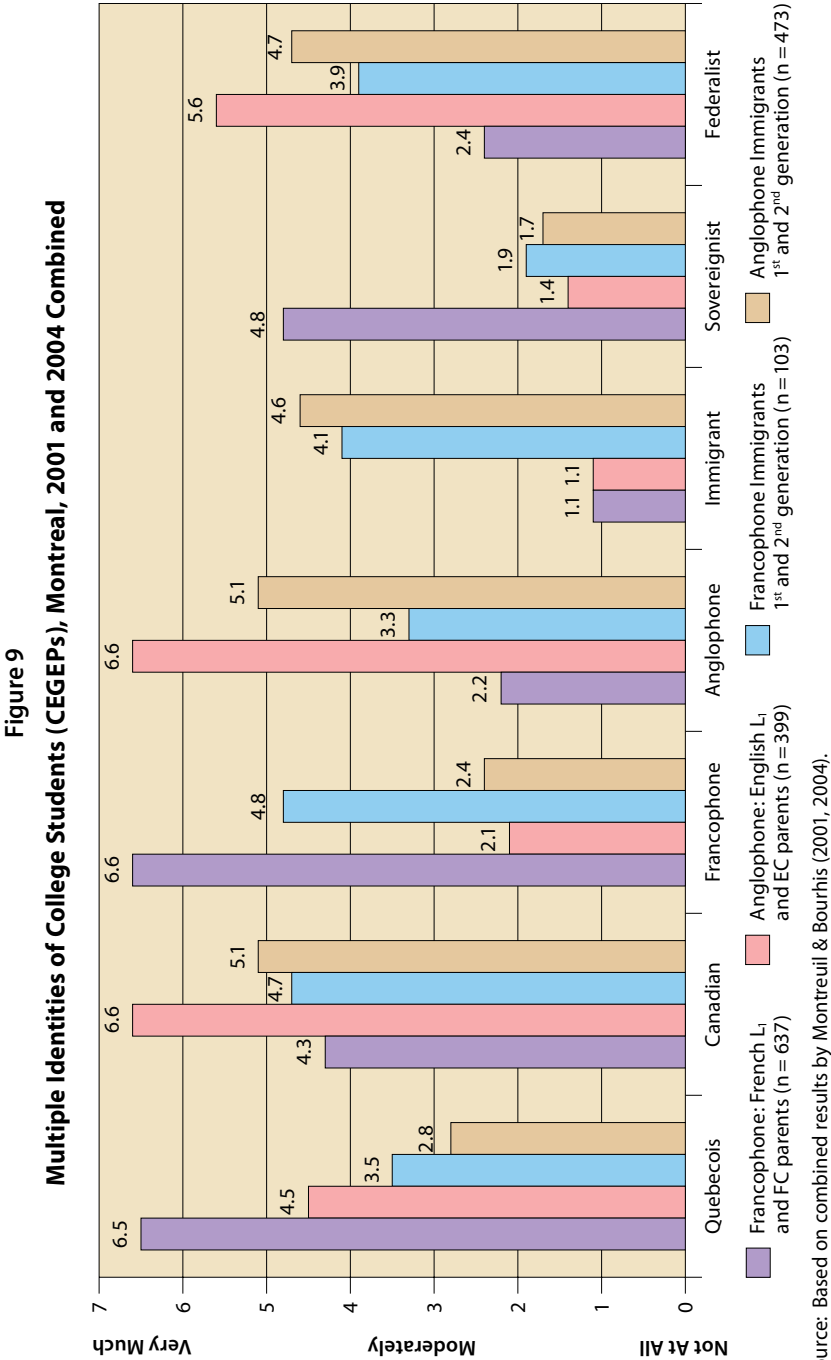
Strong Feeling of Belonging to their Own Language Community, and Importance of this Belonging (%), Anglophones in Quebec, and Francophones in Rest of Canada (ROC), 2006



Source: Canada (2006). Decima for the Department of Canadian Heritage.

Multiple identity studies were also conducted in Quebec with samples of Anglophone and Francophone mother tongue college students, as well as Francophone and Anglophone first and second generation immigrants attending CEGEPs on Montreal Island. These survey studies, though not representative of the overall Quebec population, had the advantage of controlling somewhat for the socio-economic status and educational level of the students. The results presented herein are selected from more extensive questionnaires monitoring the acculturation orientations of host community and immigrant students attending French and English-language CEGEPs in Montreal (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001, 2004; Montreuil, Bourhis & Vanbeselaere, 2004). The students who took part in the studies were: 1) Francophones ($n = 637$) born in Quebec with French as a mother tongue and with both parents born in Quebec also with French as a first language (L_1); 2) Anglophones ($n = 399$) born in Quebec with English as a mother tongue and with both parents born in Quebec with English as their L_1 ; 3) firsts and second generation Francophone immigrants with French as a mother tongue ($n = 103$); 4) first and second generation Anglophone immigrants with English as a mother tongue ($n = 473$). Using a seven point scale, students rated how much they identified (7 = very much, 1 = not at all) with each of a series of group identities including: Québécois, Canadian, Francophone, Anglophone, immigrant, sovereignist, federalist.

As can be seen in figure 9, Québécois Francophones and Anglophones; Francophone and Anglophone immigrants show contrasting multiple identity profiles that have consequences for language group relations in Quebec. Francophones identify very strongly as Québécois and Francophone and strongly as sovereignist; but moderately as Canadian and only a little as federalist. Anglophones identify very strongly as Canadian, Anglophone and federalist, moderately as Québécois and not at all as sovereignists. Anglophone immigrants identify moderately strongly as Canadian, Anglophone, immigrant and federalist but very little as Québécois, Francophone and sovereignist. Francophone immigrants identify moderately strongly as Canadian, as Francophone, immigrants and federalists. However Francophone immigrants though attending French colleges identify little as Québécois and Anglophone and very little as sovereignist.



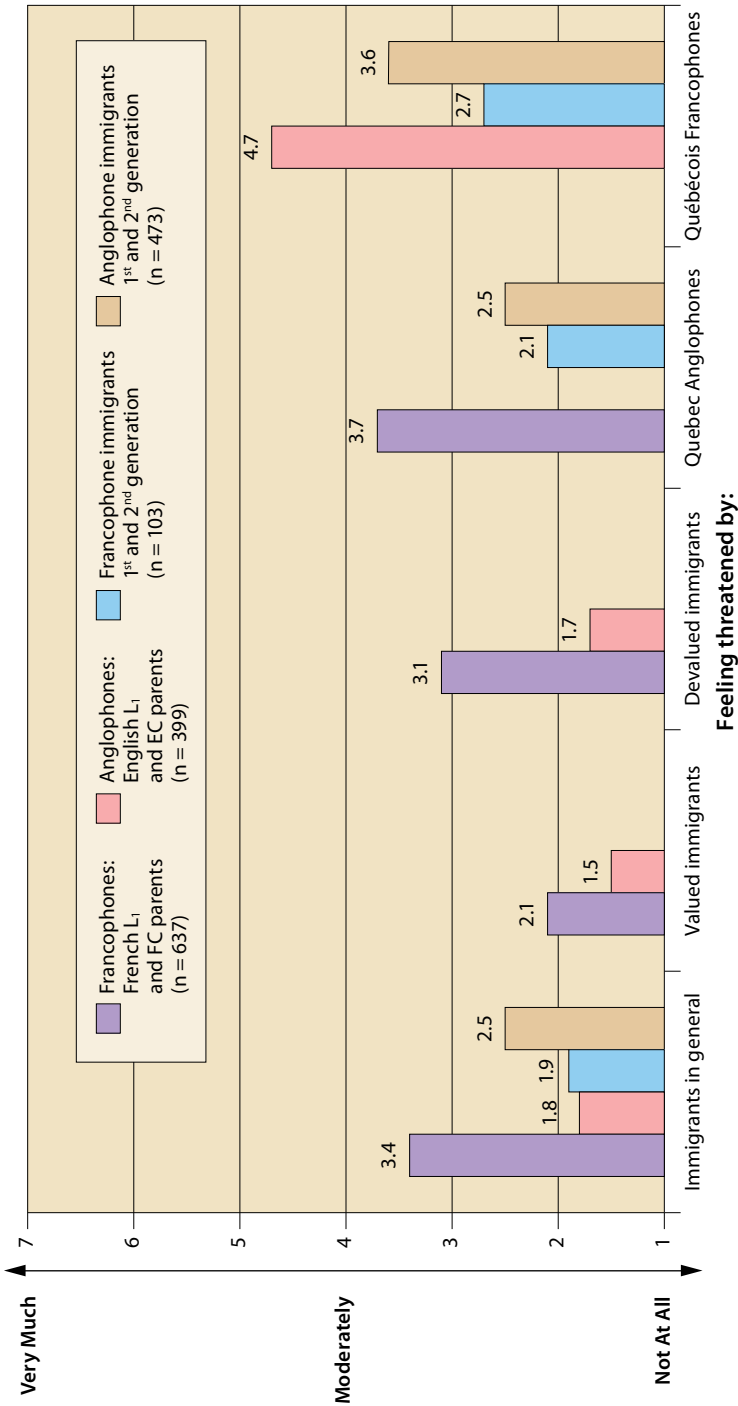
Thus, Quebec Anglophones as well as immigrants of Anglophone and Francophone background share in common their identification as Canadian and federalist and their rejection of sovereignty.

3.2 Feelings of Threat from the Presence of Outgroups

The same four groups of college students then rated how threatened they felt by the presence of various ethnic groups in Quebec including immigrants in general, “valued” and “devalued” immigrants, as well as host majority Québécois Francophones and host minority Québécois Anglophones. For Francophone students the “valued” immigrants were those from France while “devalued” immigrants were visible minority Haitians. Note that both these French-speaking immigrant target groups contribute to the French fact in Quebec. For Anglophone respondents the “valued” immigrants were those from Britain while the “devalued” ones were visible minority Sikhs from the Punjab in India (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004).

As seen in figure 10, feelings of threat were generally low on the seven point scale, though the following trends emerged. Compared to the three groups of minority students, Francophone host majority respondents felt more threatened by the presence of all outgroups in the province. Notably, Québécois Francophones felt more threatened by the presence of Québécois Anglophones ($x = 3.7$) than by French immigrants from France ($x = 2.1$). Anglophone host minority students did not feel threatened by immigrants but felt most threatened by the presence of the Québécois Francophone majority ($x = 4.7$). Francophone and Anglophone immigrants did not feel threatened by immigrants or by the Québécois Anglophone host minority. However, Anglophone immigrants felt more threatened ($x = 3.6$) than Francophone immigrants ($x = 2.7$) by the presence of the Québécois Francophone host majority. Taken together, Québécois Anglophones and immigrants share in common their feeling of threat from the dominant majority in Quebec, namely Québécois Francophones. Why do host majority Francophone students feel more threatened by the presence of “others” than language and immigrant minority students? It must be recalled that the Québécois nationalist movement has long nurtured feelings of insecurity as regards the position of French in Quebec, a security undermined by the presence

Figure 10
College Students Feeling Threatened by Presence of Various Groups, Montreal, 2004



Source: Based on results by Montreuil & Bourhis (2004).

of linguistic outgroups such as the Quebec Anglophone minority and English-speaking immigrants. Nationalist movements have a vested interest in nurturing feelings of threat from the presence of “exogenous” groups, as such sentiments reinforce feelings of ingroup solidarity, boost loyalty to the ingroup cause and mobilize action against perceived competitors or enemies. That Québécois Francophone students also felt threatened by the presence of Francophone immigrants from Haiti shows that feelings of threat can be generalized to any outgroup, even those contributing to the French cause in Quebec. Thus Québécois Francophones can feel threatened by the presence of Haitians because their “devalued” position is related to another dimension of difference, namely their visible minority status. Previous studies have shown that as with other Canadians, Québécois Francophones tend to hold prejudicial attitudes towards visible minorities (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2006). This raises the final concern of this chapter. In Quebec as in the rest of Canada, who are the Canadians most likely to feel they are the victim of prejudice and discrimination?

3.3 Linguicism: Being Victim of Discrimination in Quebec and the ROC

Whereas prejudice is a negative attitude towards outgroups, discrimination is an unjustified negative behaviour towards members of a target outgroup (Bourhis & Gagnon, 2006). Discriminatory behaviour can range from silent avoidance, depreciating humour, hate speech, harassment, differential allocation of valued resources (jobs, housing), attacks on property and persons (hate crimes), residential confinement, deportation and genocide. In Canada as elsewhere in the world, discrimination remains a pervasive phenomenon that is corrosive for its victims and ultimately dehumanizing for its perpetrators (Berry, 2006).

We will examine the feelings of inclusion and exclusion experienced by vulnerable minorities in Quebec and the rest of Canada (ROC) by using selected results from the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) conducted across Canada in 2002-2003. The EDS was designed by Statistics Canada and Canadian Heritage and focussed on the social, cultural and economic diversity of not only first, second

and third generation immigrants, but also that of Francophones and Anglophones across Canada. Respondents were 15 years or older and lived in private dwellings in the ten provinces of Canada. The EDS was designed to gain a better understanding of how ethnic minorities themselves perceive their own circumstances as Canadian citizens and interpret and report their ethnicity. The EDS used a computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI) that lasted thirty-five minutes and was conducted in fifteen languages to suit the needs of respondent including English, French, Cantonese, Mandarin, Spanish, Punjabi, etc. The respondents were selected from the 2001 census and the interviews were conducted post 9/11. The sample was stratified by ethnic origin, place of birth, place of birth of parents, sex, age, generation, region, language, and with an over-representation of second generation immigrants (37% of sample). A total of 42,476 interviews were successfully conducted out of a targeted sample of 57,200, which resulted in an acceptable 76% response rate.

Many thematic and modules were covered in the EDS telephone interviews including self-definition, language competence and language use in the family, social networks, civic participation, attitudes and sense of belonging, socio-economic activities and interaction with society including being victim of discrimination. The telephone question on discrimination was formulated as follows:

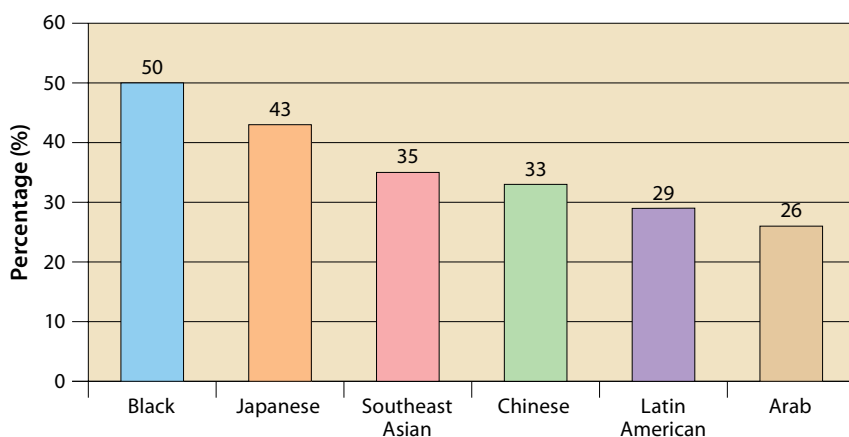
Discrimination may happen when people are treated unfairly because they are seen as being different from others. In the past 5 years or since arriving in Canada, do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly by others in Canada because of your ethnicity, culture, race, skin colour, language, accent or religion?

Respondents answered Yes or No to this question and results showed the following overall patterns. Across Canada, men (8%) as much as women (7%), declared having been victim of discrimination in the last five years. First generation immigrants were more likely to having been victims of discrimination (13%) than second (6%) and third generation immigrants (5%). The percentage of respondents declaring having been the victim of discrimination was similar in Toronto (11%), Vancouver (11%), and Montreal (9%).

While overall, 14% of immigrants reported having been victim of discrimination, results showed that visible minority immigrants experienced more discrimination (36%) than immigrants who were not visible minorities (10%). In the Canadian Census (2001) and the EDS (2002), visible minorities include Canadians of the following backgrounds: East Indian, Pakistani, Black, Latin American, Southeast Asian (e.g. Indonesian, Vietnamese), Arab, Afghan, Iranian, Japanese, Korean, and Chinese (Bourhis, 2003). The Canadian Census (2001) revealed that visible minorities made up 13% (3 million) of the total Canadian population (32 million). As seen in figure 11, of the visible minority immigrants who declared having been victim of discrimination, Blacks (50%) and Japanese (43%) were more likely to report having been victim, while Latin Americans (29%) and Arabs (26%) were less likely to be victims of discrimination.

Figure 11

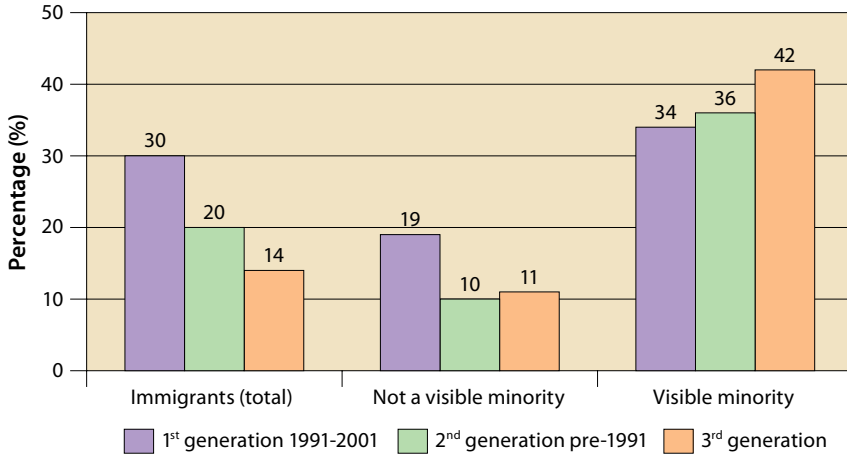
Visible Minorities Who Reported Having Been the Victim of Discrimination in the Last Five Years (%), Canada, 2002



Source: EDS Survey, 2002.

As seen in figure 12, for immigrants in general, first generation (30%) immigrants were more likely to be the victim of discrimination, relative to second (20%) and third generation (14%) immigrants. This is the expected pattern, as second and third generation immigrants become more and more similar to host majority members educationally, culturally and socially. However, figure 12 shows the inverse

Figure 12
1st, 2nd, and 3rd Generation Immigrants Who Reported
Having Been the Victim of Discrimination in the Last Five Years (%),
Canada, 2002

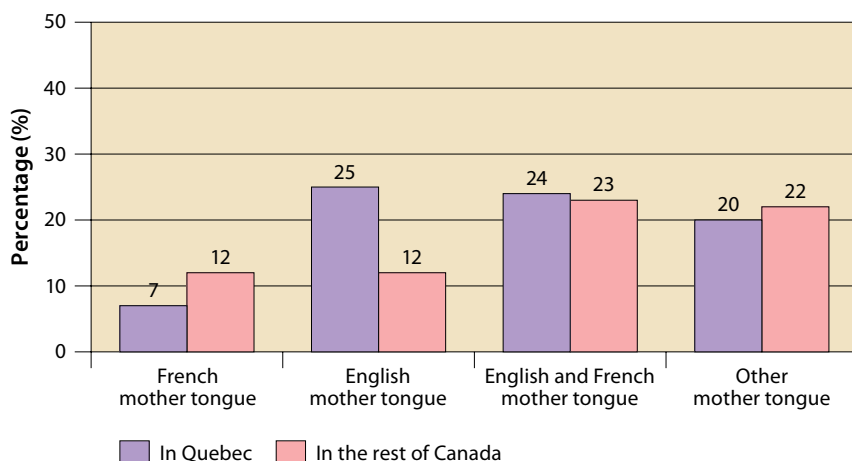


Source: EDS Survey, 2002.

pattern for visible minorities: while many immigrants experience discrimination in the first (34%) and second generation (36%), even more experience discrimination in the third generation (42%). Of the visible minorities who experience this type of inter-generational discrimination, it is Black immigrants who suffer the most: first generation: 45%, second generation: 48% and third generation: 61%. A possible explanation for this effect is that while White immigrants can seamlessly merge within the White Canadian mainstream across the generations as they acquire the linguistic and cultural codes of the host majority, visible minorities remain categorized as “outsiders” by virtue of their skin colour, no matter how well they have integrated culturally and linguistically across the generations. By the third generation, visible minorities like Blacks and South Asians cannot attribute their differential treatment to other factors than discrimination, a feeling of exclusion from mainstream society which carries negative social and physical consequences for visible minorities themselves, and which mortgages the present and future climate of ethnic relations in Canada.

Based on the mother tongue of the respondents who took part in the EDS survey, what is the pattern of discrimination experienced by Francophones and Anglophones in the rest of Canada (ROC) compared to Quebec? As can be seen in figure 13, Anglophones were more likely to report having been the victim of discrimination in Quebec (25%) than in the ROC (12%). Conversely, Francophones were more likely to report having been the victim of discrimination in the ROC (12%) than in Quebec (7%). We define *linguicism* as being the victim of discrimination because of one's mother tongue language or accent (Bourhis *et al.*, 2007). Clearly, Anglophones as a minority in Quebec, and Francophones as a minority in the ROC are more likely to be the victim of linguicism than when such speakers reside in their respective majority group settings. Note that respondents who declared having both French and English as a mother tongue, as well as Allophones, reported being victim of linguicism as much in Quebec as in the ROC. We can surmise that French/English bilinguals and Allophones experience greater intercultural contacts with outgroup language speakers, a probability risk factor that results in greater likelihood for such minorities to experience linguicism and unfair treatment.

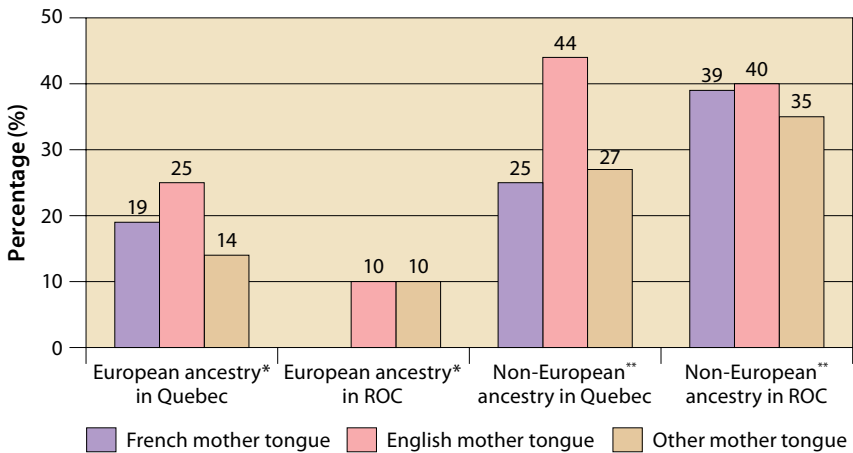
Figure 13
Participants Who Experienced Being Victim of Discrimination
in Quebec, Compared to the Rest of Canada (ROC),
by Mother Tongue of Respondents (%), Canada, 2002



Source: EDS Survey, 2002; Bourhis *et al.*, 2007.

To better understand the background factors associated with being the victim of linguistic discrimination, figure 14 crosses language group membership based on mother tongue, with the ethnic ancestry of respondents in Quebec and the ROC. Note that based on the Canadian census, European ancestry include mainly White European Union background individuals, while Non-European ancestry denotes mainly visible minority backgrounds including African, South Asian (Indian), Asian (Chinese), Arab and Central/South American origins. Results presented in figure 14 show that in Quebec amongst White Europeans, it is English mother tongue Europeans who most likely report having been the victim of discrimination (25%) compared to French (19%) and Allophone (14%) respondents. Amongst non-European ancestry respondents, it is also English mother tongue individuals who are most likely to have experienced discrimination (44%) compared to Allophones (27%) and Francophones (25%). Clearly in Quebec, it is Anglophones of non-European background who are most likely to be

Figure 14
Participants Who Experienced Being Victim of Discrimination
in Quebec, Compared to the Rest of Canada (ROC), by Mother Tongue
and Ethnic Ancestry of Respondents (%), Canada, 2002



* European ancestry: Origins may include Italian, German, Portuguese, Polish, Dutch, Ukrainian, Greek.
 ** Non-European ancestry: Origins may include Asian (Chinese, Vietnamese), South Asian (Indian, Pakistani), Arab, African, Central/South American, Caribbean.

the victim of linguisticism and unfair treatment. In the ROC all non-European background individuals, regardless of their mother tongue, are vulnerable to discrimination (35%-40%) as shown in figure 14.

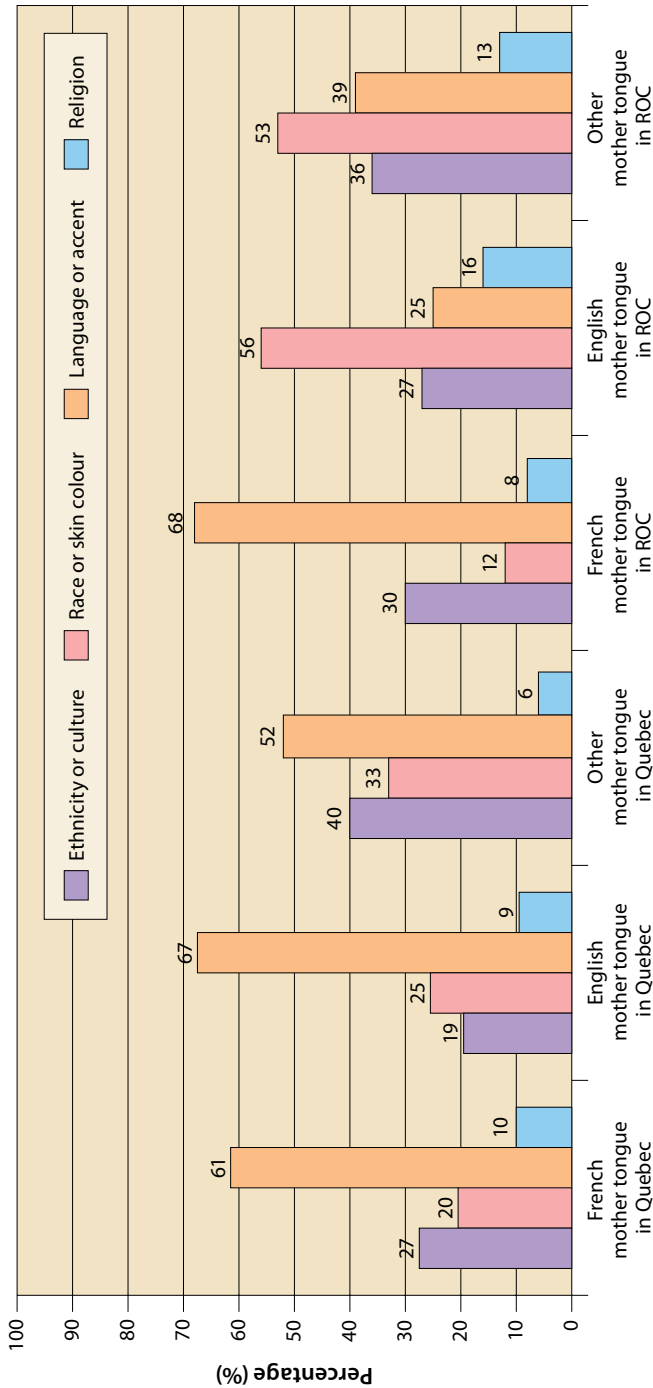
The EDS also explored the reasons invoked for having been the victim of discrimination. Amongst respondents who declared having being victims of discrimination the following question was asked in the interview:

In the past 5 years or since arriving in Canada, for which reason or reasons do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly in Canada? Was it or is it because of: your ethnicity or culture? Your race or skin colour? Your language or accent? Your religion?

Respondents who had been the victims of discrimination could list one or more of these reasons as the cause of discrimination.

The patterns shown in figure 15 show the perceived reasons for discrimination listed by respondents who experienced discrimination, broken down by the mother tongue of respondents residing in Quebec and the ROC. In Quebec, individuals who reported having being the victim of discrimination singled out “language and accent” as the major reason for being the victim of discrimination, and this whether the mother tongue of respondents was English (67%), French (61%) or Allophone (52%). Clearly, language and accent, more than ethnicity, race or religion accounts for most of the reported discrimination in the province. That linguisticism emerges as the most frequent cause of unfair treatment for Quebec respondents reflects the last four decades of linguistic tensions surrounding the adoption and application of language laws in the province. In the ROC it is race and skin colour (53%-56%) which are seen by victims of discrimination as the more likely cause of unfair treatment, followed to a much lesser degree by language and ethnicity, but this pattern obtains only for English mother tongue and Allophone respondents. As seen in figure 15, Francophones in the ROC who experienced discrimination are most likely to invoke language and accent (68%) as the main reason for the unfair treatment they experienced, a result which reflects the legacy of language tensions that prevails to this day in many English-speaking provinces of the country.

Figure 15
Perceived Reasons for Having Been Victim of Discrimination in the Past Five Years, or Since Arriving in Canada, Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination, by Mother Tongue (%), Quebec, Compared to the Rest of Canada (ROC), Canada, 2002



Source: EDS Survey, 2002; Bourhis *et al.*, 2007.

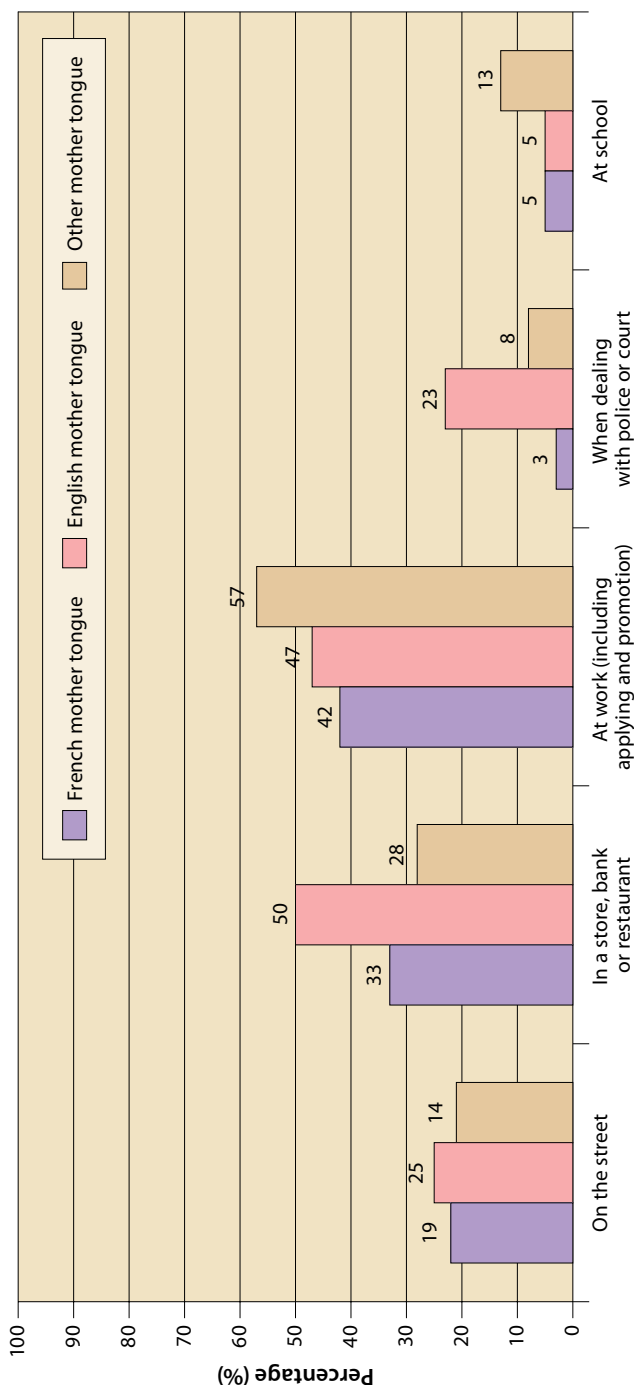
Discrimination does not occur in a situational vacuum. The EDS also explored in which situation and places victims of discrimination experienced unfair treatment. Respondents who declared they were victims of discrimination were asked the following additional question:

In the past 5 years or since arriving in Canada, in which places or situations do you feel that you have experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly in Canada? Was it on the street? In a store, bank or restaurant? At work or when applying for a job or promotion? When dealing with the police or courts?

Results presented in figure 16 are those obtained in Quebec for respondents who experienced discrimination broken down by mother tongue. Clearly, discrimination occurred mostly at work when applying for a job or a promotion. Allophones experienced the most discrimination at work (57%) followed by Anglophones (47%) and Francophones (42%). Work opportunity being the pillar of economic and social integration for immigrants, it is telling that Quebec Allophones single out the work world as their most problematic setting of unfair treatment. Recall the labour income disadvantage experienced in Quebec, not only by French-speaking (-33.9%) and English-speaking (-30.1%) Allophones, but also by bilingual ones (-11.8%). Figure 16 also shows that of respondents who reported being the victim of discrimination, Anglophones (50%) more than Francophones (33%) and Allophones (28%) reported discrimination in stores, banks and restaurants. These are public settings of unfair treatment contributing to a feeling that one is not welcomed in civil society.

In summary, results of the EDS show that it is visible minority immigrants who experience the most discrimination in Canada and this is the case for first, second and third generation visible minorities. Overall, it is visible minorities who are Black who experience the most discrimination relative to all other visible minorities in Canada. For Quebec Allophones, discrimination is much more likely to be experienced at work than in stores, restaurants, on the street or at school. Inclusion in the workforce remains the key for the integration for Allophones and immigrants in the province. In Quebec, it is visible minorities who have a mother tongue other than French who experience the most discrimination. *Racism* and *linguicism* pack a

Figure 16
Situations and Places where Discrimination Was Experienced in the Past Five Years,
Respondents Who Experienced Discrimination, by Mother Tongue (%), Quebec, Canada, 2002



Source: EDS Survey, 2002; Bourhis *et al.*, 2007.

double punch to Black Anglophone minorities who suffer the highest unemployment rate and lowest salaries in the province, other than First Nations.

Concluding Notes

Language planning in favour of French (Bill 101) succeeded: in having 94% of the Quebec population maintain or gain a knowledge of the French language; in keeping 82% of its citizens as users of French at home; and in increasing Anglophone bilingualism to 69% by 2006. In the Quebec labour market, the economic returns to knowing French increased between 1970 and 2000, while returns to knowing English decreased. The healthy state of the French language is also evident in the growth of ownership of Quebec's economy by Francophone firms, from 47% in the 1960s to 67% today. Yet, survey results show that Francophone college students still feel somewhat threatened and ambivalent about the presence of "others" in the province.

The demographic decline of the Anglophone population undermines the institutional vitality of the English speaking communities of Quebec. Maintaining and developing the institutional vitality of Quebec Anglophones may reduce youth outmigration, thus improving future overall vitality on the demographic and institutional support fronts. Developing better prospects for Quebec Anglophone vitality provides a positive benchmark for improving the vitality of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada. Despite the increasing linguistic and cultural diversity of Canadian society, especially in Ontario and westward, the future of Canadian unity still rests on the vitality developments of its two national minorities: the Anglophone communities in Quebec and the Francophone communities established in the rest of Canada.

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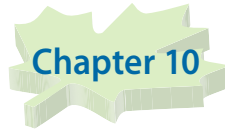
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Multiple Views on the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec

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Introduction

This chapter offers a trio of views concerning the present and future prospects for the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ). We begin with a contribution from Victor C. Goldbloom who was Canada's Commissioner of Official Languages from 1991 to 1999. His frank analysis of the current struggles of the Anglophone communities of Quebec nevertheless ends on a resolute message addressed to all the citizens of Quebec: "We have helped shape the past and the present, and with courage and determination, we will help shape tomorrow as well". This is followed by a critical analysis of relations between the Francophone majority and the Anglophone minorities of Quebec, viewed from the French perspective provided by André Pratte, Chief editorialist of the influential French daily newspaper "*La Presse*". This text is based on the talk presented by André Pratte at the first QCGN conference on the Anglophone Communities of Quebec that was held in February 2005 at the Université du Québec à Montréal. In his plenary talk entitled "Bridging the two solitudes", André Pratte noted that Quebec Francophones and Anglophones still have difficulty

understanding each other despite years of trying, and this, despite the fact that the two communities share so much in common. This trio of views closes with an analysis of present and future prospects for the English-speaking communities of Quebec provided by Graham Fraser, the current Commissioner of Official Languages. Building on his recent volume entitled *Sorry, I don't speak French: Confronting the Canadian crisis that won't go away*, Graham Fraser is forced to acknowledge the more contentious language climate in Quebec during the last few years. However he offers constructive avenues for the development of the English-speaking communities of the province emphasizing the special efforts needed to help young bilingual Anglophones find their place in Quebec society.

The following papers by Victor Goldbloom and Graham Fraser were presented at the second conference of the QCGN on the Anglophone Communities of Quebec that was held at the Université de Montréal on February 28 to March 2nd, 2008.

1. Victor C. Goldbloom – *The Road Ahead: The English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*

*"We are not the enemy and it is time
we stopped being perceived as such."**

Three decades have gone by since the Parti Québécois (PQ) first came to power, causing existential anxiety in Quebec's English-speaking communities and changing the linguistic equilibrium within our province. A significant number of people, especially younger ones, felt their future threatened, and some chose to seek career opportunities elsewhere. Community demographics declined, and average ages rose. No one's crystal ball showed an encouraging prospect. Today, the picture is somewhat more positive. Linguistic tensions have lessened, the PQ's Charter of the French Language has largely become a part of the landscape, and English-speaking participation in Quebec society is growing.

* Citation of the week, *The Gazette*, Montreal, Sunday March 2nd, 2008.

Life in English is not without problems, however, and the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) devotes itself to diagnosing them and responding to them. The thirty-year-old debate between the confrontational, litigational approach and that of dialogue and negotiation is less intense but has not entirely subsided. The road ahead has its curves and its potholes.

Developed societies have lower birth rates than developing ones. Ours has for decades been well below replacement level, and this is true of all of Quebec's population, although less so for certain immigrant communities. Incentives have been offered from time to time, but without significant success. Inter-provincial migration is a loss factor for Quebec, and international immigration, while by no means negligible, is not sufficient to prevent our province from slowly shrinking as a percentage of the Canadian total.

Quebec's English-speaking communities have been prevented from reinforcing their numbers by the channelling of students from elsewhere to the French-language school system. Efforts to obtain a more equitable balance—a small shift would have helped the Anglophone side considerably while making a very small dent in Francophone enrolments—have had virtually no success. The painful closing of schools has become inevitable.

Notwithstanding all of the above, the English-speaking communities of Quebec are vigorous and productive. The resistance of times past—"They're not going to shove French down my throat!"—has faded away. The ability to function in French—and the comfort level in doing so—have become quite remarkable. Not that long ago, two-language capability was largely limited to those, for example lawyers, whose daily professional life required it. Today, the fluency level and the comfort level in all the strata of the English-speaking community are impressive.

Despite this individual competence, concern about the survival of English-language institutions persists in the province. The loss of the Sherbrooke Hospital, of Jeffery Hale's Hospital in Quebec City, of the Reddy Memorial and the Queen Elizabeth hospitals in Montreal has diminished the historic ability of the community. However, in Montreal, through great community mobilisation and support, the

Queen Elizabeth has achieved a new lease on life as an ambulatory health care centre and an adjunct to the McGill University Health Centre (MUHC). And so, with the remaining hospitals which it created, funded and managed itself, generations of English speaking health professionals continue to look after their patients regardless of language, race, colour or creed.

As the community-based, privately funded institutions of the past have been absorbed into the public sector, our communities have waged an ongoing struggle to ensure that accessibility to services and communications in English would be maintained. Whereas complaints have not been overwhelming in numbers, the struggle continues and constant vigilance is required.

The individual feels at a disadvantage vis-à-vis a state bureaucracy, and in his or her sense of community, counts on collective strategy and collective action. When the political philosophy of Quebec dramatically changed in November of 1976, the English-speaking community, recognizing that it would continue permanently to be an integral part of Quebec society despite the exodus which was going on, created new structures to defend and advance its interests. The Positive Action Committee came into being, and at about the same time a group of young adults under the name of Participation Quebec. A little while later, they came together to form *Alliance Quebec*.

Alliance Quebec did an impressive, constructive job and strove to bring the mainland and island communities together. It could not win every battle against the nationalistic tide, and the time came when a more confrontational and litigious element gained supremacy. The Equality Party had its brief day in the sun, and then the spokespersonship for the communities became less clearly identifiable. Today, the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) carries the torch.

What does the future hold? The birth rate is unlikely to increase, and the existential anxiety of Quebec's French-speaking majority, an isolated minority in the sea of English-speaking North America, is a permanent phenomenon with which we shall continue to contend and to which we must provide fraternal understanding and support. We have learned to do so.

Our ability to survive, to maintain our historic identity while participating fully in Quebec society, will vary from one region to another. But as each successive generation takes the reins of leadership and contributes its eloquence to the common good, we will continue to make our contributions known and our presence felt. We have helped shape the past and the present, and with courage, courtesy and determination, we will help shape tomorrow as well.

2. André Pratte – *Bridging the Two Solitudes*¹

There needs to be a new dialogue in Quebec between Anglophones and Francophones. But this new dialogue will not bear fruit unless a new leadership emerges to speak for the English community. Many things have changed in Quebec in the last 40 years, and those changes have deeply affected both our communities and their relationship. Still, for ordinary citizens (as opposed to the elites), that relationship is, in many regions and milieux, one of two solitudes.

Today, many Francophones still have few significant contacts with Anglophones. What they know of English-speaking Quebec is what their teachers and parents have told them, what they have learned in history courses and on television. Unfortunately, much of that is negative.

I know, poll results from the CROP-Missisquoi survey indicate otherwise. So maybe my perception is totally off the mark. But when I read that on the island of Montreal, 60 per cent of people interviewed said they have close friendships with Anglophones, I am very skeptical. All I can say is this is not my experience, and it is not the experience of most people I know. The solitudes might have more contacts with each other; the old animosity might not be there anymore; but solitudes there still are.

Most of that is perfectly normal; people of all cultures tend to stay mostly within their own group. I'm stating these facts not because I

1. This article appeared in *The Gazette*, Montreal, Sunday, March 6, 2005. These are edited excerpts from a speech by André Pratte delivered at the first research conference on the English-speaking communities of Quebec held at the Université du Québec à Montréal on Feb. 25, 2005.

find them worrying as such, but because acknowledging and understanding them is crucial to the success of the dialogue we want to renew. For that dialogue to be successful, we have to start from a realistic assessment of how English-speaking Quebec is perceived by French-speaking Quebec. That perception is of a minority, yes. But of a privileged and threatening, not threatened, minority.

Of course, Francophones represent over 80 per cent of Quebec's population. Of course, since Bill 101, more and more immigrants have taken French as their second language. But French speakers still feel their language, their culture is threatened. Why? Because English is everywhere! Look at the signs: Future Shop, Second Cup, Home Depot. Look at the movies, listen to the songs: Anglo-American culture dominates the world, for better or for worse. And in Quebec, that means it is still difficult to buy a computer with a French-language keyboard, or a French-language computer game.

Of course, Quebec Anglophones are not responsible for this situation. But the dominant position of English in the world makes it difficult for Francophone Quebecers to believe Quebec Anglophones are a threatened minority. Most Francophones ask: "How can you say you're a threatened minority, when your language is spoken and sung everywhere around you? You have English schools, English universities, soon a major new English hospital, English TV stations and the Internet?"

Personally, I see the concerns Anglophones express for the future of your community in a different light. I see it as a proof of love for Quebec. Sure, you might have all the TV programs you need in your own language. But you want more, need more than programs coming from New York or Toronto. You want programs that reflect who you are. And you are Québécois.

But let's try to understand Quebec Francophone thinking. Of Course, French is stronger in Quebec today than it ever has been except when this territory was called New France. But Quebec itself is getting demographically weaker and weaker. In 1966, Quebec's population represented 29 per cent of Canada's. Twenty years later, 1986, that was down to 26 per cent. In 1996, it was 24.5 per cent; in 2004, it was 23.6 per cent and still declining.

In 2020, Canada will have 37 million inhabitants. Quebec will have fewer than 8 million. Of that, 6.5 million will be Francophones. The population of Francophones outside Quebec will continue to dwindle. Today, 40 per cent of Ontarians who have French as their mother tongue speak mostly English at home. In Manitoba: 55 per cent. There is a word for their situation: assimilation.

In 2020, the United States will have 408 million people. And France's population will be falling. So French might be healthy inside Quebec's boat, but the boat itself is sinking. Dealing with the French-language majority in Quebec without taking this situation into account will be very difficult. Let me give you an example. Many Anglophones believe one solution to the decrease of the English-school population in Quebec is to amend the Charter of the French Language so some Anglophone immigrants (USA, UK) will be permitted to attend English schools. That will not happen.

Why is it not possible? Because both the English and French populations of Quebec are declining and the only way to maintain the province's population is through immigration. But the North American environment makes English extraordinarily attractive for any immigrant arriving in Quebec. Even with Bill 101 in force for nearly 30 years, the 2001 census showed that there were still more allophones who adopted English as their language of use at home than there were who adopted French. In trying to attract immigrants to your ranks—if I can put it that way—you have a powerful tool: the domination of the English language on the continent and, indeed, in the whole world. French Canadians do not have the equivalent of that, and never will. They have only one tool: the law.

The power of attraction of English is revealed by the fact that of all allophone kids who have a right to attend English schools in Quebec, 94 per cent do so. In a society where French is the official language and where 83 per cent of people are Francophones, wouldn't you expect a larger percentage of allophones to chose French, even though the law gives them the right to send their kids to an English school, to choose a French school?

As you know, the decrease in enrolment in English schools in Quebec has practically stopped in the last few years. In fact, in the last five years, enrolment has slightly increased, by 5,000 for primary

and secondary schools. That increase is mostly due to young French speakers attending English schools, probably kids of mixed marriages. French schools, in contrast, have continued to see the number of their pupils decrease, by 31,000.

But there are many other aspects of our communities' prosperity on which we can work together. Language proficiency, in French and English, for example. Better schools. Better health services. A more vibrant economy. One common challenge is the survival of Quebec's regions. Life is getting more and more difficult for English-speaking communities in the Gaspé. But this is not unique to the Anglophones: The whole of the Gaspé is in agony. Surely, this is something we can work on together.

I know how sensitive the issue of services in English in the health and social-services sector is. It is not an easy issue, politically. But we could find solutions more readily if more Francophones understood what kinds of difficulties Quebec Anglophones, senior people in particular, face. That will take an effort on both our parts to learn about each other.

The major common challenge we have is trying to keep young Anglophones from migrating to other provinces. Too few Francophones today realize how tragic it is, all the intelligence and creativity Quebec as a whole loses each time an Anglophone leaves for Ontario or Alberta. When the 2001 census numbers came out, there was barely any mention in the Francophone media of the fact again, from 1996 to 2001, our net loss of Anglophones was 29,000. That would fill a Bell Centre and a half. What use is it to spend so much effort and money to attract immigrants if, meanwhile, people who were born and raised in Quebec are leaving?

To get Francophones to better understand Anglophone needs and goals, we—I say we, because I know many Francophones are willing to work with you—need to have them know and understand English Quebec better. But the Anglophone community needs spokespeople who will be seen on TV, participate in debates, be heard and found credible by governments and the Francophone population.

Twenty years ago, there was Alliance Quebec. But who speaks for Anglophones today? Here is an indication of the current leadership

problem. There was a time when French journalists always knew who to call when an issue came up in the news concerning English Quebec. They don't know who to call anymore. Either they don't call anymore, or they call someone who speaks loudly but is not representative. The effect is this: English speaking Quebec has gradually slipped off the French media's radar screens.

There is a long road ahead of us toward the renewal of dialogue. But, looking at the tremendous work that has been done by the Quebec Community Groups Network—I suggest you should eventually find a more catchy name—I feel very optimistic we can move forward. If only the political agenda does not bring sovereignty on the front burner.

Unfortunately, that could come in the short term. But if it doesn't, a more constant and fruitful dialogue between English and French Quebecers, the presence of a dynamic English leadership committed to Quebec, will tend to increase French Canadians' level of comfort in Canada and therefore, diminish the appeal of sovereignty.

3. Graham Fraser – *Quebec's English-Speaking Community: Adapting to a New Social Context*

Community revitalization is an entirely appropriate theme for this conference. Not because the English-speaking community lacks energy—there is an abundance of signs it remains a strong force in Quebec—but rather to address changes in the community. New energy needs to flow into critical areas. Quebec society went through a rapid transformation over the last 50 years, and the English-speaking community adapted. Now the community must respond to new demographic and social challenges.

Adapting to a New Social Context

To say that the last 15 months have seen renewed interest in the Quebec language debate is an understatement. Only the Habs' recent winning streak was able to get language off the front page of Montreal's daily newspapers. I like debates on important issues. I always welcome a constructive exchange of views on language, a fundamental issue,

within Quebec and across Canada. It is not something that will simply go away—and sweeping it under the rug is dangerous. But the way this debate has been framed in Quebec over the last 15 months has not always been constructive. Between calls for stricter language laws and soul-searching about the meaning of “nous,” Quebec politicians seem uncomfortable with the recent succession of language uproars. Even matter-of-fact statements about the usefulness of speaking more than one language generate week-long media storms.

The positive side of this is that there has been a disconnect between that public debate—which has sometimes been raucous and rancorous—and the way Quebecers of different language groups actually interact. For this debate is happening while the English-speaking community tackles a whole new set of demographic, cultural and economic challenges. It puts you in the position of a pole-vaulting athlete who suddenly realizes the crossbar is two feet higher than an instant earlier. Your challenges are difficult enough without the rules changing while you are in mid-stride. My humble view is that while the current social climate is discouraging, it opens the door to dialogue and cooperation. It certainly helps that your community is more than ever engaged and active in Quebec society.

During the 2007 Bouchard-Taylor Commission hearings, I was struck by the number of members of your community who stood up and addressed the room in either language. These people were speaking as Quebecers, as full participants in the debate on identity, rather than as outsiders. This is how the English-speaking community will overcome its challenges: by framing them as part of the future of Quebec. You’ve done it successfully before. The recent history of Quebec’s English-speaking community is really a success story of adapting to a new sociolinguistic environment. English-speaking Quebecers have long accepted the general goal of the *Charte de la langue française*. While your community defends its rights when needed, the emphasis is on adaptation rather than confrontation.

Few French-speaking Quebecers realize that the French immersion movement originated in the English-speaking school system of Quebec in the early ’60s. The English-speaking minority took concrete steps, through its education system, to ensure its members could

continue to function and contribute to this changing society. In hindsight, the French immersion experiment was not only the start of a very important phenomenon in Canadian education, but also the sign of the English-speaking community's energy and adaptability. Your linguistic efforts to participate fully in Quebec society continue today. As Université de Montréal Professor Patricia Lamarre observed,² Quebec's English-language school boards continue to find innovative ways of teaching French. Through a wide range of different programs, the vast majority of students in English-language schools spend more time learning French than what is demanded by the Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec.

The result is that 69 per cent of English-language Quebecers can also converse in French, according to the latest census data. This is much higher than the average bilingualism rate of 50 per cent in Europe. In fact, it is comparable to many countries known for their multilingualism, such as Belgium, and of course much higher than France or the United Kingdom.³ Among young people, bilingualism exceeds 80 per cent in Quebec's English-speaking community. Your community does not get enough credit for this. Quebecers must realize that the image of a hostile, unilingual West Island peddled by some columnists and open-line radio hosts is an outdated myth. Today's community is bilingual, well integrated and very diverse. It takes an interest in the vitality of French in Quebec—hence the appointment of Sylvia Martin-Laforge to the Office québécois de la langue française.

This is reflected in Quebec's French-language population, also strongly bilingual and multilingual. I have said repeatedly that Canada's language policies do not mean that all Canadians have to be bilingual. But it is not surprising that individuals are discovering and enjoying the opportunities that come with speaking other

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2. Lamarre, Patricia (2005), "L'enseignement du français dans le réseau scolaire anglophone: à la recherche du bilinguisme," in *Le français au Québec: les nouveaux défis* p. 553-568. Montreal: Fides.
 3. European Commission, Special Eurobarometer 237-Wave 63.4. A total of 71 per cent of respondents in Belgium say they can "participate in a conversation in a language other than their mother tongue," which is essentially the same question as the Statistics Canada census question. The numbers for France and the United Kingdom are 45 and 30 per cent, respectively.

languages. For societies such as ours, with so much to share with the world, individual bilingualism is a major asset, not a cultural threat. Likewise, a strong English-speaking minority is an asset to Quebec. English-speaking Quebecers continue to make an important contribution to Quebec society—in the arts, sciences, economy and public services. This contribution is made visible through the community's great institutions, some of which have made their mark on Quebec and Canadian history.

Despite an aging population in Quebec, its 350 schools and adult learning centres still educate more than 100,000 children. Your schools are important centres of innovation and vitality for the community, taking full opportunity of Quebec's linguistic and cultural richness. McGill, Concordia and Bishop's, and many other public institutions, also represent the community's contribution to the development of Quebec society. The Centaur, Blue Metropolis and the Quebec Writers' Federation are cultural assets for all Quebecers. These are institutions created by the English-speaking community, not given to them, a fact that is too often overlooked in the heat of language debate.

The vitality of such institutions makes them natural breeding grounds for community leaders, although many come from municipal councils. I am glad to see a revitalized QCGN bringing many of these people together. The current challenges are too complex to be dealt with in isolation. A concerted effort from the community's various components is essential. I would also argue that the contribution of the English-speaking community manifests itself in more discreet ways. For instance, your community has always taken advantage of diversity. Waves of newcomers using English as their first Canadian language have found support and opportunities within the community. This continued diversification contributed to the emergence of Montreal as one of the great multicultural and bilingual cities of the world, with its own unique character. As *Executive Travel Magazine* puts it, Montrealers "not only strive to make a living, but also perfect the art of living well."⁴

4. Glassman, Paul, "Le Montréal magnifique," *Travel Executive Magazine*. Online: <http://www.executivetravelmagazine.com/page/Montreal?t=anon>, November 2005.

Tomorrow's English-Speaking Community

I have no doubt the English-speaking community will continue to make its mark in Quebec and Canadian society. Saying this is more than an act of faith. It is recognition that the community has all the essential elements to overcome the challenges it faces. It also comes from a confidence in the resourcefulness of our young people. Complex identities are commonplace these days, especially in Canada's official language communities. But as young people define their place in the world, language will always be a central element of individual and collective identity. As I already noted, your community's youth are bilingual in proportions exceeding 80 per cent. This is a sure sign that young generations are not about to embark on a mass migration to Toronto. They might, however, be thinking about moving to Montreal, a trend which is not unique to English-speaking Quebecers. Urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon. But measures can and should be taken to mitigate the impact on smaller communities throughout the province, which have both a rich history and significant potential. I am glad to see this reflected in the QCGN's submission to Bernard Lord,⁵ who is advising the government on the next phase of the *Action Plan for Official Languages*. The development of better videoconferencing and distance education can certainly help.

Many of you told me that helping young people find opportunities in their own local communities is critical for the future. Youth is identified by your communities as a priority area in all three case studies we are currently undertaking in the Lower North Shore, Eastern Townships and Quebec City. We undertook similar studies in French-language communities across the country. They found the results useful as a tool to better focus key community development activities. When we publish the case studies from Quebec's English-speaking communities this summer, I hope you will find the results just as useful. One element of these community studies is the relationship between community members and their institutions. Vibrant institutions are important factors of community vitality. From our previous

5. Quebec Community Groups Network, *Promoting French and English in Canadian Society and Furthering the Development of French and English Minority-Language Communities*, December 2007.

experience, we can see that building and maintaining the capacity of institutions is an important factor to community development. I expect the next phase of the *Action Plan for Official Languages* to help communities do just that—in the same way the first Action Plan made great strides in health care for English-speaking Quebecers, for instance.

The federal government must remain an important partner in community development. It must not act alone, however. Progress often requires cooperation from various levels of government and an examination of similar experiences elsewhere. In this spirit, federal institutions must work with the Quebec government toward joint initiatives with the English-speaking community. The joint efforts in health care can be used as a blueprint for action in other sectors.

The benefits of cooperation also apply to communication with French-speaking communities. In Winnipeg, a French-language multi-service centre was set up in partnership with the federal, provincial and municipal governments to offer a variety of services under one roof. Linguistic minority communities, both French- and English-speaking, are now realizing the importance of such partnerships to their vitality. We should not stop there. I encourage both communities to build bridges to one another, to work together. You will soon find that each can offer support in a number of ways. As I mentioned earlier, youth have been identified as a priority for English-speaking minority communities. Why not establish stronger ties with universities and other institutions in minority French-language communities to give them greater access to education and cultural resources? By welcoming them to your community, French-speaking youth can also benefit greatly.

Quebec's English-speaking community continues to be at the forefront of the dialogue on linguistic duality. Your youth are the most bilingual in the country. Your culture continues to thrive, with internationally recognized artists and authors. Your educational institutions continue to survive, attracting students from all over Canada and the world. And yet, you must work to keep the momentum. You can count on my support every step of the way.

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VICTOR C. GOLDBLOOM. Born and educated in Montreal, he graduated in 1945 from McGill University and became a paediatrician. He practised and taught his specialty for many years, and was actively involved in the Quebec Association of Pediatricians, the Quebec Medical Association and the Canadian Medical Association. In 1962, he was elected a Governor of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Quebec. In 1966, he was elected to Quebec's National Assembly, where he served through 1979. He was Quebec's first Minister of the Environment, and later Minister of Municipal Affairs and Minister Responsible for the Olympic Installations Board. From 1982 to 1990, he was President of the International Council of Christians and Jews. He is now founding President of Christian-Jewish Relations Canada and of L'Amitié judéomusulmane du Québec. From 1991 to 1999, he was Canada's fourth Commissioner of Official Languages. He presently chairs the board of the Health and Social Services Agency of Montreal. He is a founding Director (1981) of the Jules and Paul-Émile Léger Foundation, was its President from 2000 to 2003, and is now its Honorary President. He is President of Canadian Jewish Congress, Quebec Region, and of Jewish Immigrant Aid Services of Montreal. Victor Goldbloom holds honorary degrees from five Canadian universities: Toronto, McGill, Concordia, Ottawa and Sainte-Anne. He is a Companion of the Order of Canada and an Officer of the Ordre national du Québec.

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