The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec:
From Community Decline to Revival

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Preface

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« 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 contributed 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: the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM), the Quebec Community Group's Network (QCGN), the Department of Canadian Heritage, and the dedicated staff of the Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CEETUM) at the Université de Montréal.

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.

Québec'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 government(s)?

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-Témsicamingue. 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 volume). 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 Québec.

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 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 197's 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

Table 1: Strong confidence in the ability of the community to keep young people in the region.

Totally Confident (7-10 on 10 point scale)	Official Language Minorities
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

Totally Confident (7-10 on 10 point scale)	Official Language Minorities
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

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

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Table 3 Institutions most committed to representing and serving the interests of my language community in my province: Anglophones in Quebec & Francophones in ROC.

Strongly committed (7-10 on the 10 point scale)	Anglophones in Quebec N= 567	Francophones outside Quebec: in the ROC N = 1506
Organizations in media and communications.	68.2%	53.1%
Organizations in postsecondary education and training	63.9%	61.6%
Organizations in health and social services	50.6%	56.4%
Organizations in arts & 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

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.

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

Table 4: Proportion of respondents who perceive each level of government as excellent in representing their community interest. Satisfaction with access to minority language services in each Government level. Anglophones in Quebec & Francophones in the ROC

| | Government of Canada | | Provincial Government | | Local Municipality | |
	Anglophones in Quebec	Francophones outside Quebec ROC	Anglophones in Quebec	Francophones outside Quebec ROC	Anglophones in Quebec	Francophones outside of Quebec ROC
Excellent at representing own interests	41.4%	43.3%	28.1%	40.3 %	43.1 %	49 %
Very Satisfied with access to own language services in:	64.2%	62.5%	24 %	57%	42.5%	58.7%

Source: Canada (2006) Decima for the Department of Canadian Heritage

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 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 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, a level of satisfaction with provincial language services 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*' (CRCD), 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 Montréal 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 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 muncipalités* (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 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 substantive provincial government action (i.e. employment equity programs) but mobilize to promote, support and train younger members for these career 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 recent departure from Quebec City, official representation of the ESCQ in the provincial national capital must also be bolstered.

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