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Assessing forty years of language planning on the vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone communities of Quebec

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Abstract: This article analyses how language laws favouring French improved the vitality of the Francophone majority relative to the declining Anglophone minority of Quebec. Part one provides a review of Canadian Government efforts to provide federal bilingual services to Francophones and Anglophones across Canada. Using the ethnolinguistic vitality framework, part two reviews key language policies adopted in Quebec designed to increase the status of French relative to English in the province, while part 3 assesses the impact of such laws on the demographic vitality of Francophones and Anglophones. Part 4 analyse how such laws succeeded in reducing the institutional vitality of the Anglophone minority especially their English schools. Pro-French laws did succeed in having 95 % of the Quebec population maintain knowledge of French, keeping 82 % of all its citizens as users of French at home, ensured that 90 % of Francophone employees used French at work, increased to 70 % French/English bilingualism amongst Anglophones and reduced the size of their English school system by 60 %. Nationalist discourse highlights threats to French, given that Quebec Francophones remain a linguistic minority in North America. Can Francophones accept a ‘paradigm shift’ by reframing their position from a *fragile majority* to that of a *dominant majority* in Quebec?

Keywords: Canada, Quebec, Francophones, Anglophones, Bill 101

The image of a threat to the dominance of the French language in Quebec, surrounded as it is by a sea of English from within and from without Canada, is the constant spectre that animates these solutions at the grass-roots level and that obtains massive popular support for them.

(Fishman 1991: 295)

For Joshua Fishman, Quebec language planning in favour of French was successful in reversing language shift (RLS) relative to the most powerful

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language in the world, namely English. This article offers an overview of key language planning efforts that affected the vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone communities of Quebec. The first part of the paper provides a brief review of Canadian Government efforts to provide bilingual services to individual Francophones and Anglophone citizens and how such provisions were perceived in the French majority Province of Quebec. Using the ethno-linguistic vitality framework, the second part of the paper reviews key language policies adopted in Quebec designed to increase the status and use of French relative to English in the province. Part three assesses the impact of pro-French language laws on the demolingistic vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone communities of Quebec. Part four analyse how Quebec language laws succeeded in reducing the institutional vitality of the English school system in Quebec. The paper concludes with a question: how many vitality gains are necessary for a language majority to feel secure enough to consider its linguistic minorities as assets rather than as threats to its ethno-linguistic ascendancy?

1 Official bilingualism in Canada and the drive for French unilingualism in Quebec

Based on census data, Canadian residents who have French as a mother tongue are labelled Francophones, while Anglophones are individuals who have English as a mother tongue (Fraser 2006). Allophones are Canadians who have a mother tongue other than French or English. For the sake of national cohesion, the Canadian federal parliament adopted the *Official Languages Act* of 1969 enshrining English and French as co-official languages of the Federal parliament and public administration while providing bilingual federal services to Francophone and Anglophone communities, where numbers warranted, across Canada (Clément and Foucher 2014). The Act included the establishment of the *Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages* (OCOL), which to this day reports annually on the progress of French and English language use and services in the Federal administration and its agencies (OCOL 2015; Jedwab and Landry 2011). The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, adopted in 1982, enshrined English and French as the two official languages of Canada and guaranteed primary and secondary schooling (article 23) for the French and English official language minorities across the country. In 2005, the Canadian Government enhanced Part VII of the Official Language Act by obliging Ministries of the Federal Government to take positive measures to enhance the

vitality of the French and English minority communities in Canada, supporting and assessing their development, while fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society. In further support for the institutional vitality of the French and English official language communities, the Federal government funded the 'Roadmap' for Canada's official language minorities during three five-year terms from 2003 to 2018, amounting to a total investment of over 3 billion dollars. Overall, these language planning efforts testify to the Federal government commitment for developing the vitality of the Francophone minorities in English majority provinces in the 'rest of Canada' (ROC) and of the Anglophone minority within the French majority province of Quebec (Landry 2014; Ricento and Burnaby 1998).

Canadian national polls have shown growing support for Canadian bilingual policies over the past few decades (Jedwab 2011), including current support amongst both Francophone (93%) and Anglophone (87%) citizens (OCOL 2016). However, Francophone minority activists in the ROC as well as many Québécois Francophones considered such Canadian bilingualism measures as 'too little too late,' and unlikely to stem the documented assimilation of Francophones minorities in the rest of Canada (Martel and Pâquet 2010). Furthermore, Canadian bilingual language policies remained constrained in their scope by the British North America Act of 1867, which granted provinces with jurisdiction over education, health and municipalities including the development of their own provincial language policies (Fraser 2006).

Of interest in this article is how pro-French language policies adopted in the province of Quebec were able to develop within the Canadian bilingual policy framework over the years. Up to the 1950s, the Quebec francophone majority was under the influence of the powerful French Catholic Church and of its long-time ally, the Anglophone elite, whose control of the Quebec economy was substantial since the British conquest of the eighteenth century (Dickinson 2007). This French church/English business alliance resulted in a diglossic situation with English as the prestige language of the elites, and French as the low status language of the poorer less educated Francophone majority. With language, ethnicity and religion distinguishing the Anglophone minority from the Francophone majority in Quebec, no wonder the 'two solitudes' eventually clashed over language and governance issues during and beyond the "Quiet revolution".

The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s saw the modernisation of Quebec society, with the Francophone majority expanding its provincial public administration and dislodging the Catholic clergy to develop a fully secular and universal public education and health care system (Warren 2003). The growing Quebec nationalist

movement sought to dislodge the Anglophone business elite who resisted the social and economic emancipation of the Francophone majority. Francophone activists also decried the lack of Francophone representation in the Canadian Federal Administration and bemoaned federal ‘intrusions’ in Quebec linguistic and provincial affairs (Martel and Pâquet 2010). To this day, the Québécois nationalist movement proposes the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada as a solution for giving Quebec full control of its own destiny, including the promotion of French as the only official language of a sovereign state (Parizeau 1997).

Pressured by a large pro-French activist movement in the 1970s, successive Quebec governments adopted numerous language laws designed to enhance the status and use of French relative to English in the province (Robert 2008). With the French nationalist movement in full bloom, the separatist Parti Québécois won a landslide victory and formed the majority Quebec government in 1976. Elected language activists of the Parti Québécois made sure that the first legislative act of the new Quebec government was the adoption of the *Charter of the French language* (Bill 101) in 1977 (Corbeil 2007). In contrast, Anglophone activists felt their language and status as a minority in Quebec was undermined by Bill 101, which prompted them to launch legal challenges and community mobilisation against the law (Stevenson 1999).

Some Canadian federalists believed that federal support for the French language through official bilingualism could reduce the quest for sovereignty amongst Quebec Francophones (Macmillan 2003). For other federal strategists, accepting pro-French laws such as Bill 101 fostering the institutional decline of the Anglophone minority was a necessary price to pay for weakening the attractiveness of the Quebec separatist movement threatening national unity. For many reasons, two highly divisive provincial referendums on Quebec separation were defeated in 1980 and 1995 (Wright 2014). These Quebec referendum defeats could be partly due to the success of pro-French language laws such as Bill 101, which helped many Francophones feel their language could be adequately protected without the need for separation from Canada. As noted by Dr. Victor Goldbloom, Canada’s Commissioner of Official Languages (1991–1999):

Bill 101, widely regarded among the French-speaking majority as sacred and virtually untouchable, has been and is still- although to a lesser degree today- a stressful experience for the English-speaking minority. It is worth observing, however, that since the preservation of the French language has been the most fundamental objective of the separatist movement, the linguistic protection afforded by Bill 101 has almost certainly diminished the motivation for political autonomy. (Goldbloom 2015: 166)

A key point of this Quebec case study is that many elected Francophone politicians can be seen as bottom-up language activist who succeeded in adopting

the government language laws they felt were needed to protect the French language. Thus, elected Francophones in the Quebec National Assembly and their senior public servants within ministries of the Government had a major impact on the adoption and application of the language laws necessary to enhance the status and use of French in Quebec society. As a follow-up of our earlier analyses (Bourhis 2001; Bourhis 2012), this article provides an exploratory zero-sum analysis of how Quebec pro-French language policies succeeded in improving the institutional vitality of the Francophone majority while undermining the demographic and institutional vitality of the Anglophone minority. Thus, another key point of this article is that though the English language is not threatened in Quebec, pro-French laws such as Bill 101 were effective in eroding the community vitality of the historical Anglophone minority of Quebec.

2 Language policies and community vitality in Quebec

Group vitality is defined as that which makes a language community likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within multilingual settings (Giles et al. 1977). The more vitality a group is assessed to have, the more likely it is expected to survive collectively as a distinctive linguistic community within its multilingual environment. Conversely, language communities that have little vitality are expected to assimilate more readily, and eventually disappear as distinctive linguistic communities (Bourhis and Landry 2012).

The vitality framework can be used in the Quebec setting to assess the effect of pro-French language laws in three socio-structural domains: demography, institutional support and status (Bourhis 2001). In the 1970s, language activists highlighted four factors which undermined the vitality of the Francophone majority in Quebec: 1) the drop in the birthrate of the Quebec Francophone population from one of the highest to one of the lowest in the western world; 2) the gradual assimilation of Francophone minorities in the ROC, convincing many Quebec Francophones there was no future beyond their own province; 3) Anglo-domination of the Quebec economy; 4) immigrant choices favouring the English rather than the French educational system for their children. Francophone activist pressures in mass media and street demonstrations (Robert 2008) succeeded in getting Quebec governments to adopt language laws designed to address some of the factors undermining the long-term vitality of the Francophone majority in the province (Corbeil 2007).

The Quebec Liberal Party adopted one of the first language laws proposed to address these concerns in 1972, after much linguistic tensions between Francophones, Anglophones and Allophone immigrants in Montreal. Bill 22 limited access to English schools by imposing English language tests to determine if the children of immigrants could register in English schools (Mallea 1984). Bill 22 was much decried by Anglophones and Allophones as it curtailed freedom of choice in education, while it did not satisfy the Francophone majority who felt too many immigrants still had access to English schools.

Bill 101 was the main legislative tool adopted by the Parti Québécois Government to address vitality threats to the French language in Quebec. One pillar of Bill 101 was access to French and English education. Bill 101 made it clear that *all* immigrants to Quebec from Canada or abroad were obliged to send their children to French primary and secondary public schools. However, immigrant children already in English schools by the time Bill 101 was adopted, along with their current and future siblings, were guaranteed access to English schooling. Bill 101 also guaranteed English schooling to all present and future Quebec Anglophone pupils. Thus, freedom to attend English schools was abolished by Bill 101, not only for immigrants and English Canadians from the ROC, but also for members of the Quebec Francophone majority. There are few language planning cases of linguistic *majorities* who grant themselves fewer language choices than for their minorities. Thus, unlike Francophones, Quebec Anglophones could choose to send their children to either the English or the French school system of the Province. Given that post-secondary education was optional in Quebec, as in the ROC, freedom of language choice was guaranteed for Francophone, Anglophone and Allophone post-secondary students, who could choose to attend not only French colleges and Universities but also numerous English colleges and three English Universities.

In addition, Bill 101 guaranteed the rights of every Quebec Francophone 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 and businesses. The law also ensured the right of all employees to work in French, and not to be dismissed or demoted for the sole reason of being unilingual French. In regard to 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. From 1996 onwards, the *francisation certificate* was legally required for business firms wishing to tender their services to the provincial government.

Finally, Bill 101 contained controversial clauses that banned languages other than French from the *linguistic landscape*, including road signs, government signs, and commercial store signs (Landry and Bourhis 1997). These linguistic landscape regulations, under the supervision of the Quebec government, had the advantage of producing visible changes in favour of the French landscape especially in Montreal, soon after the adoption of Bill 101. However, the highly symbolic nature of the linguistic landscape for both the Francophone and Anglophone communities resulted in decades of language activism and street demonstrations on both sides of the linguistic divide, until the compromise Bill 86 enacted that French be twice as predominant as all other languages on commercial signs.

Francophone reactions to Bill 101 were quite positive, as it was seen to be effective in securing the linguistic future of the Francophone majority in the province (Maurais 1987). To this day, a public administration of 240 employees of the *Office québécois de la langue française* (OQLF) ensures that every feature of Bill 101 and subsequent language laws are fully implemented and backed by financial and legal sanctions for non-compliance. In addition to its Annual Report, the OQLF also reports on the overall demolinguiistic status and use 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 2001, 2008, 2011). Numerous detailed evaluation studies commissioned by the OQLF have focused on demolinguiistic and sociolinguiistic analyses of the French language over the decades, while highlighting threats to the ascendancy of French based on more or less optimistic vs. pessimistic projections for the future (Paillé 2011; Termote et al. 2011). Some analysts consider that language policies did not go far enough in supporting French, while highlighting that Bill 101 had been unduly diluted by *Charter of Rights and Freedom* rulings adopted in Quebec and Canadian courts (Plourde 1988; Woehrling 2005). Other analysts assessed the progress of the French language and its role as a badge of collective Francophone pride, despite the continuing presence of Anglophones and increasing presence of immigrants and Allophones in Montreal, thus highlighting the continuing challenge of accepting linguistic diversity in Quebec (Corbeil and Houle 2013; Georgeault and Pagé 2006).

Few Quebec government evaluations were made to assess the impact of Bill 101 on the vitality of non-French language minorities in Quebec society. The first independent studies analysed the historical drop from majority to minority status of the English-speaking communities of Quebec (Caldwell 1984). Later analyses used features of the group vitality framework to document the decline of the Anglophone minority since the adoption of pro-French language laws in

the Province (Bourhis 2001; Harwood et al. 1994; Jedwab 2004; Johnson and Doucet 2006). Sociolinguistic studies focused on language attitudes and French/English use patterns of Francophones and Anglophones as behavioural consequences of language planning efforts (Bourhis 2012; Bourhis et al. 2007; Landry et al. 2012). The legal status of the Anglophone minority was also explored using the Canadian Constitution and human rights charters as well as jurisprudence drawn from official language minority court cases in Quebec and the ROC (Foucher 2012).

Cause and effect relationships are difficult to establish when evaluating the impact of language policies on the sociolinguistic developments of linguistic minorities and majorities, and this caveat must be taken into consideration when assessing the evidence presented in this article. Section 3 provides a portrait of the demographic and income position of the Anglophone and Allophone minorities of Quebec relative to that of the Francophone majority.

3 Effects of language laws on Quebec communities

The key variable affecting the vitality of language communities is the *demographic factor*. 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 regional or national territory. The number component refers to the absolute number of language speakers, their birth and mortality rates, endogamy/exogamy, and patterns of immigration/emigration. The distribution component includes such variables as the numeric concentration of speakers in various parts of the territory, the proportion of speakers relative to other linguistic groups, and whether or not the group still occupies its “ancestral” or “national” territory (Giles et al. 1977).

3.1 Mother tongue trends

Canada has a strong tradition of collecting census data which is widely respected for its quality, reliability and continuity. The census is designed, validated, analysed and published by Statistics Canada with contributing input from relevant ministries of the Federal administration (Lachapelle and Lepage 2011). Much of Canada’s bilingual policies and funding is based on

language items included in the Canadian Census. The Quebec government also uses this Canadian census data to: further monitor the progress of French in Quebec; design language surveys on specific topics of concern; and eventually adjust its French language policies (Corbeil and Houle 2013). As can be expected, language activists and political parties also use the census data to monitor the progress or decline of their respective linguistic communities across Canada.

Mother tongue (L1) statistics are used in this article because Quebec government laws and regulations use this measure as its indicator of the size of the Anglophone minority in the province. Mother tongue statistics allows the Quebec Government to offer education, health and social services based on fewer Anglophones than would be required if First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) was used as a measure of the size of the Quebec Anglophone population which reached one million (FOLS), according to the 2011 census (Jedwab 2012). Anglophone associations across the province have sought the use of FOLS as a broader baseline to receive language services from the Quebec Government to no avail, while the Federal government and provinces such New Brunswick and Ontario are using FOLS as a basis to provide language services to their Francophone minorities.

What effect did pro-French language laws have on the demographic vitality of the Francophone majority in Quebec? As seen in Figure 1, we present census data in 1971, before the adoption of Bill 101, and monitor trends

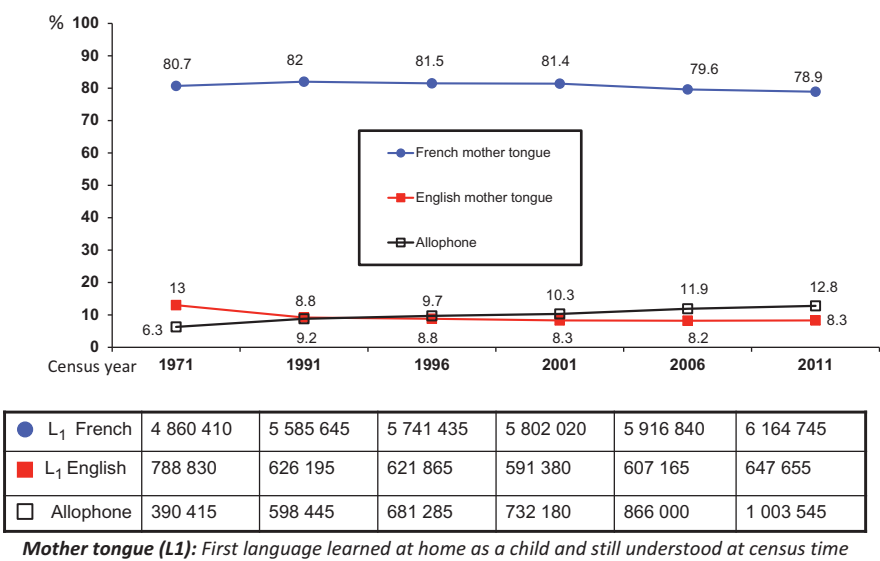


Figure 1: Mother tongue population in Quebec: 1971–2011.

forty years onwards. Canadian census results show that while the number of French mother tongue speakers increased from more than 4.8 million in 1971 to over 6 million in 2011, the proportion of French mother tongue (L1) speakers in Quebec declined slightly from 80.7% in 1971 to 78.9% in 2011. The drop in the proportion of French mother tongue speakers over the last forty years was due mostly to the large increase in the proportion of Allophones in the province, which more than doubled through immigration from 1971 to 2011.

As seen in Figure 1, Anglophones dropped from 13% of the Quebec population in 1971 (788,830) to only 8.3% in 2011 (647,655). This decline of the Anglophone population in both absolute and relative terms was due mainly to their low birth rate and emigration to English majority provinces of the ROC. When considering the number of Anglophones who left Quebec minus those who settled in Quebec from the ROC, the net interprovincial loss of Anglophones during this 1971 to 2011 period was 289,400. Quebec Anglophone net outmigration was affected not only by better job prospects in the ROC but also by the election of the separatist Parti Québécois Government in 1976, the first referendum on Quebec separation in 1980, and especially by the adoption of Bill 101. Anglophone reactions to Bill 101 were negative because the law was seen as demoting the status of the English language and undermining educational and health institutions built by the Anglophone minority from the nineteenth to twentieth century (Dickinson 2007). It is during the 1971 to 1981 decade that the net outmigration of Anglophones was highest (158,200), a period known as ‘the exodus’ within the Quebec Anglophone community.

Anglophones who stayed in Quebec began to see themselves as a vulnerable minority rather than as individuals (Caldwell 1984). In the process of losing their elite economic position and their historical power of influence with Francophone politicians, Anglophones activists launched the *Equality Party* to defend their collective rights as a minority in the Quebec government where they elected four Anglophone members to the National Assembly (Scowen 1991). More militant activists launched *Alliance Quebec*, a protest movement defending Anglo rights and challenging Bill 101 clauses in the Quebec and Canadian Supreme Courts. Political dissension led to the demise of the Equality Party and Alliance Quebec in the 1990s, and the launching of the *Quebec Community Groups Network* (QCGN) in 1995 (Stevenson 1999). The QCGN is a not-for-profit organization linking 48 Anglophone community organisations across Quebec, the goal of which is to address the strategic issues affecting the vitality and sustainability of English-speaking Quebec including education, health and social services, culture, municipal and community

development for youth and seniors (Jedwab and Maynard 2012). Despite such collective mobilisation efforts, Anglophone individuals dissatisfied with Quebec's restrictive language laws, poor employment prospects and fiscal policies account for the net outmigration trends prevailing to this day.

Fuelled by international migration, Allophones grew from 6.3 % (390,415) of the Quebec population in 1971 to 12.8 % in 2011 (1,003,545). By 2011, the immigrant population of Quebec was 12.6 %, while that of Canada was 20 %, and that of Ontario was 28 %. Through its control of international migration negotiated with the Canadian federal Government, the Quebec Ministry of Immigration (MIDI) does select immigrants on the basis of numerous criteria including French languages skills. From the 2005 to 2014 period, the MIDI (2016a) accepted 490,895 immigrants to Quebec, of whom 60.7 % had a knowledge of French (298,080), 16.7 % had a knowledge of only English (81,878), and 22.6 % Allophones who had no knowledge of French or English (110,943). Immigrants accepted to Quebec who have no knowledge of French are offered optional French language courses funded by the MIDI during the day, evening, or on the work place. Francophone activists decry that too many immigrants are admitted to Quebec without knowledge of French, and that too few French language classes are offered to immigrants due to underfunding by the MIDI, which is thought to threaten the vitality of French in Quebec. The new immigration policy adopted by the Quebec Government in 2016 seeks to address these concerns:

Immigrants' ability to participate in Quebec society is deeply intertwined with the language issue. On the one hand, Quebec expects immigration to contribute to the vitality of the French language, regardless of newcomers' mother tongue. On the other hand, immigrants' contribution to economic prosperity depends on their mastery of the language in their workplace, in a job market context where French and English are often pitted against one another. It is vital that these two objectives overlap and reinforce one another through effective, diversified, and readily accessible francization services throughout Quebec. These services are clearly one of the best ways to align the need for immigrants' fast and effective socio professional integration with the need to guarantee their contribution to the vitality of French as the common language of an increasingly diverse and multilingual Quebec ... To accomplish these two objectives, stakeholders must do their part to remove barriers, such as discrimination, which prevent people from finding jobs that match their skills – even though, in some cases they already master the French language. (MIDI 2016b: 8)

Census data on net interprovincial migration shows that Allophones have also been leaving Quebec across the 1971 to 2011 period, accounting for a net outmigration of 94,600 Allophones. Push factors, such as non-recognition of foreign degrees and work experiences, poor employment prospects,

language issues and feelings of exclusion (Eid 2009), combine to account for the net outmigration of Quebec Allophones to English majority provinces in the ROC.

Quebec Francophone majority members have been affected mainly by pull factors such as better educational and job prospects in the ROC, accounting for net outmigration trends, though to a much lower degree than for Anglophones and Allophones minorities. For the forty year period spanning from 1971 to 2011, the net interprovincial outmigration of Francophones was 59,700, but was compensated somewhat in three five year periods with a net migration gain to Quebec of 11,400 Francophones from the ROC.

3.2 Language use at home

In democratic states, language use at home is a private matter beyond the reach of state intervention. Language use at home (HL) should not be used as an indicator of the success of language laws. Correspondingly, Bill 101 was designed to promote the knowledge of French as the public language of Quebec citizens, excluding the private domain of the home. However, sociolinguists and policy makers may use language use at home, contrasted with the mother tongue, as a rough indicator of language shift.

Canadian census data shows that the majority of Quebec citizens have used mostly French at home during the last four decades: in 1991 with 83% French use (5,651,790) up to 2011 with 81.2% French use (6,344,793). When combining mother tongue results (Figure 1) with home language use, one notes a shift towards French use as the home language relative to mother tongue from 1991 to 2011 (Statistics Canada 2001a, 2011a). In 1991, slightly more Quebec residents reported using French as their home language (HL) than the number of French mother tongue (L1) speakers in the province: HL: 5,651,790 - L1: 5,585,645 = +66,145 (+1%). By 2011, more Quebec residents reported using French as their home language (HL) relative to those having French as a mother tongue: HL: 6,344,793 - L1: 6,164,745 = +180,048 (+2.9%). Thus the drawing power of French as the home language increased in both absolute and relative terms: from 1% in 1991 to 2.9% in 2011, a minor but long awaited shift to French as predicted by language planners of Bill 101.

However, trends in favour of French use at home have often been compared to language shift in favour of English use at home in Quebec. There is a steady minority of Quebec citizens who have been using mostly English as their home language during the last four decades: 11.2% in 1991 (761,805) and 10.7% in 2011 (834,950). Comparing scores for English mother tongue speakers and

English use at home yielded worrying trends for advocates of the French cause in Quebec. Back in 1991, more Quebec citizens reported using English at home than the number of English mother tongue speakers in the province, reflecting the drawing power of English in Quebec: HL: 761 805 - L1: 626, 195 = + 135,610 (+ 21.6 %). By 2011 a stronger shift in favour of English use at home emerged: HL: 834 950 - L1: 647 655 = + 187, 295 (28.9 %). Francophone activists were alarmed that the drawing power of English (+28.9 %) remained much greater than that of French (2.9 %) by 2011, close to four decades after the adoption of Bill 101. Many Francophones consider it abnormal that the language of an 8 % minority such as Quebec Anglophones should pull more drawing power than French, which remains the language of the 80 % majority in the province. Based on such trends, Francophone activists conclude that French remains more threatened than English in Quebec, a threat to French highlighted in nationalist discourse for many decades (Curzi 2014).

However, concerns about the role played by Quebec Anglophones on the shift to English use at home minimizes the impact of English as the *lingua franca* of business, science and culture in North America, including in Quebec. Furthermore, though only an emerging trend in 2011, it is the case that in absolute terms, almost as many Quebec citizens switched to French as their home language (180, 048) as those who switched to English (187, 295), suggesting that language laws in favour of French may at last contribute to the drawing power of French in the Province.

The use of other heritage languages at home increased from 5.8 % in 1991 (396,690) to 8.1 % in 2011 (636,213), reflecting the Quebec government policy of accepting more immigrants to the Province (50,000/year). When contrasting home language use (HL) and mother tongue (L1) of Allophones, one notes the loss of heritage language use at home between 1991 and 2011. In 1991 heritage language use at home was: HL: 396, 690 - L1: 598, 445 = - 201,755 (-33.7 %). By the 2011 census, this loss in heritage language use at home was more pronounced: HL: 636, 213 vs. L1: 1,003, 545 = - 367,332 (-36.6 %). These language shift results constitute a net loss of heritage language diversity for Quebec. Few voices, though, have arisen to question such loss of linguistic capital, perhaps because Allophones represent over thirty heritage languages, which reflects the diverse linguistic and cultural background of the growing immigrants population of Quebec from 1991(8.7 %) to 2011 (12.6 %).

Of concern was also the language spoken most often at home depending on the mother tongue of Quebec citizens, including Francophones, Anglophones and especially Allophones (Statistics Canada 2001a, 2011a). Census data considering single responses of home language use showed that 98 % of Francophones used French most often at home in 2001 and in 2011 (97.8 %), while English use at

home was a rare phenomenon at 1 % in both 2001 and 2011. These results testify to Francophone loyalty to French as their socio-affective language of the home, a trend insuring the inter-generational transmission of French while attesting to the status of French as the majority language in Quebec.

Given its declining presence in Quebec, the language spoken most often at home by Anglophones is of some concern for this minority community. Census results showed that 87 % of Anglophones used English most often at home both in 2001 and 2011 (86 %), attesting to the role of English as the socio-affective language of this minority in Quebec. However, a steady minority of Quebec Anglophone did switch to French as the language most often spoken at home: 9.3 % in 2001 and 9.7 % in 2011. These Anglophone trends in favour of French use at home may be attributed in part to the effect of mixed marriages between Anglophones and Francophones, resulting in the adoption of French as the language of the home, which reflects the growing drawing power of French as the majority language in Quebec.

In light of the increasing demographic presence of Allophones in Quebec, it is no wonder that so many stakeholders are interested in the home language of Allophones, as both the Francophone majority and the Anglophone minority seek to attract Allophones to their own community to bolster their respective demographic vitalities. Census results showed that the majority of Allophones (55.6 %) used their heritage language most often at home in 2001, but with a slight drop to 53.7 % in 2011. The proportion of Allophones who shifted to English use at home decreased from 19.4 % in 2001 to 16.5 % in 2011. Relatedly, the proportion of Allophones using both English and their heritage language at home was stable at 2.7 % in 2001 and 3.2 % in 2011. Conversely, the proportion of Allophones shifting to French use most often at home increased slightly from 16.2 % in 2001 to 17.8 % in 2011. Likewise, the proportion of Allophones using both French and their heritage language most often at home increased from 4.2 % in 2001 to 6.3 % in 2011. These trends show that a majority of Allophones remain loyal to their heritage language as the language most often used at home, thus contributing to the inter-generational transmission of their heritage language and culture. However, while in 2001 more Allophones assimilated to English than to French as the language of the home, this trend was reversed in 2011 showing that more Allophones assimilated to French than to English. These shifts may reflect the growing drawing power of French in Quebec following decades of language planning and the decline of the Anglophone population in the province. This trend in French use at home may also reflect the long awaited “carry-over effect” of Bill 101 forcing Allophone parents to send their children to French schools, thus introducing the French language within the home through school age children learning French.

3.3 Language issues on Montreal Island

It is within the boroughs of the island of Montreal, including the commercial downtown core, that the future of French is seen by many as being the most critical. The population of the island city of Montreal increased from 1,019,735 citizens in 2001 to 1,649,520 in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2001b, 2011b). Based on single responses to the mother tongue item of the Canadian census, the number of Francophones increased from 641,450 in 2001 to 834,315 in 2011, but dropped in percentage term from 62% in 2001 to 50.5% in 2011. For Francophone activists, the French language is threatened, on the tipping edge of losing its majority status within the city of Montreal (Curzi 2014). Though of little consolation, this decrease reflects the fact that many Quebec Francophones have tended to move from the city of Montreal to outer suburbs of Montreal for more desirable and less expensive housing – a move to the outer suburbs well documented over the decades in Montreal, as in other Canada cities (Levine 2002; Piché 2001). This trend was reinforced by Francophone migrants from other regions of Quebec who also moved to the outer suburbs within the Montreal Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), rather than to the island City of Montreal.

Based on single responses to the mother tongue item, the number of Anglophones increased from 154,195 in 2001 to 208,865 in 2011 on the Island of Montreal, but dropped in percentage term from 15% in 2001 to 12.7% in 2011. The majority of Anglophones live in the West Island, an Anglophone majority region of the island, which refused to merge within the officially unilingual French city of Montreal.

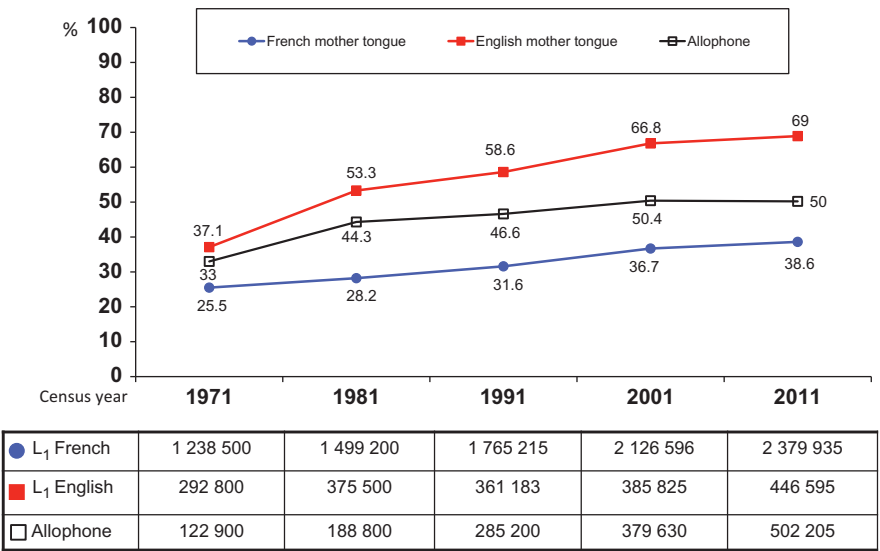
As in the other large cities of Canada, immigrants prefer to settle in urban centers where they can count on already established members of their own ethnolinguistic communities to provide support for social and economic integration within their city of settlement. Over the decades more than 85% of immigrants to Quebec have settled in the city of Montreal. Considering that Allophones are often first and second generation immigrants, it is understandable that the number of Allophones settled in the city of Montreal increased from 185,095 in 2001 to 539,810 in 2011, representing an increasing share of the city population from 18% in 2001 to 33% in 2011.

For Francophone activists, it is this growing presence of Allophones in the City of Montreal combined with the historical presence of Anglophones, which are seen as threats to the majority status of French in Montreal, a feeling sometimes embodied by the expression: “*Nous perdons Montréal*” [We are losing Montreal]. A premise of this view is that the “We” are Quebec Francophones, likely to be reduced to the status of a linguistic minority by the influx of Allophones and Anglophones.

In his analysis still relevant today, Levine (2002) documented an influx of over 35% of the city of Montreal workforce as daily commuters from the outer suburbs of the Montreal CMA. The majority of these 7:00 to 18:00 daily commuters are Francophones and contribute to French as the language of work in business, commerce and street life during daylight hours. It is suggested that Francophone fears of “losing Montreal” may apply more for night time leisure and sleep cycles than for daylight activities when the influx of Francophones from the outer suburbs reinforce the use of French as the language of work and commerce in the city of Montreal.

3.4 French-English bilingualism

The growing integration of Quebec Francophones within the Canadian economic and cultural mainstream along with the presence of the Anglophone minority educational, health and economic institutions are in part reflected by a gradual increase of French-English bilingualism in the province. Bilingualism is defined in the Canadian census as the capacity to speak both French and English well enough to conduct a conversation. As seen in Figure 2, census data shows that whereas 25.5% of French mother tongue (L1) speakers reported



Canadian census: Can this person speak both English and French well enough to conduct a conversation?

Figure 2: French-English bilingualism in Quebec: 1971–2011.

being French-English bilinguals in 1971 (1,238,500), this proportion gradually increased to 38.6 % in 2011 (2,379,925) across Quebec.

Growing linguistic tensions between the Francophone and Anglophone communities added pressure on immigrant Allophone minorities to take sides in the Quebec linguistic debate. One response was to learn both French and English. While 33 % of Allophones were French/English bilinguals in 1971 (122,900), as many as 50 % were bilingual by 2011 (502,205) reflecting both the francisation effect of Bill 101 and the drawing power of English in North America. For Allophones who maintained knowledge of their mother tongue, we can assume that such French/English bilingual Allophones are often trilinguals, contributing to the multilingual diversity of Montreal where most immigrants settle in the province.

Figure 2 shows that an increasing proportion of Anglophones have become French/English bilinguals since the adoption of Bill 101: from 37.1 % in 1971 (282,800) to 69 % in 2011 (446,595). However, French activists decry that such a large minority of Anglophones are still not bilingual in the province. Using 2001 census data, Floch and Pocock (2012) showed that 77.7 % of Quebec Anglophones who stayed in Quebec were bilingual compared to those who left of whom 61.4 % bilingual. The study also showed that Quebec Anglophones with higher levels of education were more likely to leave the province than those with lower levels of education. Therefore, while 60.4 % of Anglophones with no high school certificate stayed in Quebec, only 26.9 % of Quebec born Anglophones with a doctorate stayed in Quebec. Results also showed that in 2001, Anglophones who left Quebec were more likely to be in the \$50,000 high-income bracket (28.8 %) than those who stayed (15.7 %). Conversely, Anglophones who stayed in Quebec were more likely to be in the \$20,000 income bracket (44.1 %) than those who left (31.5 %).

Using qualitative interviews, Magnan (2004) demonstrated that the high rate of bilingualism among Quebec Anglophones was not sufficient to prevent their departure from the province. Magnan found that a factor leading many bilingual Anglophones to leave Quebec was their feelings of not being accepted by the Francophone majority, especially in the work world. A study by the *Quebec Human Rights Commission* also 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 disappointing trend considering that government services are the largest employers in the province (CDPDJ 1998; CRI 2001). Taken together, these trends show that despite their growing bilingualism, Quebec Anglophones have lost much human capital thus undermining their capacity to develop socially and economically as a vital community in the province.

3.5 Language of work

In 2001, for the first time in Canadian census history, Statistics Canada included questions related to the language most often used by employees at work. In Quebec, the proportion of Francophone workers who declared working most often in French was 92% in 2001 and 92.5% in 2011. By the 2011 census, 3.4% of Francophone workers reported using both French and English most often at work, while only 4% reported using mostly English at work. The proportion of Allophone employees who declared working most often in French increased from 42% in 2001 to 48.5% in 2011. By 2011, 12.8% of Allophones workers reported using both French and English at work, though 30.5% reported using mostly English at work. Despite their declining demographic position, Anglophone employees reported using more English than French at work. In 2001, 69% of Anglophones reported using English most often at work, while in 2011 this percentage declined to 64.3%. Anglophone workers who reported using mostly French at work was 22% in 2001 and rose to 25.2% by 2011, while another 10.1% reported using both French and English at work (Statistics Canada 2008, 2013).

Taken together, it is possible to conclude that the *francisation* measures adopted by successive Quebec Governments have met the objective of improving the use of French at work especially for the majority of the Francophone population in Quebec. That 92% of Francophone employees use French most often at work is a success story for Quebec language planning in a continental setting where English is the *lingua franca* of work in both Canada and the USA, with a trading activity worth 2 billion dollars per day within the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Francization measures in the work place have had some success in getting more Allophones employees to use French at work, though more efforts are needed by the OQLF and business firms to increase Allophone use of French in the workplace. Francisation efforts have not been so successful with Anglophone employees who still use more English than French at work, though their presence in the Quebec workforce continues to decline.

3.6 Language and income

Using updated census data to address economic issues in Quebec, Vaillancourt et al. (2007: 5, table 3) used the labour income of unilingual Francophone men to calculate the percent advantage of being unilingual or bilingual in the Quebec workforce from 1970, before the adoption of Bill 101, up to thirty years later in

2000. The net effect of language skills on labour income was obtained by controlling for level of education, estimated years of labour market experience in Quebec, and the number of weeks worked on labour income. Results showed that while unilingual Anglophones had a 10.1% income advantage over unilingual Francophones in 1970, by 2000 it was the unilingual Francophones that had an 18.1% income advantage over the unilingual Anglophones. While bilingual Anglophones had a 17% income advantage over unilingual Francophones in 1970, this advantage was reduced to zero by 2000. The income position of Allophone men relative to Francophone unilinguals also declined substantially from 1970 to 2000. While English-speaking Allophones had zero advantage in 1970, they suffered a 30% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. Although 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 suffering a 34% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals by 2000. Finally, while French-English bilingual Allophones enjoyed a 6% income advantage over Francophone unilinguals in 1970, such trilingual Allophones were suffering an 11.8% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals by 2000. In contrast, bilingual Francophones maintained their income advantage over unilingual Francophones: 12.6% in 1970 and 12.2% in 2000. These results raised the troubling question of why the bilingualism of majority group Francophones should be worth more than the bilingualism of Anglophone and Allophone minorities in Quebec.

The Vaillancourt et al. (2007) study also showed that ownership of the Quebec economy by Francophone employers increased from 47.1% in 1961 to 67.1% in 2003, while Anglophone ownership decreased from 39.5% in 1961 to 22.9% in 2003. The share of the Quebec economy owned by foreigners also declined from 13.6% in 1961 to 10% in 2003. Following their analysis of the socio-economic position of Francophones, Vaillancourt et al. (2007) concluded:

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 ... (Vaillancourt et al. 2007: 11)

Economic trends in favour of the Francophone majority were confirmed by 2011 Canadian census results obtained for the Quebec population, showing that while the median annual income of individual Quebec Francophones was \$28,841, the annual income of Anglophone individuals was lower at \$25,718, and that of Allophones was only \$20,033. These trends attest to the success of Quebec

language planning in achieving its combined linguistic and economic goals as advocated by the main architect of Bill 101, Dr. Camille Laurin, the Parti Québécois Minister in charge of the law:

I wanted to craft a law that would heal, redress and give confidence, pride and self-esteem to a people faithful to its language but resigned and passive ... 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 1998; in Picard 2003: 247–248; authors' translation; see footnote 1 for original version in French.¹)

3.7 French: the public language of Quebec

A key role of Bill 101 was to ensure the widespread knowledge of French as the shared public language of communication in Quebec society. Figure 3 provides data on the knowledge of French and English based on mother tongue amongst

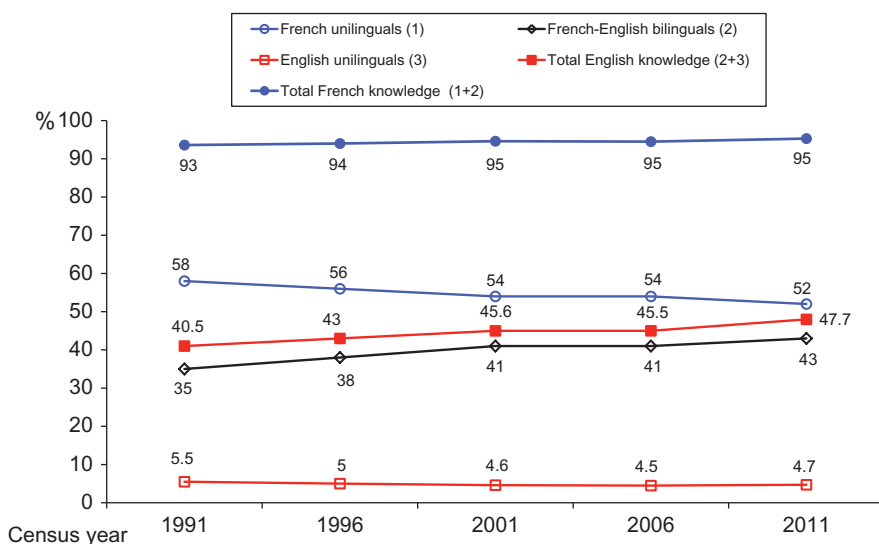


Figure 3: Knowledge of French & English in the Quebec population.

1 1: Camille Laurin: “Je voulais faire une loi qui répare, qui redresse et qui redonne confiance, fierté et estime de soi à un peuple qui tenait à sa langue mais qui était devenu résigné et passif...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, et qu’ils en deviennent les cadres et les dirigeants et que l’économie québécoise soit enfin contrôlée par eux ». (Camille Laurin, cited in Picard 2003: 247–248).

the Quebec population from the 1991 to 2011 Canadian census. As can be seen in Figure 3, there are still some English mother tongue unilinguals in Quebec, though their share of the provincial population dropped from 5.5 % in 1991 to 4.7 % in 2011. Most English unilinguals include senior Anglophones who did not leave Quebec, a number of recent English Canadians migrants from the ROC, and international immigrants established in the province who have not yet learned French through the francisation program.

As seen in Figure 3, the majority of the French mother tongue population can still afford to stay unilingual French: 58 % in 1991 and 52 % in 2011, a trend more prevalent in the linguistically homogeneous French regions of the Province. Knowledge of English is also rising in the province: from 40.5 % of the population in 1991 to 47.7 % in 2011, reflecting growing integration of Quebec within North American business, scientific and cultural activities. However, the greatest success of Bill 101 has been its role in ensuring that the vast majority of the population knows French as the shared public language of the province: a steady majority of 93 % in 1991 and 95 % in 2011, calculated by adding the percentage of individuals who have knowledge of French (1) plus those who are French/English bilinguals (2).

Taken together, these trends show that Bill 101 and related language laws have had the effect of improving the demolinguistic and economic ascendancy of the Francophone majority, have fostered the demographic decline of the Anglophone minority, and increased the knowledge of French amongst both Allophone and Anglophone minorities. In contrast, it is clear that the Anglophone minority is experiencing a sharp decline on more fundamental indicators of demographic vitality such as absolute and relative group numbers, outmigration, and birth rates (Jedwab 2004, 2012). Anglophones have a declining birth rate from more than three children per woman in 1961 to just over 1.6 in 2011. With Quebec seen as a French dominant province, Quebec Anglophones cannot count on English Canadians from the ROC to migrate to their province. Can Anglophones count on Allophones and international immigrants to integrate within their English host community institutions in the province?

4 Language laws eroding the institutional support of English-speaking communities

Institutional support constitutes a key dimension influencing the vitality of language communities (Giles et al. 1977). Formal support is achieved by

linguistic groups whose members have achieved positions at decision-making levels in various state and private institutions. Formal institutional support for majority and minority language communities can be gained for the provision of municipal, regional and national government services, the public administration, primary, secondary and post-secondary education, health care and social services, the police and the judiciary, the military, mass media, leisure, sports and religious institutions (Bourhis and Landry 2012). As proposed by Fishman (1991, 2001), the *Reversing Language Shift* (RLS) model provides linguistic minorities with a strategic approach to decide which sequence of institutional support domain is most important to develop within a dominant majority group setting. As a case study, this section offers a brief overview of the impact of Bill 101 and recent language laws on the key institutional domain of primary and secondary education in Quebec, from the point of view of both the Francophone majority and the Anglophone minority (Bourhis and Foucher 2012).

In line with the Fishman model, education is the top stage of the RLS framework for minorities who depend on control of their own school institutions as a way of maintaining the transmission and development of their heritage language and culture in majority group settings (Fishman 1991, 2001). Anglophones created their English school system in the nineteenth century and funded their schools throughout the twentieth century until the Quebec Government created the Ministry of Education in 1964, which took over public education of both the French and English school systems (Mallea 1984). In the aftermath of Bill 101, Anglophones were most concerned about the governance of their own school system and the eventual decline of their educational institutions resulting from the fact that most new immigrants to Quebec were excluded from the English school system (Landry et al. 2012). For the architects of Bill 101, it was expected that the children of immigrants obliged to attend French primary and secondary schools would assimilate within the Francophone host majority, rather than within the Anglophone host minority of Quebec.

The 1982 Canadian Constitution guarantees federal funding of minority French schools across English majority provinces of the ROC, while also funding the minority English school system of Quebec. Under article 23 of the Canadian Constitution, *rights holders* are parents who have a right to send their children to English schools in Quebec under the following conditions: they are citizens of Canada whose first language learned and still understood is English; they received their primary school instruction in English in Quebec or Canada; and currently reside in Quebec.

Bill 22 and Bill 101 were not the only laws restricting access to English schools in Quebec. Following French activist pressures, the Parti Québécois

Government adopted Bill 104 (2002) to close a “loophole” of Bill 101 which allowed Allophone and Francophone *non-rights holders* pupils to attend full fee paying private English *bridging schools* for a year, to then gain access to free English public schools (Bourhis and Foucher 2012). It was estimated that 4000 Allophone and Francophone pupils used *bridging schools* to gain access to English public schools between 1997 and 2002.

In 2007, Allophone and Francophone parents challenged Bill 104 in the Quebec court of appeal, and won their case in 2008 on grounds of Article 23 of the Canadian Constitution. Within hours, the provincial Liberal Government challenged the Quebec court ruling in the Canadian Supreme court. The Quebec Attorney General submitted its brief to the Canadian Supreme Court, defending Bill 104 on grounds that the French language was threatened in Quebec. In October 2009, the Canadian Supreme Court ruled that Quebec had a right to preserve the French language, but gave the Province one year to craft a new law to limit access to English schools without violating Article 23 of the Canadian Constitution. The Quebec Liberal Government adopted Bill 115 on time within the October 2010 Supreme Court deadline. Bill 115 allows Allophone and Francophone pupils to attend English public schools under stricter conditions. After studying three consecutive years in private non-funded English schools (costing >\$15,000/year), four designated public servants from the Quebec Education Ministry (MELS) used a point system to determine whether each individual pupil was engaged in a “legitimate educational pathway” within a private, non-funded English school. Bill 115 was designed to make it very difficult for an Allophone or Francophone *non-rights holder* pupil to attend public English Schools in Quebec. The Liberal Government Minister of Education of the day stated on June 3rd 2010: “I won’t deny that the objective is to have as few as possible approved.” Bill 115 was successful in limiting access to English schools: only 424 Allophone and Francophone pupils gained access to English public schools under Bill 115 from 2010 to 2015.

In 2012 the Parti Québécois Government proposed Bill 14 to bolster Bill 101 by further reducing access to English schools. Under Bill 14, Anglophone rights holders’ pupils who chose to attend most of their primary and secondary schooling in French would lose their right to send their own progeny to English schools. Such Anglophones, having attended French schooling, would lose their rights holder status as parents, and be forced to send their own children to French schools. Bill 14 also excluded Francophone and Allophone students from attending post-secondary English language colleges, thus, reducing enrolment in such colleges. Only Anglophone rights holders would have access to English language colleges. Quebec Anglophone

activists held street demonstrations against Bill 14, as they felt the law would reduce the number of pupils in the English school system, and further reduce jobs for teachers, support staff, administrators and school commissioners. However, the minority Parti Québécois government could not adopt Bill 14 in 2013, as opposition parties in the National Assembly did not support the Bill. Quebec Anglophones saw Bill 14 as a worrisome game-changer, because it created the precedent that Anglophone pupils integrating within the French school system would lose their rights holder status as parents by being denied the right to choose to send their own progeny to English schools in Quebec.

We note that majority Francophone Governments of both separatist Parti Québécois and federalist Liberal Party affiliation were involved in adopting language laws reducing access to English schools in Quebec (Bill 22, Bill 101, Bill 104, Bill 115, and proposed Bill 14). Yet, if given a chance, Quebec Francophones would like access to English schools, as reflected in a representative poll conducted across the Province in 2010. The poll showed that 61 % of Francophones and 67 % of Allophones wished to obtain better access to the English school system for their children (Montreal Gazette, May 11, 2010; La Presse, May 12, 2010). Denial of such access to English schools by successive Quebec Governments represents a democratic deficit for both the Francophone majority and Allophone minorities in the province.

What effect did language laws restricting access to English schools have in reducing the size of the English school system compared to the French one in Quebec? As seen in Figure 4, we use enrolment numbers in the respective English and French school systems of Quebec in 1972 as our 100 % benchmark, as this period was prior to the adoption of Bill 22 and Bill 101 which first restricted access to English schools. The enrolments totals presented in Figure 4 combine pre-school, primary, secondary enrolments of both the public and private school systems, based on official data produced by the Ministry of Education of the Quebec Government (MELS 2014). Figure 4 shows that the number of pupils enrolled in the French School system across Quebec dropped from 1,378,788 in 1972 to 888,906 in 2012, a decline of 489,882 pupils representing a 36 % enrolment drop. This drop in French enrolment is attributed mainly to the continuing low birth rate of Francophone families (1.6 birth/woman) and to the large school drop-out rates prevalent in the French school system (Lamarre 2012).

Figure 4 shows that enrolment in the English school system dropped from 256,251 pupils in 1972 prior to Bill 101 to 105,205 pupils in 2012, representing a loss of 151,045 pupils, which reflects an impressive 59 % drop in enrolment for the English school system. Factors such as the net outmigration of Anglophones

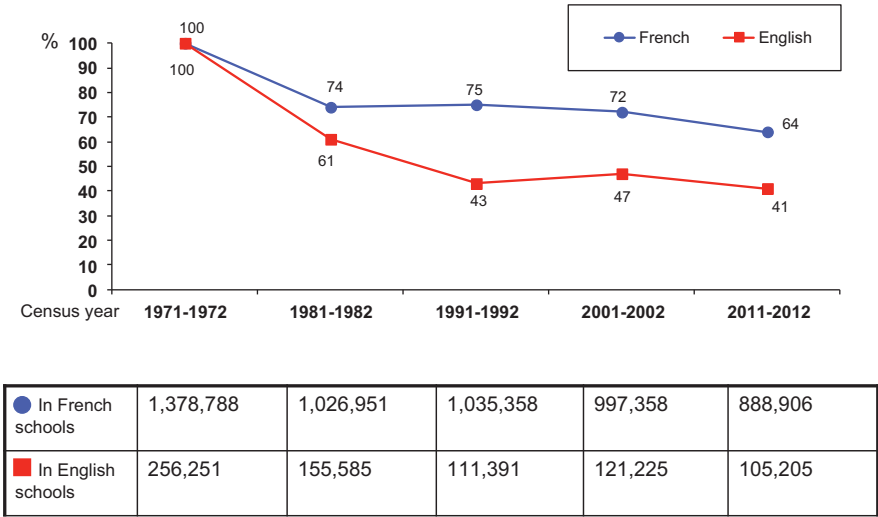
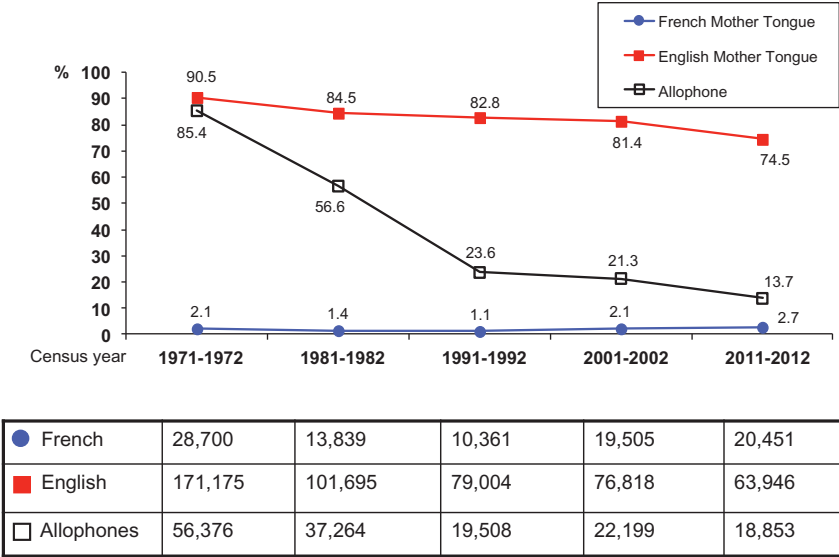


Figure 4: Decline of the French and English school system in Quebec.

from Quebec, their low birth rate (1.6 birth/woman) and language laws restricting access of immigrant pupils from English schools, help account for this decline of the English school system. Overall, it is the absolute number of pupils enrolled in the French and English school systems which determine the total provincial budgets allocated by the Ministry of Education to the French and English school boards. Thus when declining enrolments in English schools cause commensurate cuts in school budgets, decisions about which schools must close and which can stay open are taken by the English School Boards, adding much dissensions within the Anglophone communities affected by such institutional cuts.

An analysis of the mother tongue of pupils attending English schools provides a more telling portrait of the effect of language laws restricting access to English Schools (Bourhis and Foucher 2012). Figure 5 shows that the number of Anglophone pupils studying in the English school system dropped from 171,175 in 1972 to only 63,946 in 2012, a 62.6 % loss of 107,229 pupils. This drop 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. This problem is compounded by the dearth of English-speaking teachers available for primary and secondary schools in these regions, while recruitment of complementary service professionals is also difficult (Lamarre 2012).

Figure 5 also shows that in 1972, before the adoption of Bill 101, 90.5 % of all Anglophone pupils enrolled in the Quebec school system did attend English schools, while 9.5 % attended French schools (9,652). By 2012, however, only 74.5 % of all Anglophones enrolled in the Quebec school system were attending English schools, while 26.5 % attended French schools (21,835). Many Anglophone parents choose to send their children to French schools to improve their mastery of the local Québécois French language and culture, with the hope their bilingual children will eventually find jobs and thus stay in the province. However, this shift of Anglophone pupils to French schools reflects concern for private individual gains at the real cost of collective institutional vitality, suffered by the declining English school system.



Mother Tongue (L1): First language learned at home as a child and still understood at census time

Figure 5: Number and percentage of pupils in the English School system.

Most English schools in Quebec provide quality French teaching for their pupils through ever popular French immersion programs teaching along with phased-in English medium teaching. In 2006, as many as 66 % of English school pupils were enrolled in French immersion classes, a trend increasing to 83 % by 2011. At the secondary school level, 35 % of English school pupils

were enrolled in French immersion classes in 2006, a proportion increasing to 65 % by 2011. Quebec Anglophones are the most bilingual pupils across the Quebec school system. This is reflected in recent Quebec Ministry of Education final exams showing that pupils in the secondary English school system obtained scores in French, which were 9.4 % higher than those obtained on the same exams by pupils in the French School system (Jennings 2015). Clearly, English School boards also contribute to the strength and quality of the French language in Quebec by training highly competent French/English bilingual Anglophone pupils able to contribute to Quebec French society. Quebec Education Ministry data in 2013 also showed that six of the nine English School boards of Quebec were amongst the top ten performing School boards on academic performance, while four of the 60 French school boards were in this top 10 league across the province. Ministry of Education figures in 2013 also showed that while High School graduation rates were at 75 % in French school boards, graduation rates in English school boards were at 84.5 %, attesting to the strong performance of English School Boards despite their institutional attrition following decades of laws restricting access to English schools in the Province (Jennings 2015).

In addition, Figure 5 shows that the number of Allophones studying in the English school system dropped from 56,376 in 1972 to 18,853 in 2012, for a loss of 37,523 pupils. This represents a 66.6 % drop of Allophone students attending the English school system. Results also shows that out of the total number of all Allophones enrolled in the Quebec school system, as many as 85.4 % attended English schools in 1972, while that proportion dropped to only 13.7 % by 2012. Conversely, Ministry of Education data (MELS 2014) shows that while only 14.6 % of Allophone pupils in the Quebec school system attended French schools in 1972 (9,652) as many as 81.5 % of all Allophone pupils were attending French schools by 2012 (97,285). These figures attest to the efficiency of Bill 101 in limiting access to English schools for Allophone pupils and international immigrant.

The increasing presence of Allophone pupils in the French school system challenged the linguistic homogeneity of French schools, especially in the Montreal region. In 2012 the *Commission scolaire de Montreal* adopted a policy banning all languages other than French on school premises including corridors, washrooms and schoolyards. Thus, the largest French school board in the Province advised 47 % of its pupils who happen to be Allophones, that they must speak only French at the cost of excluding their heritage language from school premises. Though difficult to enforce, such public bans carry a strong symbolic punch for vulnerable linguistic and visible minority pupils attending French schools within this Montreal school board (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

No English schools adopted such linguistic exclusions against their Allophone and Francophone pupils.

As shown in Figure 5, there were 28,700 Francophones enrolled in the English school system across the province in 1972. This number fluctuated across the decades and dropped to 20,451 by 2012 (MELS 2014). While only 2.1% of all Francophones enrolled in the Quebec School system attended English schools in 1972, this percentage remained steady at 2.3% by 2012, attesting to the efficiency of Bill 101 in limiting Francophone access to English schools. Note that Francophone enrolment in English schools reflects French-English mixed marriages in the province. Evidence suggests that many mixed language couples do exert their rights holders' option under Article 23 of the Canadian Constitution by sending their children to English schools, thus consolidating the bilingual skills of their progeny.

The success of Bill 101 is evident when considering that as many as 97.4% of all Francophones in the Provincial school system did attend French schools in 2012, a percentage virtually unchanged since 1972 (97.9%). As seen earlier, though, the number of Francophone pupils enrolled in the French school system did drop gradually during this period. In effect, legislating Francophones and Allophones to attend only French schools for forty years could not offset the low birth rate of the Francophone majority which resulted in this gradual decline in the absolute number of Francophone pupils enrolled in the French school system.

These results together show that Bill 101 and related laws achieved their goal of restricting access to English schools regardless of their academic and French proficiency achievements. Such laws contributed to the erosion of the English school system, which remains mostly funded by the Canadian Federal government through transfer payments to the Quebec Government. With net Quebec Anglophone outmigration to the ROC, the English school system cannot count on English-Canadian migrant rights holders from the ROC to improve enrolments in Quebec English schools, while international immigrants remain banned from English schools. Over the decades, the steady drop in the absolute number of pupils enrolled in the English school system had the effect of forcing the closure of English schools thus reducing the number of English teachers, administrators and staff employed in such institutions across the Province.

Despite decade long pleas by Anglophone community leaders to allow immigrants from English speaking countries such as the US, UK, Australia and India to access English schools, successive Quebec Governments have remained steadfast in excluding Anglophone or Allophone immigrants from accessing the English school system. Dr. Victor Goldbloom, Commissioner of

Official Languages in the 1990s, recently concluded as follows regarding laws restricting access to English schools:

Quebec's English-speaking communities have been prevented from reinforcing their numbers by the channeling of students from elsewhere to the French-Language school system. Efforts to obtain more equitable balance have had virtually no success. A small shift would have helped the Anglophone side considerably while making a very small dent in Francophone enrollments. The painful closing of schools has become inevitable. (Goldbloom 2012: 381)

For the Francophone majority including its elected representatives, the planned decline of the English school system is seen as a necessary and justifiable measure given the imperative of sustaining its own French majority school system and insuring the assimilation of immigrants to the French host majority rather than to the Anglophone minority. Language law restricting access to the English school system is a case in point of the “zero-sum” aspect of language planning in settings where the language majority at the provincial level can invoke its threatened status as a fragile minority at the continental level. For as long as English remains a majority language in Canada and the United States, nationalist discourse will use the minority status of French at the continental level to justify language planning efforts designed to erode the institutional vitality of its Anglophone and Allophone minorities within Quebec (Macmillan 2003). Faced with the power of such rhetorical legitimisation, it is no wonder that Quebec Anglophones feel they can only rely on the protection of Article 23 of the Canadian constitution to limit the decline of their primary and secondary school system within the province.

5 Concluding notes

In line with Fishman's (1991) reversing language shift (RLS) model, Quebec language planning is a success story, which after just four decades succeeded in increasing the use and status of French from the home, neighbourhood and community settings to the highest institutional settings of a modern state. Our analysis of the Quebec case study highlighted how language policies cannot be assessed from the point of view of a single target language group. Whether wilfully or through collateral damage, language planning efforts affect *all* linguistic majorities and minorities in the multilingual settings where they are adopted.

Though the Francophone majority succeeded in consolidating its demographic and institutional ascendancy over the Anglophone minority, many

Francophones remain concerned about threats to the French language in Quebec. Francophones are suspicious that the majority of Anglophones (86 %) and Allophones (54 %) still use their mother tongue most often at home, suggesting that linguistic assimilation is not yet achieved. Francophone activists are also concerned about the increase in the proportion of Allophones in the City of Montreal from 18 % in 2001 to 33 % in 2011. Of ongoing concern is the resulting drop in the proportion of Francophones in the City of Montreal from 62 % in 2001 to close to the ‘tipping point’ of 50.5 % in 2011. Such trends are seen as contributing to the rise in the use of English and other languages heard in public settings such as commerce and on the streets of Montreal. Nationalist discourse favours the reduction of non-French speaking immigrants as a partial solution to the threat to French in Quebec.

A well-known Parti Québécois elected member of the Quebec National Assembly recently summarized the threat of English and its speakers as follows:

Anglo-Quebecers are therefore not a minority. Despite making up a small percentage of the Quebec population, the Anglophone community is maintaining its numbers (births and deaths, very few departures from Quebec), and its language vitality index is well above that of Francophones ... This means that Anglophones in Quebec are “attracting” more people than Francophones. It must be said that Anglo-Quebecers can draw on a tremendous and appealing English cultural power, a centre of creation and culture encompassing scientific research, innovation, literature, music and images in all their forms, which no doubt helps them maintain their power and their vitality index ... If Anglo-Quebecers do not voluntarily decide to make French the common language in the workplace, in trade, on signs, in culture, in health, in education and in municipal, provincial and federal governments, and if they do not work toward this vigorously, then Francophones will inevitably be assimilated. (Curzi 2014: 18–19)

Such discourse portrays Anglophones as a ‘Trojan Horse’ minority threatening the vitality of the French majority within Quebec. Yet, by learning French, Anglophone and Allophone minorities who stayed in Quebec have proven they accept the imperative of maintaining the status and use of French in the province while contributing to all aspects of Quebec society. Are Quebec Anglophones responsible for the substantial status and spread of the English language worldwide including within Quebec? Can provincial laws eroding the institutional vitality of the English speaking minority in education, health care, social services, municipalities and businesses ever be sufficient to neutralise the international drawing power of the English language for Francophones in Quebec?

Salient in this case study is the issue of when a formerly subordinated majority such as Quebec Francophones can accept that it has gained

dominance within their own provincial territory. Total French language hegemony need not be the badge of success for French language planning. Can Quebec Francophones accept a ‘paradigm shift’ by reframing their status position from a *fragile majority* to that of a *dominant majority* within their province? If so, can the Francophone dominant majority develop the cultural security to view its own linguistic minorities as a responsibility rather than as suspicious liabilities?

Quebec Francophones acting as a dominant majority could view investments in the institutional vitality of its historic linguistic minorities as a ‘win-win’ outcome, enhancing the diversity and adaptiveness of Quebec society, while bolstering the economic development of Quebec beyond its rank as 57/61 poorest jurisdiction in Canada/USA. Without this paradigm shift, Quebec Francophones will remain a *de facto* dominant majority imbued with the psychology of a besieged minority. Québécois nationalist discourse is adept at portraying any institutional support of linguistic minorities as ‘zero-sum’ prospects necessarily threatening and undermining the survival of the francophone majority in Quebec.

As a cautionary note, the continuing decline of Quebec Anglophone minorities could eventually undermine the Federal government bilingual policy legitimising its support of official Francophone minorities in the ROC and its support of the Anglophone minorities within Quebec. The maintenance of the institutional vitality of Anglophones in Quebec can be used as a positive benchmark goal for improving the vitality of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada. At stake today for Canadian nation building, is the achievement of the right balance of discrete federal government institutional support for official language minorities to help reduce the possible territorialisation of Canada, with only French in Quebec and mainly English in the rest of Canada.

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