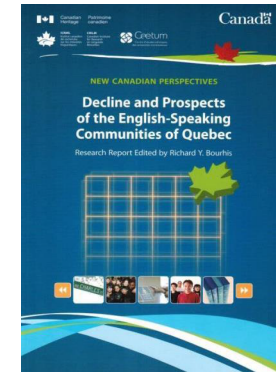
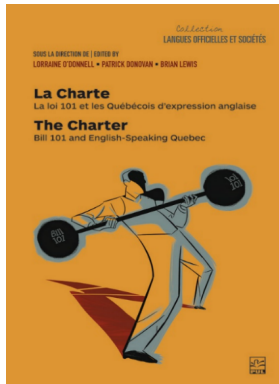


Educational vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: from Bill 101 to Bill 96 and some ideological clarifications



Richard Y. Bourhis

Département de Psychologie

Université du Québec à Montréal

Bourhis.richard@uqam.ca

Talk presented at the
Coalition for the Future of English Education in Québec (COFFEE-QC)
April 26, 2022, Aylmer, Gatineau, Québec

The vitality of Linguistic Communities

The vitality of a language community is defined as: « that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup settings.» (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977)

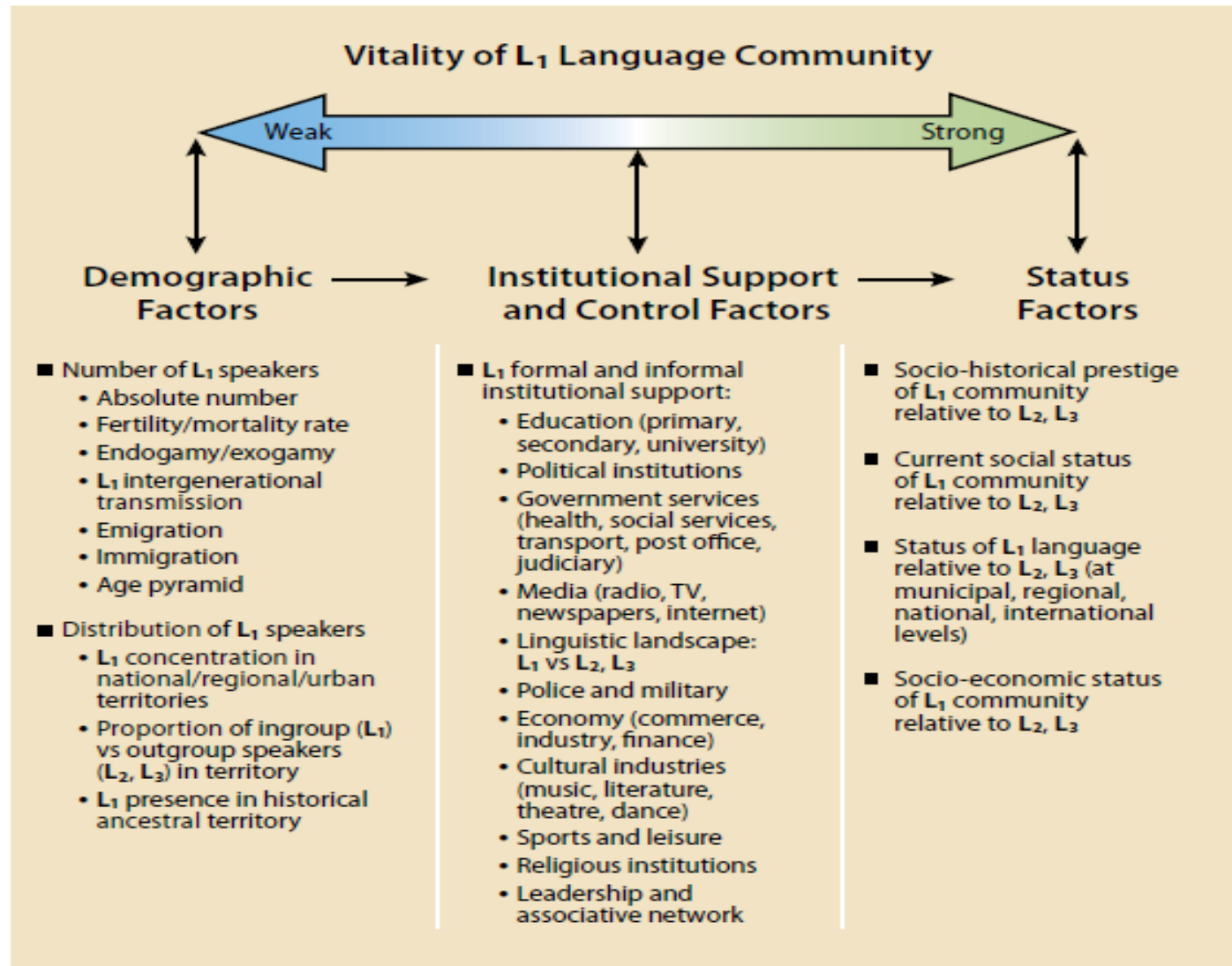
The 3 pillars of group vitality are: **Demographic** factors, **Institutional control & Status**. Each factor contributes to the **vitality** of linguistic minorities **ranging from strong to weak** (Bourhis, et al., 2019)

The **more vitality** a language community enjoys, the **more likely** it is that it will **survive** and **thrive** as a *collective entity* in a given intergroup context. (Bourhis & Landry, 2012)

Today, I highlight the **decline of the demographic & institutional vitality** of the Anglophone minority with a focus on **Education**

Then, I propose **5 Ideological clarifications** which challenge prospects of the English-speaking communities of Quebec

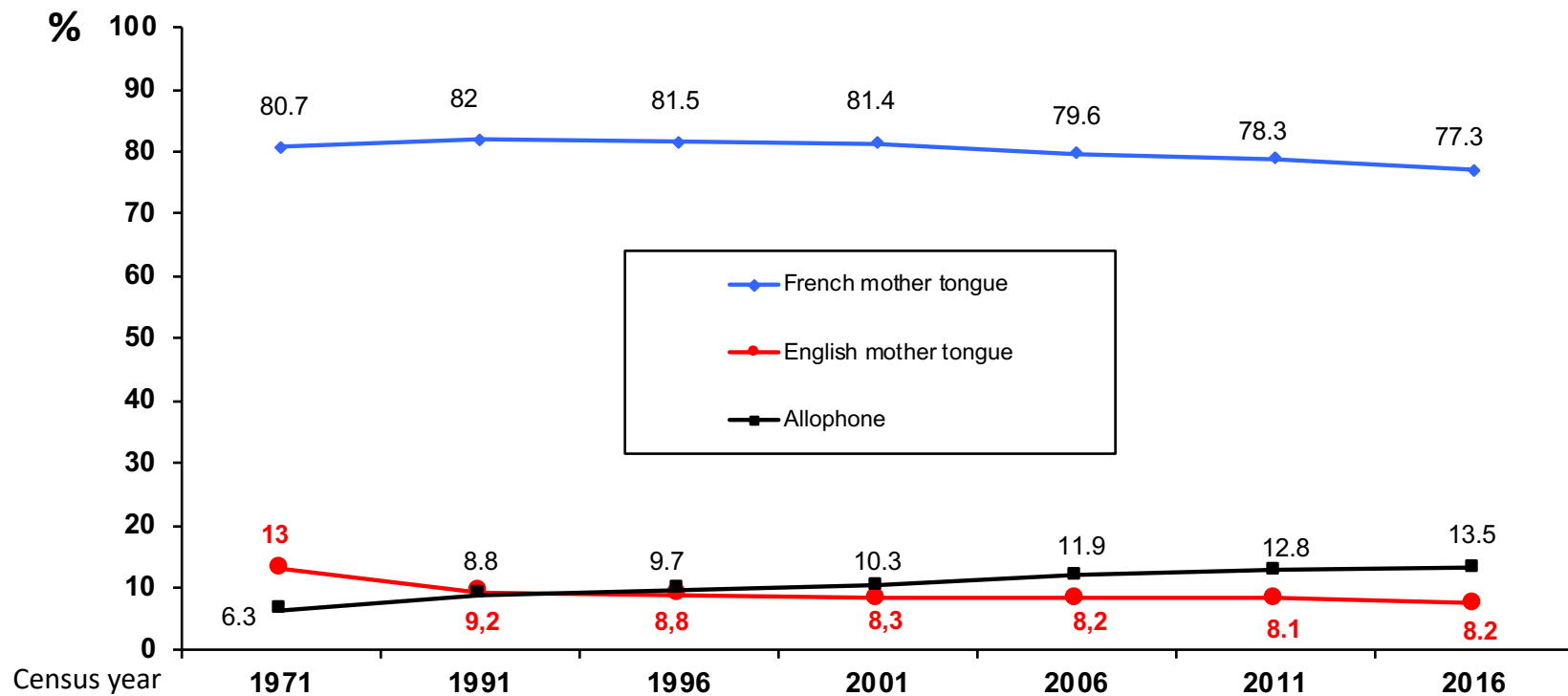
Figure 1
Taxonomy of Socio-Structural Factors
Affecting the Vitality of Language Community L₁
in Contact with Language Communities L₂ and L₃
(Adapted from Bourhis, 2001a)



Basic demolinguistic trends in Quebec: Census 1971 and 2016

- Figures 1 to 4 show basic demolinguistic trends on Canadian census: 1971 & 2016
- **Figure 1: Quebec population by mother tongue (L1): in %**
- L1 Francophones: 1971= 80.7%; 2016= 77.3%
- L1 Anglophones: 1971= 13%; 2016= 8.2%; Allophones: 1971= 6.3%; 2016= 13.5%
- **Figure 2: French/English bilingualism by mother tongue L1) in %**
- Francophone bilinguals: 1971= 25.5%; 2016= 40.2%
- Anglophone bilinguals: 1971= 37.1%; 2016= 68.8%;
- Allophone bilinguals: 1971 = 33%; 2016= 50.9%
- **Figure 3: Language used most often at home in % (single responses)**
- French: 1971 = 80.8%; 2016 = 80.6%
- English: 1971 = 14.7%; 2016= 10.7%; Other: 1971= 4.5%; 2016= 8.6%
- **Figure 4: Knowledge of language well enough to sustain conversation**
- French (French only + French+English): 1971= 88.5%; 2016= 94.5%
- English (English only + French +English): 1971= 38.1%; 2016= 49.1%
- French only: 1971= 60.9%; 2016= 50% ; English only: 1971= 10.5%; 2016= 4.6%

Figure 1. Number & percentage of Quebec population by mother tongue (L1). Canadian Census: 1971 , 2016 (Anglophone FOLS 1996 = 925,830 (13.1%); 2016 FOL = 964,120 (12%) (Bourhis, 2019)

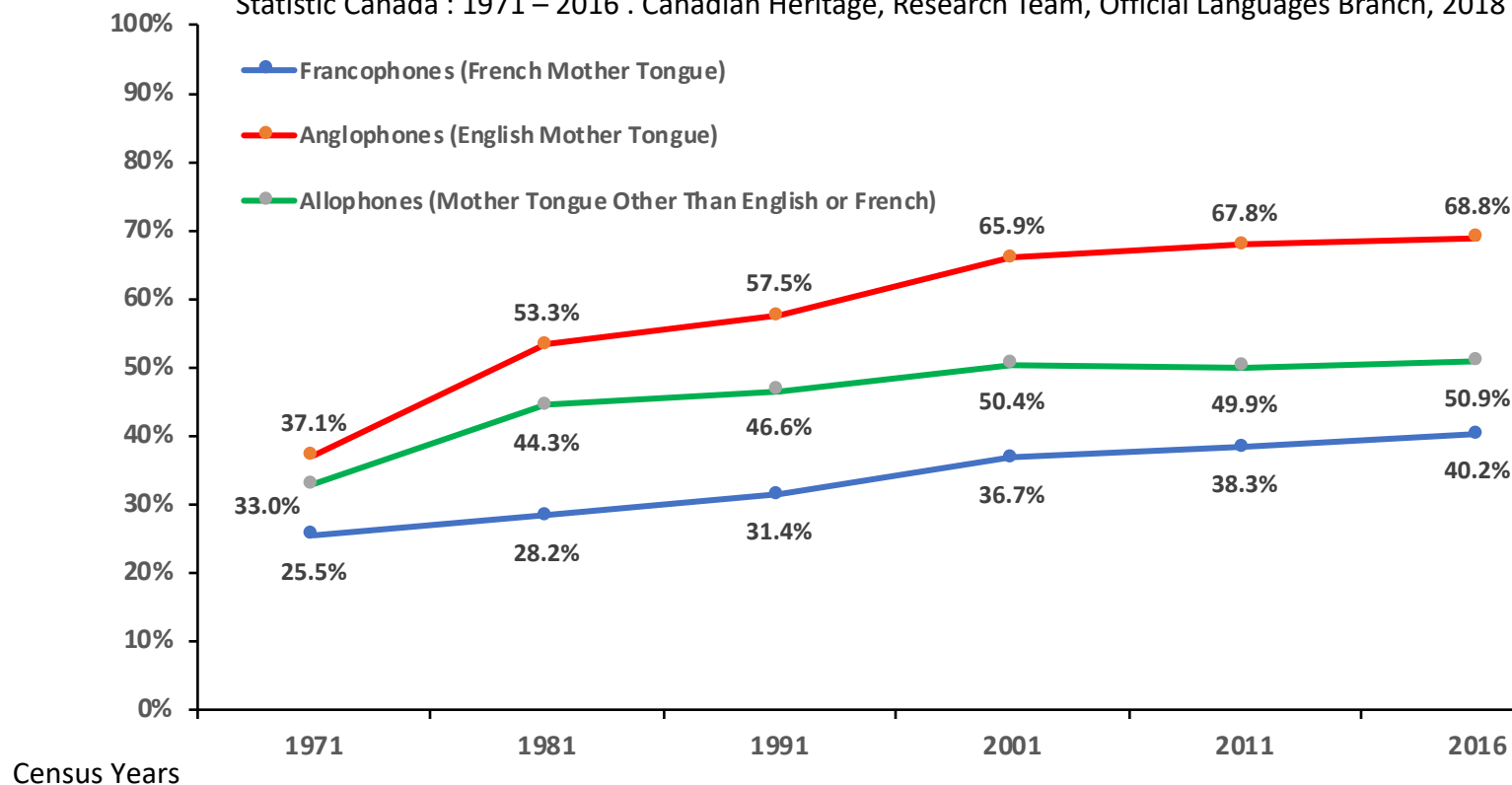


◆ L ₁ French	4 860 410	5 585 645	5 741 435	5 802 020	5 916 840	6 102 210	6 219 660
● L ₁ English	788 830	626 195	621 865	591 380	607 165	599 225	601 155
■ Allophone	390 415	598 445	681 285	732 180	866 000	961 695	1 060 830

Mother tongue (L1): First language learned at home in childhood and still understood at time of census. (single responses)

**Fig. 2. French-English bilingualism in Quebec by mother tongue (L1)
of Quebec Francophones, Anglophones & Allophones**

Statistic Canada : 1971 – 2016 . Canadian Heritage, Research Team, Official Languages Branch, 2018

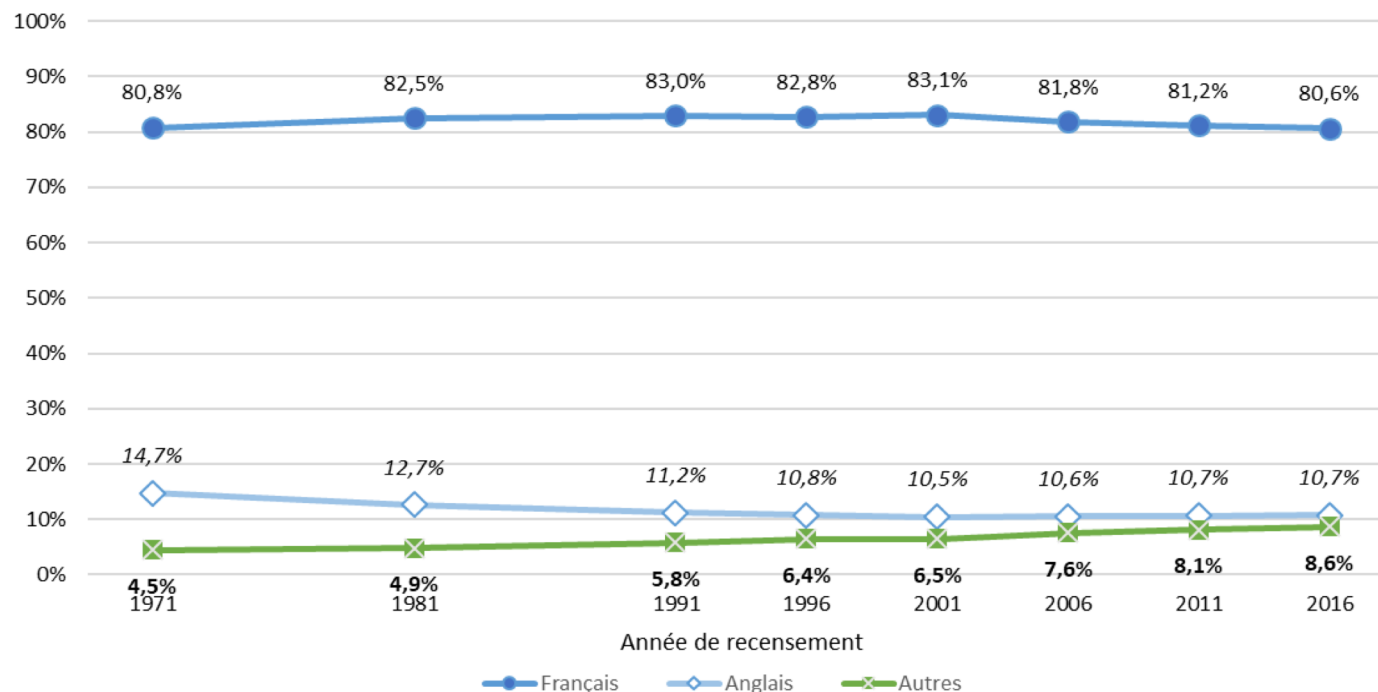


◆ L ₁ French	1 238 500	1 499 200	1 746 798	2 122 050	2 334 520	2 502 735
● L ₁ English	292 800	375 500	342 766	377 090	406 130	413 575
■ Allophone	122 900	188 800	285 200	357 210	480 000	539 455

Mother tongue L₁: First language learned at home in childhood and still understood at time of census (L₁ single response).

Bilingual: Capacity to speak both French & English well enough to conduct a conversation

Langue utilisée le plus souvent à la maison Québec de 1971 à 2016

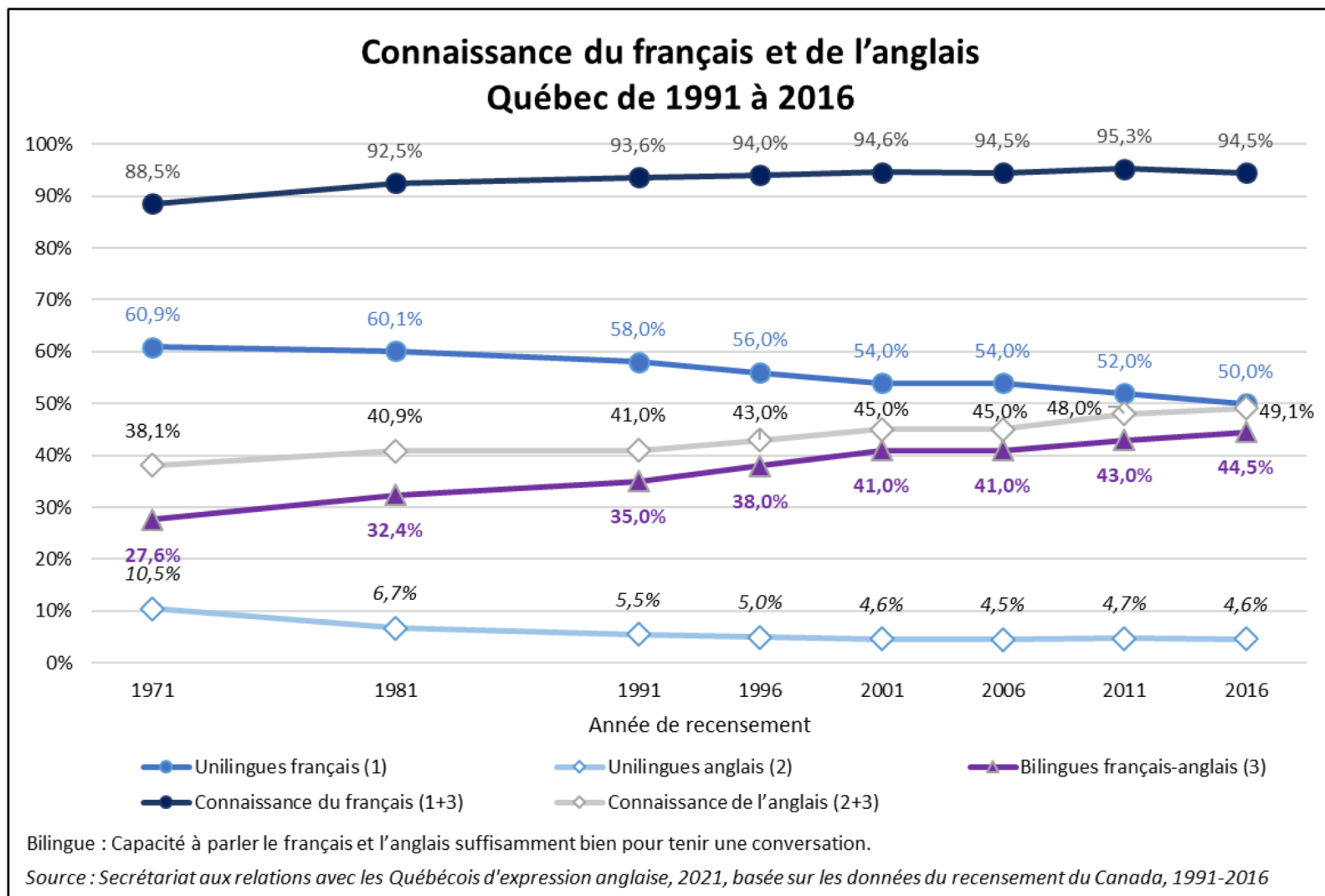


Source : Secrétariat aux relations avec les Québécois d'expression anglaise, 2021, basée sur les données du recensement du Canada, 1991-2016

Fig.3. Langue most often used at home (Secrétariat relations Québécois expression anglaise SRQEA, 2021).

1. En nombre absolus, l'usage du *français* à la maison passe de 4,9 million d'individus en 1971 à 6,5 million en 2016.
2. En nombre absolu , l'usage de l'*anglais* à la maison décroît:
de 888 000 individus en 1971 (14.7%) à 867 000 en 2016 (10.7%)
3. Le nombre de personnes déclarant utiliser *autres langues* à la maison passe de 270 000 individus en 1971 (4.5%) à 697 000 en 2016 (8.6%). Population Allophones: de 373k en 1971 à 1.05 million en 2016.

**Fig.4. Knowledge of French to sustain a conversation =
Unilingual French + French/English bilinguals**
Knowledge of French: from 88.5% in 1971 to 94.5% in 2016
 Statistics Canada 1971 -2016. SRQEA, 2021



Language laws eroding access to English schools in Quebec : Bill 101

Up to 1960s, Francophones, Anglophones, Allophones & Immigrants had **freedom of choice** to attend **English** or **French** public schools.

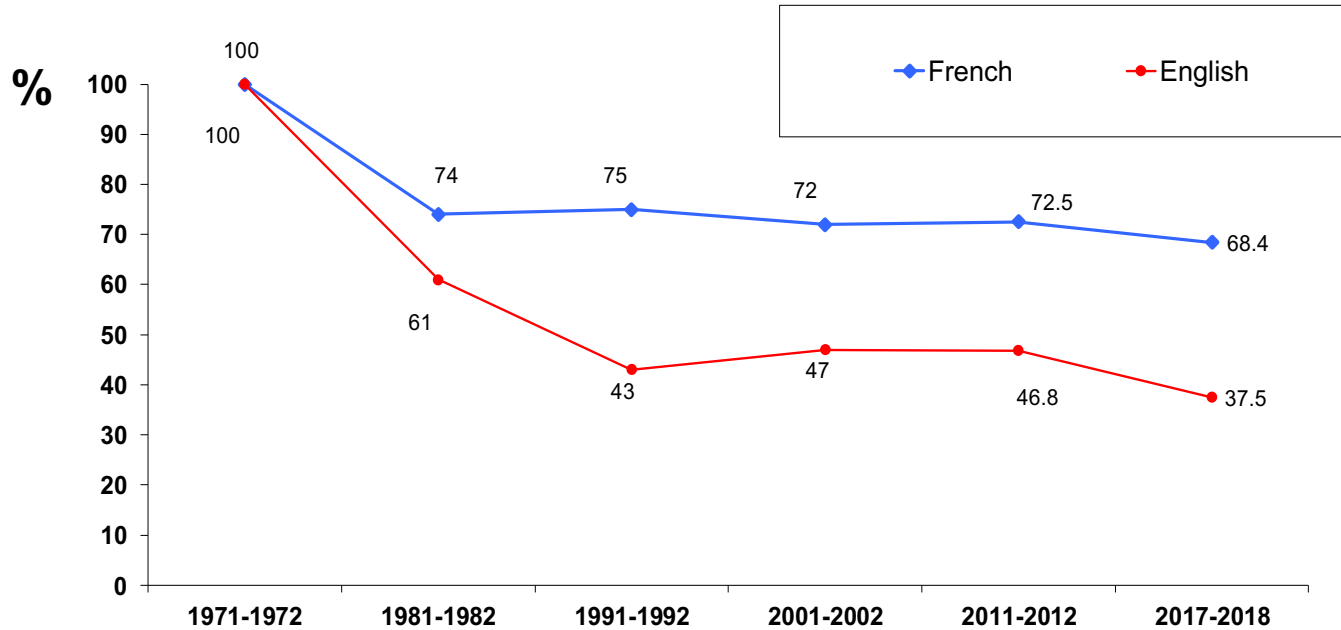
In 1977, the **Parti Québécois Government** adopted **Bill 101 banning Francophone majority and immigrants from attending English schools at primary & secondary level** (grand-father clauses applied to siblings; Bourhis, 2012).

Bill 101 stipulated that **Anglophone pupils** could attend English schools **only if one sibling or parent had spent most of its primary schooling in English within Canada**: what is known as **‘English eligible students’** (Rights holders, ‘Canada clause’ court challenges).

Figure 5. Number & percentage (1971=100%) of pupils in primary & secondary *French* and *English* school systems in Quebec (public & private): 1971-2018.

School enrollment in 1971 before Bill 101, is used as benchmark for index for subsequent years up to 2018.

Ministère de l'Éducation: MELS, 2013; Direction services à la Communauté anglophone, MEES, 2018



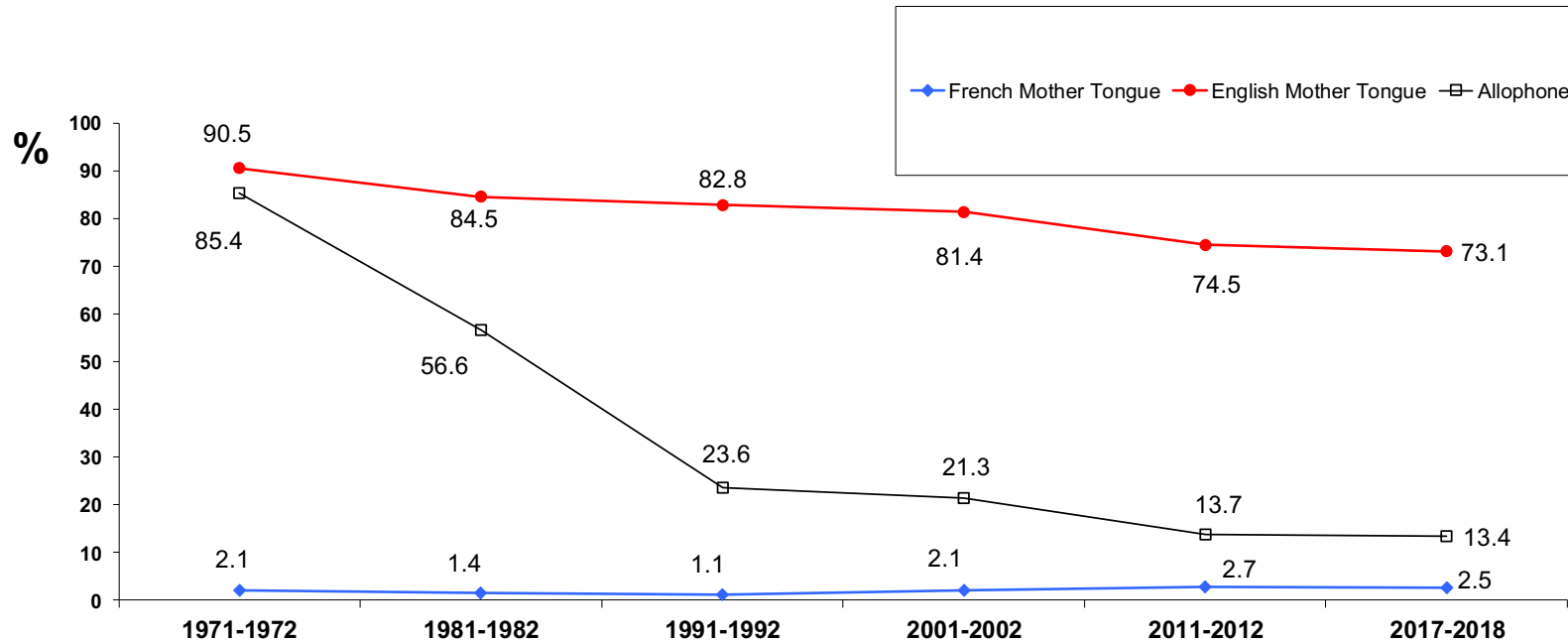
◆ French Schools	1,378,788	1,026,951	1,035,358	997,358	999,976	943,381
● English Schools	256,251	155,585	111,391	121,225	119,974	96,235

How did Bill 101 affect the size of the English & French school systems in Quebec ?

1. In 1971 there were **1.3 million students in French** primary & secondary schools, our 100% baseline. By 2018, there were only **943,000 students** left in the **French school system**, representing **only 68%** of its original size in 1971.
2. In 1971 there were **256,000** students in **English** primary & secondary schools, our 100% baseline. By 2018, there were only **96,235** students left in the **English school system**, representing **only 37.5%** of its original size in 1971. *This is largest drop in an English language school system in Canada.*
3. By 2018, **87% of Allophone** students **shifted from English to French schools**. **Bill 101 succeeded** in **banning Allophone & Francophone access to the English school system** (Bourhis, 2019).

Figure 6. Number & percentage of pupils in *English* primary and secondary *public & private* schools system in *Quebec province* by mother tongue of pupils (L1) : 1971 to 2018.

Ministère de l'Éducation: MELS, 2013; Direction services à la Communauté anglophone, MEES, 2018: Bourhis, 2019)



◆ L1French	28,700	13,839	10,361	19,505	20,451	17,591
● L1English	171,175	101,695	79,004	76,818	63,946	52,500
□ Allophone	56,376	37,264	19,508	22,199	18,853	12,144

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

Why greater decline of English than French School Systems after Bill 101?

1. Drop in birth rate (to 1.4) & low immigration to Quebec help account for both French & English school enrollment decline in Province.

2. Bill 22, Bill 101, Bill 104 & Bill 115 *restricting access* to English schools contributed to **steeper enrollment decline** in **English school system**.

3. **Departure of Anglophones (- 349K) and Allophones (- 120k) from Quebec** to Rest of Canada (ROC) from 1966 to 2016 also account for **decline of English school system**.

4. Some **Anglophone parents** who have « **rights holder children** » send their child to **French school** to **foster stronger integration** to Québécois French accent & culture or because **French school closer** to home than English one.

CAQ Government tabled Bill 96 on May 13, 2021

- CAQ proposes Bill 96 as boost to Bill 101 to address **‘critical’ decline** of French in **work place & threat of attraction** of 5 English CEGEPS for Francophone & Allophone students.
- Bill 96 **gives priority access** to English CEGEPS for « **English eligible students** ». Those having one parent who attended mostly English schooling anywhere in Canada. (s.62)(Bill 101) (rights holders/ayant droit)
- This **‘English eligible’ criteria is too narrow** to allow **ALL English-speaking students** to gain entry to **English CEGEPs**.
- Could limit access to English CEGEP for candidates who are : English mother tongue; English FOLS; graduates of English secondary schools; or self identified Anglophones.
- Such **English speaking students** will compete with Francophone & Allophones students for **even fewer spaces** in **downsized 5 English CEGEPS**

Strong Quebec Francophone support to apply Bill 101 restrictions on access to English CEGEPS

- The 3 major Trade Unions of Quebec, many Professional corporations, French CEGEPS, supporters of CAQ, Quebec Solidaire & PQ parties, nationalist scholars and intellectuals would like to **use Bill 101 clause to ban ALL Francophones, Allophones & immigrants from attending English CEGEPS.**
- **Only English eligible students ('rights holders') should have access to 5 English CEGEPS in Quebec.**
- « *La Fédération des cégeps et Le regroupement pour les cégep français* déplore que les collèges privés anglophones non subventionnés soient exemptés de ce gel des place et accueillent trop d'étudiants étrangers ». *Journal de Québec*, 14 mai, 2021.

CAQ Higher Education Minister McCann adopted decree *freezing size* of 5 English CEGEPS for 10 years on June 18, 2021

VENDREDI 18 JUIN 2021 LE JOURNAL DE MONTRÉAL ACTUALITÉS 3

À LA UNE Éducation

Pas de nouvelles places en anglais

Québec privilégiera les inscriptions dans les cégeps francophones de Montréal lors des 10 prochaines années

« NOTRE GOUVERNEMENT VEUT RENFORCER LA PLACE DU FRANÇAIS AU QUÉBEC, ET SPÉCIALEMENT À MONTRÉAL. »
- Danielle McCann, ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur

La ministre Danielle McCann dans son bureau de Montréal, hier. PHOTO AGENCE QMI, JOËL LEMAY

Le gouvernement Legault va augmenter le poids des cégeps francophones en créant près de 22 000 places supplémentaires sur l'île de Montréal, en plus de geler le réseau anglophone pour les 10 prochaines années, a appris Le Journal.

PATRICK BELLEROSÉ
Bureau parlementaire

À terme, le nombre d'élèves dans les cégeps de langue anglaise passera donc de 17,1 % de l'ensemble des effectifs à 13,4 %, sur tout le territoire québécois. La diminution est similaire dans la métropole (voir le tableau).

Québec va ainsi plus loin que l'exige le projet de loi 96 sur la réforme de la Charte de la langue française, qui prévoit la « possibilité » d'ajouter 8,7 % de nouvelles places au réseau anglophone. Le Parti québécois avait d'ailleurs critiqué le gouvernement caquiste à ce sujet et réclamait carrément l'imposition de la loi 101 aux cégeps.

En entrevue avec notre Bureau parlementaire, la ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur explique que les prochaines années verront une hausse importante du nombre d'élèves arrivant du secondaire.

EN FRANÇAIS S.V.P.!

MOINS DE PLACES D'ICI 2029					
À Montréal			Dans l'ensemble du Québec		
	2019	2029		2019	2029
Cégeps francophones	71 006	92 820	Cégeps francophones	130 972	173 665
Cégeps anglophones	23 605	23 605	Cégeps anglophones	26 945	26 940
% cégeps anglophones	24,9 %	20,3 %	% cégeps anglophones	17,1 %	13,4 %

* LE GOUVERNEMENT UTILISE L'ANNÉE 2019 COMME RÉFÉRENCE. « PUISQU'IL S'AGIT DES PLUS RÉCENTES DONNÉES CONFIRMÉES DISPONIBLES EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES EFFECTIFS ».

SOURCE : CABINET DE LA MINISTRE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR

2019 Higher Education data: **10%** of **English L1** students attend some of 43 **French** CEGEPS. **6%** of **Francophone L1** students attend some of 5 **English** CEGEPS

June 18, 2021: CAQ Minister McCann *freezes size* of English CEGEPS for 10 years !

- CAQ Minister McCann **freezes enrollment** in the **5 public English CEGEPS** to **2019** level of **26,945 places across Quebec** until **2029. No growth at all is allowed in next 10 years** (Montreal Gazette, Journal de Montreal, TVA, 18 juin 2021).
- McCann declares this **freeze** was designed to **reduce** the size of **5 English CEGEPS** from **17.1%** in 2019 to **13.4%** in 2029. McCann provides 43 Francophone CEGEPS with **extra 21,814 places**, growing the **French** network from **130,972** places in 2019 to **173,665** in 2029 !!
- Prime Minister Legault confirmed this freeze : « **Bill 96 is clear - anglophones represent 8% of Quebec and they will get 8% of new spots in the future** » (Montreal Gazette, June 18, 2021).
- Prime Minister Legault is applying a '*numerus clausus*' rule to reduce size of English CEGEPS for his nationalist Francophone base. This is similar to Polish Government law which capped Jewish students to 10% of University places in 1930s given that Jews constituted 10% of Polish population

CAQ gouvernement **Minister McCann** adopts decree on June 18, 2021 reducing English CEGEP places from **17.1%** in 2019 to **13.4%** in 2029

Minister McCann: « Il y a une augmentation importante dans les cégeps anglophones dans les dernières années (**17.1%**). Alors on voit que ça *dépasse* la proportion de la population anglophone au Québec. Nous (CAQ) on souhaite rééquilibrer tout ça (à **13.4%**). Parce que la proportion de la population anglophone, au Québec, c'est à peu près **13%...** » "(FOL) **(1) McCann also uses 'numerus clausus'**

« ...En vertu du projet de loi 96, les membres de la '**minorité historique anglophone**' auront priorité au moment de l'admission dans un cégep ou l'on enseigne dans la langue de Shakespeare.' » **(1)** Journal de Montreal, TVA, 18 juin 2021).

What does Minister McCann mean by '**Anglophone Historical community**'? On October 20, 2021,

P.M. Legault said they are: « People who are eligible for English schooling in Quebec. It's defined in Bill 101...It's people who learned English or went to English schools in Canada » « He agreed that a person born in another country whose mother tongue is English would not be eligible for education & health care in English »

Authier, Montreal Gazette, October 20, 2021 **(1).** **Danielle McCann, ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur. Le Journal de Montréal, 18 juin, 2021 p.3. et TVA Nouvelles: Gel des places dans les cégeps anglos. 18 juin, 2021.**

**CAQ gouvernement *Minister McCann* adopts decree on June 18, 2021
reducing English CEGEP places from 17.1% in 2019 to 13.4% in 2029**

« La ministre McCann ne s'en cache pas, l'enjeu est surtout d'éviter le **transfert linguistique** des immigrants vers l'univers (des Cégeps) **anglophone**, surtout à Montréal.(1)» Journal de Montréal, 18 juin. 2021

Minister McCann: « C'est sûr qu'en augmentant les places dans les cégeps francophones (+21,814), on veut attirer d'avantage d'étudiants **allophones**. C'est notre objectif » (1)

« ...Les étudiants **francophones** auront toujours le droit d'aller dans les cégeps anglophones, mais c'est sûr qu'il y en aura moins » (1)

(1).Danielle McCann, ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur. *Le Journal de Montréal*, 18 juin, 2021 p.3. et TVA Nouvelles: Gel des places dans les cégeps anglos. 18 juin, 2021.

**February 2022: CAQ Bill 96 Freezes admission levels of
5 English CEGEPS to 2022 level !**

- Recall that post secondary education is **NOT protected** by **Article 23** of 1982 *Canadian Charter*. *Post secondary education has no federal protection at all.*
- This **freeze in admission to English CEGEPS** cancels previous Bill 96 clause of **capping growth of 5 English CEGEPS to 8.7% per year** until 2029.
- This total freeze of English CEGEP growth will **reduce the number of places** available in **5 English CEGEPS**. It will **reduce access to English CEGEPS** for Anglophone, Francophone and Allophone students.

Bill 96: French Language requirements in 5 English CEGEPS

- Bill 96 stipulates that **Allophone, Francophone & other non 'English-eligible'** students in English CEGEPS will have to pass the **standard French competency test** used in **French CEGEPS**.
- But this level of French competence is difficult to achieve for Anglophone students after taking only 3 French courses as L2 in CEGEP. So English CEGEP directors expect that many such students are likely to fail the standard French test used in French CEGEPS .
- April 2022: Liberal MNAs *David Birnbaum* and *Hélène David* proposed to **amend Bill 96** to **oblige ALL Anglophone students to pass 3 French medium courses within their ENGLISH CEGEP education** (ex. courses in Politics, History & Science). The architect of Bill 96, *Simon Jolin Barrette*, gleefully had this amendment adopted within Bill 96 !
- The Directors of the five Anglophone CEGEPS and Marianopolis decried this amendment taken without their input or L2 linguistic considerations for anglophone students.
- Bill 96: '**English eligible students**' attending English CEGEPS **will/or not** have to take **standard French Competency test** in order to obtain college diploma ??

FIVE Ideological clarification themes (Fishman, 2001)

Québécois majority governments undermining ESCQ Vitality on institutional support in Education :

- 1: Bill 101 *restrictions* on access to English primary & secondary schools by PQ**
- 2. CAQ Government adoption of Bill 40 seeking to abolish French and English School boards**
- 3. CAQ Government *freeze* on size of 5 English CEGEPs**

These attacks on vitality of ESCQ require Anglophones and Allophones to reconsider their PROSPECTS as linguistic minorities in Quebec .

Here are FIVE Ideological clarifications worth discussing.

For our discussion, here are FIVE Ideological clarification themes (Fishman, 2001)

1. *Sociolinguistic situation of French & English communities in Quebec*

1.1. **Anglophones** and **Allophones** minorities who stayed in Quebec have proven they **accept** the imperative of maintaining the status and use of **French** and the **majority of them became bilingual !** (Anglo; 37% in 1971 to 68.8% in 2016)

1.2. The **English speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ)** are **not responsible** for the substantial **status** and **spread** of the **English language** in the **world** including within **Canada** and in **Quebec**.

1.3. **French** in Quebec will always be a **minority language** relative to **English** and **Spanish** in North America.

1.4. Eroding the **status** and **institutional vitality** of the **English speaking minority** will **never be sufficient** to **neutralise** the **international drawing power** of the **English language** for **Francophones & Allophones** in Quebec !

Discussion: Ideological clarification
2. Québécois Francophone Rhetorical Strategies

2.1. **Québécois Francophone national discourse** invokes **threat** to **French language and identity** from the presence of the **English language and immigrants** of different linguistic, ethnic & religious background in Quebec.

2.2. **Québécois Francophone discourse** invokes this **threat** to the **French language** as **justification** to **erode** the **institutional vitality** of the English speaking minorities of Quebec (ESCQ).

2.3. Quebec Government laws **reducing access to English schools and CEGEPS** illustrates how the **Francophone majority** can use its **minority status** at the **Canadian & USA** level, to **justify eroding** the English **educational system** at the **Provincial level**.

Discussion: Ideological clarification
**3. Québécois Francophones: *Paradigm Shift* from
« *Fragile majority* » to « *Dominant majority* »**

3.1. Quebec laws **restricting access** to minority English schools and CEGEPS are ***legitimized rhetorically*** by invoking that **Québécois francophones** are a « ***fragile majority*** » in the Province when considered in its North American context.

3.2. Can a ***formerly subordinated majority*** such as **Québécois francophones** accept that it has **gained** linguistic, institutional and economic ***dominance*** within its own territory of Quebec ?

3.3. Can **Québécois francophones** accept a ***paradigm shift*** by reframing their status position from a « ***fragile majority*** » to that of a ***dominant majority*** ?

3.4. **Québécois francophones** are a ***dominant majority*** imbued with the ***psychology of a besieged minority***, armed with **ALL** the ***tools of the Quebec STATE***

Discussion: Ideological clarification

4. Francophones can *reframe* Anglophone & Allophone minorities as *assets*, not *threats*

4.1. Can **Québécois Francophone dominant majority** develop the **cultural security** to view its own *linguistic minorities* as a **responsibility** rather than *threatening liabilities* ?

4.2. Can **Québécois Francophones** « *reframe* » Anglophone and Allophone minorities as **assets** contributing to *economic and cultural* development of Quebec? Such '**reframing**' will make young **Anglophones** and **Allophones** feel **more accepted** in Quebec society.

4.3. **Québécois francophones** acting as a **secure dominant majority** could view **investment** in the **institutional vitality** of its **linguistic minorities** as building **social cohesion** and enhancing the **adaptability** of Québécois society within North American economy.

Discussion: Ideological clarification :
5. Right of Anglophones & Allophones minorities
to also OWN Quebec as their HOMELAND !

5.1. **Anglophone, Allophone** minorities have the **right** to consider Québec as their **homeland** as much as **do** the **Francophone dominant majority**. **All pay taxes.**

5.2. Quebec Anglophones and Allophones **built** many of their **own institutions** since the **19th century**. They have the **collective right** to **protect and develop** their languages, cultures and institutions. This without being « **stigmatized** » as « **traitors** » to Québécois French dominant majority.

5.3. **Leaders** of the ESCQ **have the right** to develop the organizations they need to promote the **defence** and **development** of their **institutional vitality in:** education, health care & social services, judiciary, municipalities, politics, economy, cultural & sport industries & within Quebec public administration.

Discussion: Ideological clarification

5. Right of Anglophones & Allophones to value & celebrate their own socio-affective language & culture

5.4. Quebec Anglophone & Allophone minorities are as much part of '**La Nation Québécoise**' as are the Francophone dominant majority. **ALL have equal rights and duties as citizens of Quebec .**

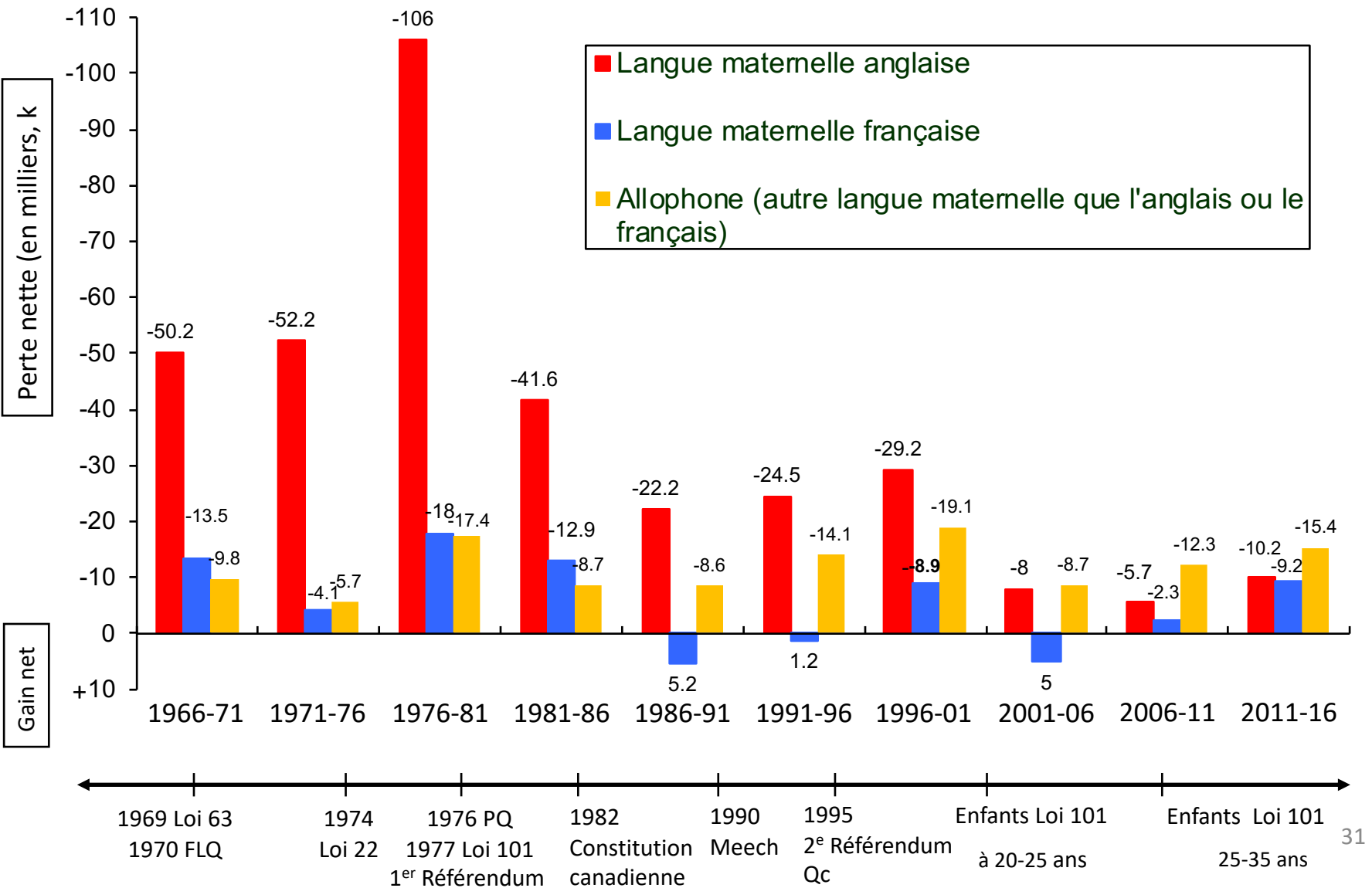
5.5. Quebec Anglophones and Allophones have the right to have their **own mother tongue and culture** as pillars of their **socio-affective identity** as **unique** and **universal** as the French language & culture is for the Québécois.

5.6. Quebec Anglophones & Allophones minorities along with Francophone majority have the **right to endorse multiple national, cultural & linguistic identities, including to Quebec, to Canada and other nations without stigma or exclusion !**

MERCI
THANK YOU
GRACIAS GRAZIE
شُكْر להודות
Obrigado Trugarez

bourhis.richard@uqam.ca

Fig.4. Net *interprovincial* migration of **Anglophones (QA)**, **Francophones (QF)** & **Allophones (A)** to Québec: Arrivals – Departures = net loss in thousands (k) 1966-2016
 Net loss: **QA:- 349.8K**; **A:-120K**; **QF: -57.5k** **Total QC loss= -527.3K** Canada census: 1966-2016



**June 18 2021: Decree *freezes size* of English CEGEPS for 10 years
supplanting CAP on GROWTH of English CEGEPS proposed in Bill 96**

