

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

Edited by: Richard Y. Bourhis



Published in partnership with the:
Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CEETUM),
Université de Montréal
and
Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM),
Université de Moncton

Montréal, February 29, 2008

Please cite this chapter as follows:

Jedwab, J. (2008). How Shall we Define Thee? Determining who is an English-Speaking Quebecer and Assessing its Demographic Vitality. In R.Y. Bourhis (Ed.) *The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival*. Montreal, Quebec: CEETUM, Université de Montréal.

Table of Contents

Preface

RICHARD Y. BOURHIS, Editor, UQAM and CEETUM, Université de Montréal

1. How shall we define thee ? Determining who is an English-Speaking 1
Quebecer and Assessing its Demographic Vitality.
JACK JEDWAB, Association for Canadian Studies, Montreal
2. Legal Status of Anglophone Communities in Quebec: Options and Recommendations 19
PIERRE FOUCHER, Faculté de Droit, Université de Moncton
3. The Socio-economic status of English-speaking Quebec: Those who left and those 35
who stayed.
WILLIAM FLOCH , Canadian Heritage
Joanne Pocock, Carleton University
4. English education in Quebec: Issues and Challenges 63
PATRICIA LAMARRE, Université de Montréal
5. What future for English language Health and Social Services in Quebec ? 87
JIM CARTER, Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN)
6. The Artistic and Cultural Vitality of English-speaking Quebec 107
GUY RODGERS, ELAN
RACHEL GARBER, Townshippers Association
JANE NEEDLES, ELAN & Bishops University
7. The English-speaking communities of Quebec : Vitality, multiple identities and linguisticism 127
RICHARD BOURHIS, Département de Psychologie, Université du Québec à Montréal
(UQAM) and CEETUM, Université de Montréal.
8. Politics of Community: The evolving challenge of representing 165
English-speaking Quebecers
JACK JEDWAB, Association of Canadian Studies, Montréal
HUGH MAYNARD, Qu'anglo Communications, Ormstown, Québec

9. Group Vitality, Cultural autonomy and the Wellness of Language Minorities	185
RICHARD BOURHIS, UQAM, CEETUM, Université de Montréal	
RODRIGUE LANDRY, Institut Canadien de recherche sur les minorités linguistiques (ICRML), Université de Moncton	
10. Multiple views on the English-speaking communities of Quebec.....	213
VICTOR GOLDBLOOM, Commissioner of Official Languages, 1991-1999	
ANDRÉ PRATTE, Éditorialiste en chef, La Presse, Montréal, March 6, 2005	
GRAHAM FRASER, Current Commissioner of Official Languages, 2006- 2012	

Preface

Richard Y. Bourhis

Director, CEETUM, Université de Montréal
Département de Psychologie,
Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)

« 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.

HOW SHALL WE DEFINE THEE? DETERMINING WHO IS AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBECER AND ASSESSING ITS DEMOGRAPHIC VITALITY

Jack Jedwab

Association for Canadian Studies, Montréal, Canada

I. Introduction

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

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

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

That which follows will employ census data, a number of public opinion surveys and government reports on official language minorities to explore the varying definitions applied to the ESCQ. It will assess the approaches adopted by different levels of government and comment upon the methodology they employ in estimating the demographic vitality of the ESCQ. When it comes to issues of language use and group identification, certain categories of measurement are broader or more inclusive, while others are narrower and less inclusive. The group's estimated demography is largely influenced by the method or system of classification used by governments or non-governmental organizations. The census conducted by Statistics Canada is the source most widely employed when estimating the demolinguistic vitality of the ESCQ. Four language markers are used to measure the size of official language communities in Canada: 1) mother tongue; 2) the language first learned and/or still understood; 3) the language spoken in the home; and 4) the derived variable 'first official language spoken'. Given that the use of each category results in varying numbers included as members of the ESCQ, government entitlements based on these varying definitions may vary greatly. Thus there may be a gap in the institutional support that official language minorities feel they require to fully develop their vitality compared to that which is offered by the provincial or federal government.

Behind the demographic vitality of a language community one finds the group's self-definition and its desired degree of inclusiveness. Some language communities prefer less inclusive criteria in determining who can be and who should be considered a member of their linguistic in-group. This occurs where groups believe that broadly-based membership risks modifying or diluting the core identity of their ethnolinguistic community. This degree of inclusion/exclusion may be defined by a combination of minority group leadership, by its rank and file, and institutionally by provincial and federal governments. Category markers and criteria chosen by these actors can have quite an

impact, not only on the legitimacy of the community but also on the resources and institutional support granted to such language minorities. Problems are more likely to arise when linguistic minorities use more inclusive criteria to estimate their demographic size, while majority group members controlling governments employ narrower definitions of the minority and underestimate its demographic size. This can result in an inadequate allocation of institutional support for the linguistic minority which in turn must struggle harder to maintain its institutional completeness and community development.

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

I. The social identification of Quebec Anglophones and Francophones

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

Table 1: Percentage of Francophones and Anglophones who have a strong sense of belonging to the following groups in Quebec

Very strong and somewhat strong sense of attachment to the following	Total Sample N= 1000	Francophones N =809	Anglophones N =157
The Quebec Nation	85%	89%	6%
Canada	61%	55%	86%
Your own language group	87%	88%	84%
Your own ethnic group	75%	76%	71%
Your own religious group	40%	38%	48%

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

(76%) strongly identified with their respective ethnic group, religious identification was even weaker for Francophones (38%) than for Anglophones (48%).

By using mother tongue (the language first learned and still understood) as a basis for determining the size of Quebec's English-speaking population, the government of Quebec has adopted what might be regarded as the less inclusive or narrower criteria of linguistic categorization for this minority. By doing this, a significant number of persons of diverse ethnic backgrounds or those who have dual identities (English and French) that either acquired English as their first official language or adopted it as their home language are not considered part of the English-speaking communities. Consequently there is a diminishing of the degree of ethnic and cultural diversity that characterizes the ESCQ. The less inclusive criteria for defining the ESCQ may reflect the desire of the Quebec government to minimize the institutional support granted to the Anglophone minority in the province.

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

The federal government uses broader criteria in estimating the size of the ESCQ. The derived variable of first official language spoken (first introduced in 1991) includes an important number of immigrants and their children whose mother tongue is not English but whose language use pattern incorporates them into the Anglophone group. Another criterion employed by analysts looks at the language most frequently used in the home, which is also a more inclusive criterion

when it comes to establishing the size of the ESCQ. Employing either first official language spoken or language spoken in the home will enhance the size and diversity of the ESCQ, potentially increase the institutional support granted to Quebec Anglophones and reinforce the importance of language duality in Quebec.

The impact on the delivery of services arising from the government definition of English-speakers is not always apparent to members of the communities themselves. In terms of the manner in which government services get delivered to members of the ESCQ or the representation of such persons in government bodies is assessed, there appear to be three definitions of ESCQ constituents. First is the actual number of persons securing services as English speakers regardless of their language background and the language identification of the institution which is extending the service, i.e., the number of persons that require health or employment services in the English language. In this instance, however, the service can be delimited on the basis of the critical mass of Quebec citizens whose first official language spoken is English (13.4% in the 2006 census versus by English mother tongue: 8.2%). A second definition includes those deemed to have access to services on the basis of government-defined criteria, i.e., the number of persons who have been deemed by the State to be eligible for services in an official language institution independent of how they define themselves. Students deemed by the Bill 101 language law to be eligible to attend English or French language primary and secondary schools of Quebec are an example. A third definition consists of the levels of representation in the institutions of the State based on the system of classification defined by the Quebec government – for instance, the percentage of Anglophone civil servants hired in the Quebec public administration based on the number of Quebec Anglophones present in the province. The models of governance and the marker(s) of identity that define community institutions supported by the State will have a profound impact on the level of resources

allocated. For example, prior the 1960s, Quebec's school structures were defined along religious lines: Catholic and Protestant. Therefore, the distribution of resources was a function of the respective numbers of students in each sector based on religious criteria. However, the schools in the bi-confessional public system were either English or French and hence each religious Board also made allocations along language lines (Mallea, 1984).

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

Elsewhere, Scowen (1991) has contended that there is no community or communities of English-speaking Quebecers at all. Ethnic diversity, he argues, amongst Quebec's English-speaking communities, means that there is no Anglophone community. He argues that English speakers who live in Quebec need to be thought of as what he describes as "unrelated categories" of persons defined largely by ethnicity. But Scowen's logic is that language communities can only exist when the language is the principal and unique dimension of an ethnic culture and identity. Following his logic the growing diversity of the Francophone population means that it eventually will cease to be a community if it also becomes multiethnic. There is no question that ethnic belonging is important to

Table 2: Quebec Anglophone commitment to the English language and their own group community

Strongly Agree: 8-10 on the 10 point scale	English mother tongue N=567	English spoken most often at home N=483	English as first official language N=567
I will do my part to ensure the continuance of my language and culture	83.8%	83.3%	82.1%
The future of the Anglophone community is important to me	87.2%	87.9%	83.9%
My generation is committed to transmitting our language and culture to the next generation	79.7%	80.3%	80.2%

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

English-speaking Quebecers. Findings from the 2002 Statistics Canada Ethnic Diversity Survey reveal that whether it is on the basis of mother tongue or the language spoken most often at home or at work, some 53% of English-speaking Montrealers have a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic or cultural group.

In the final analysis, perhaps it is more important to know whether English speakers define themselves as distinct communities: the process of self-categorization. A 2006 survey conducted by the firm Decima for the official languages branch of the Department of Canadian Heritage confirms that

English-speaking Quebecers do indeed believe they constitute distinct language communities in the province (see Table 2). Results show that whether respondents were defined as English mother tongue, speakers of English at home or as declaring having English as their first official language, over 80% of English speakers agreed that the future of the Anglophone community was very important to them. Whatever their linguistic definition as Anglophones, about 83% said they will do their part to ensure the continuation of their distinctive language and culture in Quebec.

Table 3: Percentage of Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones outside Quebec who strongly feel they are part of their community in their own region

Very strong extent: 8-10 on the 10 point scale	Mother tongue	Language spoken most often at home	First official language spoken
Anglophones in Quebec	74.0% N=567	73.7% n=483	69.8% n=567
Francophones outside Quebec (ROC)	76.3% n=1506	81.7% n=1216	74.9% n=1506

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

Table 4: Percentage of Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the rest of Canada who feel it is very important to be part of their own language community in their region

Very strong importance: 8-10 on the 10 point scale	Mother tongue	Language spoken most often at home	First official language spoken
Anglophones in Quebec	74.2% n=567	74.7% n=483	70.1% n=567
Francophones outside of Quebec (ROC)	81.2% n=1506	84.7% n=1216	80.0% n=1506

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

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

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

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

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

2. Overview of the demographic vitality of Quebec Anglophones

Why does the Quebec government use a narrower definition to estimate the size of the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ), while the federal government employs the broader definition? While the federal definition is the more inclusive, it may be possible to argue that it overestimates the size of the English-speaking communities by incorporating persons that do not wish to be identified as such, a contention that Quebec authorities might make. Issues of community belonging and the salience of linguistic identification thus further differentiate the federal and Quebec government definitions of

who is an English-speaking Quebecer. The federal government tends to include persons whose first and second languages are English, whereas the Quebec government limits the definition to those whose first language is English. In each instance, the explanation for the criteria is likely based on historic, demographic and ideological considerations rather than upon the level of service required by members of the ESCQ. On the other hand, perhaps the definition of who is an English-speaking Quebecer is a reflection of the asymmetrical character of the Quebec-Canada relationship.

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

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

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

2.1 Demographic decline of Quebec Anglophones: From who to how many?

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

Table 5: Quebec Anglophones, by mother tongue, language spoken most often at home and first official language spoken: 1971-2006

Quebec Anglophones	English mother tongue	English home language	English first official language
2006	607 165 8.2%	787 885 10.8%	994 725 13.4%
2001	591,365 8.3%	746,898 10.5%	918,955 12.8%
1996	621,863 8.8%	762,457 10.6%	925,830
1991	626,202 9.2%	761,808 11.2%	904,305 13.3%
1986	680,120	791,377	—
1981	693,600	806,800	
1971	789,200 13%	886,100 15%	

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 1971-2001.

Table 6: Quebec Anglophones, by single and multiple declarations of mother tongue, language spoken most often at home and first official language spoken, 2006

Anglophones in the province of Quebec	English only	English and French only	English and other
Mother tongue	575 555	43 335	16 200
Home language	744 430	52 325	26 560
First official language	885 445	218 555	—

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2006.

based on the 2006 Canadian Census. As observed in Table 5, the difference of nearly 400,000 persons depends largely on the criteria employed to categorize this minority. Ultimately, the gap is attributable to the number of mother tongue English speakers versus those for whom English is the first official language spoken – a group that, for the most part, resides in the Montreal area.

Over the past few decades, the gap between the mother tongue English population and those who speak English most often at home has widened. As seen in Table 5, in 1971 the difference in the number of persons of English mother tongue and those speaking the English language in their homes was just under

100,000 persons, whereas in 2006 the gap between the two increased to 180,000 persons. As observed in Table 5, over the ten-year period between 1996 and 2006 the gap between those with English mother tongue and English first official language also widened substantially from about 300,000 in the earlier period to nearly 390,000 in 2006.

Further complicating estimates of the size of the English-speaking population is the distribution of those individuals who make dual or multiple declarations of English, French and non-official languages as either first language learned or language used in the home. Indeed, Table 6 reflects the method of distribution used by Statistics Canada which allocates half of dual declarations to

Table 7: Quebec Anglophones, based on English language spoken at home: Only, mostly, equally and regularly. 2001 Census figures for province of Quebec, Montréal only, and the Rest of Quebec (ROQ).

English use at home in 2001	Quebec Province	Montréal Region	Rest of Quebec (ROQ)
Total	1,190,435	886,050	304,385
Only English	480,400 40%	376,720 42.5%	103,780 34.1%
Mostly English	220,850 18.6%	175,990 19.9%	44,860 14.7%
Equally English & French	95,970 8.1%	74,350 8.3%	25,620 8.3%
English Regularly	393,575 33.1%	202,465 22.9%	191,110 62.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada, 2001*

each of the relevant language groups. Traditionally, such dual declarations were more common for first-official-language-spoken respondents than they were on the basis of language spoken most often at home or mother tongue.

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

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

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

Considering only Quebec citizens who report using English at home, Table 8 shows that as many

Table 8: Quebec population by: English only language spoken at home, and in combination with French and other languages. Census data in 2001 for province of Quebec, Montreal region only, and the rest of Quebec (ROQ)

Quebec population using English at home	Quebec Province	Montreal Region	Rest of Quebec ROQ
Total	1,190,435	886,050	304,385
English only	480,040 40.3%	376,620 42.5%	103,460 34%
English and French only	477,960 40.1%	296,915 33.5%	181,045 59.5%
English and other only	164,515 13.8%	150,600 17%	13,915 4.6%
English, French and other	67,920 5.7%	61,915 7%	6,005 2%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada, 2001*.

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

As seen in Table 8, the multilingual/multicultural environment of Montreal is reflected in results showing that more individuals reported using *English and another language* in Montreal (17%) than in the ROQ (4.6%). Likewise trilingualism in the home was more prevalent in Montreal (7%) than in the ROC (2%). Based on absolute numbers presented in Table 8, over 90% of persons who speak English and another language at home are concentrated in Montreal, largely arising from the greater opportunities for interaction between Anglophones and Allophones in this cosmopolitan region. It is the mix of English and non-official languages that is more prevalent for Anglophones residing in the Montreal region. It is this linguistic diversity that shapes the demographic evolution

and distinctive identity of Montreal Anglophones. From a community development policy standpoint, the greater cultural diversity of Anglophones residing in the Montreal region implies greater responsibility for the Montreal Anglophone leadership in addressing the needs of its more multilingual and multiethnic membership. However, this may run counter to the policy objectives of provincial authorities.

2.2 The effect of mixed marriages on Quebec Anglophone demography

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

survey of some 3,000 Quebec Anglophones conducted in 2005 revealed that, when asked about their language identity, 25% responded that they identified as both French and English.

There is variation in the extent to which language shifts occur amongst mother tongue Anglophones in the Montreal region compared to those residing in the rest of Quebec (ROQ). For instance, according to the 2006 census, in the Quebec City area, mother tongue Anglophones are just slightly more inclined to speak English (5,015) than French at home (4,850). It is interesting to note the increasing number of Anglophones using French at home in Quebec City, though this trend is somewhat offset by nearly 1,500 mother tongue Francophones who adopted English as their home language. In Sherbrooke, of the 8,850 mother tongue Anglophones, some 1,935 used French most often at home, while 1,000 mother tongue Francophones adopted English as the language of the home. Given their demographic dispersion in the ROQ, Anglophone minorities residing in regional cities of the province have a greater tendency to adopt French as their home language than Anglophones residing in the Montreal region, where its population is more concentrated.

2.3. The effect of international migration on Quebec Anglophone demography

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

2.3.1 Linguistic classification of immigrants.

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

In the case of international immigrant integration, the drawing power of English as the principal second language of first and second generation immigrants is widely seen by the Quebec government and Francophone language activists as a threat to the demographic vitality of the Francophone majority population. In the case of immigrant selection and the classification system, the immigrant's language background is crucial given the Quebec government's stated objective of ensuring that the majority of entrants know French upon arrival in the province.

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

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

knowledge of French *and* English resulting in a combined *knowledge of French* category.

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

As seen in Table 9, the proportion of immigrants settled in Quebec who declared knowledge of French *only* was quite stable from 1997 to 2006, remaining in the 24% range. Likewise the proportion of immigrants settled in Quebec who declared knowledge of English *only* remained somewhat stable ranging from 21.4% in 1997, dipping to 15.8% in 2002, and reaching 19.7% in

2006. However, the proportion of immigrants declaring no knowledge of French or English dropped from 43% in 1997 to only 22.6% in 2006. In contrast, the proportion of immigrants declaring a knowledge of both French and English increased from 10.8% in 1997 to 33.8% in 2006.

Interestingly, immigrants labelled as having a *knowledge of French* using the combined measure, akin to a first official language classification, increased from 35.6% in 1997 to 57.7% in 2006. Thus the Quebec government could make the claim that nearly 60% of its immigration was French-speaking in 2006. Though not inaccurate, this declaration risks obscuring the fact that, by employing the same classification scheme, one could also highlight the prevalence of English language amongst immigrants settled in the province. Thus, in line with this classification procedure, as many as 53% of immigrants who arrived in Quebec in 2006 were English speakers (19.7% spoke English *only* and 33.8% spoke both English *and* French). On the basis of this first official language classification, census figures show that between 1997 and 2006, as many as 100,000 immigrants who settled in Quebec may be categorized as members of the ESCQ. This boost in

Table 9: Knowledge of French and/or English among immigrants admitted to Quebec: five language categories used by the Quebec government, 1997-2006

Year	French <i>only</i>		French and English		Knowledge of French		English <i>only</i>		Neither French nor English	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1997	6 927	24.8	3 013	10.8	9 940	35.6	5 984	21.4	12 011	43.0
1998	7,140	26.9	3,538	13.3	10,678	40.3	4,641	17.5	11,190	42.2
1999	8,087	27.7	4,428	15.2	12,515	42.8	5,557	19.0	11,142	38.1
2000	8,735	26.9	5,965	18.4	14,700	45.2	5,994	18.4	11,808	36.3
2001	9,538	25.4	8,098	21.6	17,636	47.0	5,982	15.9	13,919	37.1
2002	9,181	24.4	9,291	24.7	18,472	49.1	5,953	15.8	13,194	35.1
2003	8 613	21.8	11 488	29.0	20 101	50.8	6 638	16.8	12 814	32.4
2004	9 732	22.0	14 741	33.3	24 473	55.3	7 841	17.7	11 929	27.0
2005	10239	23.6	14 599	33.7	24 838	57.3	8 045	18.6	10 429	24.1
2006	10697	23.9	15 098	33.8	25 795	57.7	8 793	19.7	10 089	22.6

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

Table 10: Language status of Quebec immigrants and non-immigrants, defined according to mother tongue or first official language spoken (FOLS), Canadian Census 2001

	FOLS – English		FOLS – English and French		Mother tongue English		Mother tongue English and French	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Non-immigrant 2001	588,785	72.3%	57,860	32.7%	482,400	87.4%	41,350	93.7%
Immigrant 2001	224,870	27.7%	118,490	67.3%	69,685	12.6%	2,795	6.3%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2001.

Table 11: Category of immigrants by knowledge of official languages, Quebec, Total for 2002-2006.

Language background of immigrants	Independents: Economic Immigration	Family Reunification	Refugee Claimants	Other	Total
French only	27 264 56.2%	10 993 22.7%	8 937 18.4%	1 277 2.6%	48 471 100%
English and French	54 967 84.3%	6 869 10.5%	2 851 4.4%	544 0.8%	65 231 100%
English only	15 559 41.7%	11 831 31.7%	9 040 24.3%	841 2.2%	37 271 100%
Neither English nor French	28 321 48.4%	16 425 28%	13 449 22.9%	288 0.5%	58 483 100%
Total	126 111	46 118	34 277	2 950	209 456

Source: Gouvernement du Québec, *Tables on Immigration*, Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration, 2007.

the number of immigrants labelled as Anglophones is obtained by combining the numbers of immigrants who spoke English only upon arrival plus those declaring knowledge of English and French upon arrival divided by half. Indeed, on the basis of the federal system of classification, those declaring knowledge of both English and French would be divided as such.

In the 2001 census, as many as 138,000 immigrants possessed knowledge of English as a second language: the difference between first official language spoken at 225,000 persons and mother tongue at 87,000 persons. As seen in Table 10, in addition to the near 225,000 immigrants with English as first official language spoken, another 119,000 declared speaking both English and French

upon arrival. Using this method for distributing such individuals, another 60,000 would be identified as English-language immigrants, thus increasing the number of individuals included as members of the ESCQ.

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

Quebecers and as such cannot be included in the tabulations for providing additional support to English-speaking institutions.

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

2.3.1 Immigrant access to English schooling.

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

A pillar of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) was its provisions limiting the access of immigrants to the English school system of Quebec. Bill 101 had the intended effect of reducing enrolment in the English school system: enrolment in English schools dropped from 248,000 in 1971 to just under 108,000 in 2005, a 56% drop for the system as a whole. The out-migration of Quebec Anglophones following the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976, low fertility rates and limits on immigrant pupil enrolment in the English school system accounts for this decline.

As can be seen in Table 12, today's school enrolment in the French and English sectors of the

Table 12: Quebec school enrolments by mother tongue, 2002-2007

	2002-2003	%	2006-2007	%
French	903,470	80,9%	851,454	79,4%
English	94,327	8,5%	91,807	8,6%
Aboriginals	10,223	0,9%	9,228	0,9%
Allophones	108,213	9,7%	119,369	11,1%
Total	1,116,233		1,071,858	

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

Table 13: International immigrants and immigrants from the rest of Canada (ROC) in the English school system of Quebec: 2002-2003 and 2006-2007

English Language sector	2002-2003	%	2006-2007	%
International immigrant pupils born outside of Canada	6,240	5.1%	6,014	5.0%
Total pupils born in Canada	116,287	94.9%	113,418	95%
Total pupils born outside of Quebec from the rest of Canada (ROC)	10,712	8.7%	9,723	8.1%
Total pupils born in Quebec	105,575	86.1%	103,695	86.9%
Total enrolment in the English school sector in Quebec	122,527		119,432	

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

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

Thus, since the adoption of Bill 101, the numbers and composition of the province's English and French language schools have evolved considerably and the changes are particularly apparent in Montreal. Citing the 56% decline in enrolment in the English sector, a Task Force on English Education in Quebec (the Chambers Report) presented a rather dismal forecast of the future of the English language school system in the absence of measures aimed at widening access to that sector. It is worth noting that enrolment in the

French language sector declined by 24% over the same period. Over the period 1991-2006, the English school system declined by another 18%. As observed in Table 13, the numbers of immigrants in English language schools continues to decline. Thus the proportion of pupils born in the rest of Canada (ROC) declined from 8.7% in 2003 to 8.1% in 2007.

There is a continued erosion in the share that international immigrants represent in the English school sector. While such immigrants constituted 9.7% of pupils in 2003 (6,240), this proportion dropped to 8.3% in 2007 (6,014) and will likely drop below 7% by 2010. In contrast, pupils born outside Canada enrolled in the French sector numbered 63,997 in 2003 and increased to 72,086 in 2007.

Further eroding enrolment in the English school system is the rising presence of students of English mother tongue enrolled in the French language system: 17,801 in 2002 (1.8% of the French school system) and 19,617 in 2006 (2.1% of the French school system). Consequently, between the years 2002 and 2006, students of English mother tongue represented 62.4% of the English language school

Table 14: Quebec Anglophone responses to the question: 'Do you believe that Anglophones have equal access to jobs with the government of Quebec?'

Quebec Anglophones	English mother tongue	English as home language	Language identification as Anglophone	English as language of work or school
Yes	15.3%	16.5%	15.2%	16.2%
No	76.2%	75.6%	77.2%	78.0%
DNK/Refusal	8.4%	7.9%	7.7%	5.8%

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

Table 15: Quebec Anglophone responses to the question: 'Do you believe that Anglophones have equal access to jobs with the government of Quebec?'

Quebec Anglophones	English as mother tongue	English as home language	English language identification as Anglophone	English as language of work or school
Yes	37.9%	39.7%	37.8%	45.5%
No	57.8%	56.0%	58.4%	50.1%
Already works for government	2.2%	2.2%	1.7%	2.3%
DNK/Refusal	2.1%	2.0%	2.1%	2.1%

Source: "Survey of Quebec Anglophones", Community Health and Social Services Network-CROP, October, 2005.

system (76,495) and dropped to 60.4% (72,163) of the sector in 2006. Taken together, these factors account for the sustained drop in enrolment in the English school system which eroded the institutional support of English schooling in Quebec, thus contributing to the decline in the overall vitality of the ESCQ in the province.

2.4. Equitable representation of Anglophones in the Quebec Public Administration

In 2003, the Quebec Treasury Board issued an Action Plan aimed at increasing the representation of cultural communities, Aboriginals and Anglophones in the Quebec provincial civil service (Quebec, 2003). Cultural communities were defined as members of visible minorities and persons whose mother tongues were neither English nor French (Allophones), whereas Anglophones were described as persons whose mother tongue is English. For the year 2002, some

394 Anglophones were part of the Quebec public service representing 0.7% of total employees. Members of cultural communities represented 2.3% of the civil service, a total of 1,328 persons. Independent of the definition of the English-speaking population, the gap between the percentage of ESCQ members and their share of the civil service is substantial, reflecting patterns obtained in earlier studies conducted by the Quebec Human Rights Commission (Quebec, 1998) and the *Conseil des relations interculturelles* (Quebec, 1999). Thus Anglophones and cultural communities share in common their non-inclusion in the Quebec public administration, the biggest employer in the province.

As seen in Table 14, results from a recent CHSSN-CROP survey conducted with a representative sample of the Quebec Anglophone population showed that Anglophones were acutely aware of their disadvantaged position as regards employment in the Quebec public administration.

Quebec Anglophone responses were compared using different definitions of being an Anglophone including: having English as a mother tongue, having English as the home language, identifying as an Anglophone, and declaring English as one's language of work or school. Responses to the issue of equitable inclusion in the Quebec public administration were consistent across these definitions of Quebec Anglophone. Results showed that the vast majority of respondents (75% to 78%) felt that Anglophones did not have access to jobs within the government of Quebec. As seen in Table 15, the same CHSSN-CROP survey also showed that the majority of Quebec Anglophones (50.1% to 58%) believed that Anglophones did not have equal access to jobs within the government of Quebec.

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

3. Concluding Notes

Definitions of the ESCQ by the federal and provincial governments have an important impact, not only on the perception of the community's vitality, but also on its identity. Clearly, the federal government counts as members of the ESCQ persons that do not qualify as such in the definition employed by several Quebec provincial bodies. Consistent with its commitment to support the vitality of the ESCQ, the federal government has employed a more inclusive notion of membership. However, its capacity to act in favour of ESCQ vitality are yet limited by the areas of federal-provincial jurisdiction in which it can have an effect

in improving the community's condition. It is the province of Quebec that has more influence on those areas that are critical to Anglophone vitality and community identity (i.e., education, immigration, employment equity). Given that the Quebec government uses a more limiting definition of who is a member of the ESCQ, opportunity for the promotion of community vitality is often constrained by the institutional and definitional framework established by the Quebec State. Since members of the ESCQ are severely underrepresented in the provincial civil service, the provincial government risks being seen as having a negative impact on the vitality of the ESCQ. From a policy perspective, in the absence of changes to provincial criteria in defining the ESCQ, when it comes to strengthening identification with the English-speaking community, the municipalities and the non-governmental community sector are areas that may be more likely to enhance such vitality.

Bibliography

- d'Anglejan, A. (1984). Language planning in Quebec: An historical overview and future trends. In R.Y. Bourhis (Ed.). *Conflict and Language Planning in Quebec*. Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters. 29-52.
- Bourhis, R.Y. (2001). Reversing language shift in Quebec. J.A. Fishman (Ed.). *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters. 101-141.
- Bourhis, R.Y. & Barrette, G. (2005). Ethnolinguistic Vitality. In K. Brown (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language Linguistics* (2nd edition) Oxford, England: Elsevier.
- Bourhis, R.Y. & Lopicq, D. (2004). *La vitalité des communautés francophone et anglophone du Québec. Bilan et perspectives depuis la loi 101*. Montréal : Cahiers de recherche, No. 11. Chaire Concordia-UQAM en études ethniques.
- Caldwell, G. (1984). Anglo-Quebec: Demographic realities and options for the future. In R.Y. Bourhis (Ed.). *Conflict and Language Planning in Quebec*. Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters. 205-221.

- Caldwell, G. (1994). English Quebec: Demographic and cultural reproduction. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 105/106, 153-179.
- Caldwell, G. (2002). La Charte de la langue française vue par les Anglophones. In P. Bouchard & R. Bourhis (Eds.). *L'aménagement linguistique au Québec : 25 ans d'application de la Charte de la langue française*. Québec: Office québécois de la langue française; Publications du Québec. 27-36.
- Canada (2001). *Census of Canada, 2001*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Canada (2007). *Annual Report, 2006-2007*. Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.
- CHSSN (2005). Community Health and Social Services Network-CROP, "Survey of Quebec Anglophones".
- Corbeil, J.C. (2007). *L'embarras des langues : Origine, conception et évolution de la politique linguistique québécoise*. Montréal : Québec Amérique.
- Decima (2006). Decima Research for the Department of Canadian Heritage. November.
- Canada (2006). Fact Sheet Adoption of Bill S-3 - An Act To Amend The Official Languages Act (Promotion Of English And French) Amendments to the Official Languages http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/legislation/bill_s3_factsheet_e.cfm
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R.Y. & Taylor, D.M. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H.Giles (Ed.) *Language Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London, England: Academic Press.
- Quebec (2007), Minister of Relations with Citizens and Immigration, Government of Quebec .
- Quebec (2003). "La diversité dans la fonction publique québécoise : plan d'action", Secrétariat du Conseil de Trésor, Gouvernement du Québec.
- Quebec (2007). *L'effectif scolaire à temps plein et à temps partiel du secteur des jeunes (2002-2003 à 2006-2007)*. Ministère de l'Éducation, Loisir et Sport. Gouvernement du Québec.
- Harwood, J., Giles, H. & Bourhis, R.Y. (1994). The Genesis of vitality theory: Historical patterns and discursal dimensions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 108, 167-206.
- Jedwab, J. (2004). *Going Forward: The evolution of Quebec's English-Speaking Community*. Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.
- Johnson, M.L. & Doucet, P. (2006). *A Sharper View: Evaluating the vitality of Official Language Minority Communities*. Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.
- Lamarre, P. (2007). Anglo-Quebec today: Looking at community and schooling issues. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 185, 109-132.
- Leger Marketing (2007). Leger marketing for the Montreal Gazette and the Association for Canadian Studies, August 2007.
- Mallea, J. (1994). Minority language education in Quebec and Anglophone Canada.
- In R.Y. Bourhis (Ed.). *Conflict and Language Planning in Quebec*. Clevedon, Avon, England: Multilingual Matters. 222-260.
- Quebec, (1998). *Les programmes d'accès à l'égalité au Québec: Bilan et perspectives*. Montréal. Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse. Gouvernement du Québec.
- Quebec (1999). *L'accès à l'égalité en emploi: De l'égalité de droit à l'égalité de fait*. Montréal, QC : Conseil des relations interculturelles. Gouvernement du Québec.
- Scowen, R. (1991). *A Different Vision: The English in Quebec in the 1990s*. Don Mills: Maxwell MacMillan.
- Scowen, R. (2007). *Time to Say Goodbye: Building a Better Canada Without Quebec*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Stevenson, G. (1999). *Community Besieged: The Anglophone Minority and the Politics of Quebec*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
-

The Author

JACK JEDWAB is currently the Executive Director of the Association for Canadian Studies. He has occupied that position since 1998 and prior to that served from 1994 as Executive Director of the Quebec Division of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Mr. Jedwab graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in History and Economics from McGill University and a Masters Degree and a Ph.D in Canadian History from Concordia University. He was a doctoral fellow of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada from 1982-1985. He has lectured at McGill University since 1983 in the Quebec Studies Program, the sociology and political science departments and more recently at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada where he taught courses on Official Language Minorities in Canada and introduced a course on Sports in Canada. He is the founding editor of the publications Canadian Issues and Canadian Diversity.

.

.