

# ANGLOPHONE AND FRANCOPHONE DESIRE TO STAY OR LEAVE QUEBEC

## **A STUDY OF QUEBEC-BORN UNDERGRADUATES IN MONTREAL**

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**ABSTRACT :** Using the ethnolinguistic vitality and acculturation frameworks, this chapter examines economic prospects and linguistic tensions as push/pull factors accounting for the willingness of Anglophones and Francophones to stay in Quebec or leave for the rest of Canada (ROC) 40 years after the adoption of the *Charter of the French Language*. Questionnaires were completed by Quebec Francophone (QF; n=234) and Quebec Anglophone (QA; n=205) undergraduates born in Quebec attending French and English universities in Montreal, respectively. Results showed that QA minority students were more willing to leave Quebec for the ROC than were majority QF undergraduates. For QFs, willingness to move to the ROC was predicted mainly by pull factors including seeking better economic prospects and joining a partner. For QAs willingness to leave Quebec was predicted by the following push factors: avoiding linguistic tensions, being victims of collective discrimination, perceiving English-French relations as zero-sum, and endorsing the separation acculturation orientation. Predictors of QAs' willingness to stay in Quebec included perceiving positive economic prospects in Quebec and endorsing the integration acculturation orientation. An opinion survey completed only by QAs helps further account for their desire to stay in Quebec or leave. Results show the importance of language tensions as a factor predicting willingness of Quebec-born Anglophones to leave their province of origin for the ROC.

**RÉSUMÉ :** Faisant appel aux concepts de la vitalité ethnolinguistique et du modèle d'acculturation, cette recherche étudie les perspectives économiques et les tensions linguistiques en tant que facteurs d'attraction ou d'aversion sous-jacents à la volonté d'étudiants universitaires nés au Québec d'émigrer vers le reste du Canada ou de demeurer au Québec, quarante ans après l'adoption de la loi 101. Un questionnaire a été rempli en classe par des étudiants franco-québécois (F.Q.; n = 234) de l'Université du Québec à Montréal et par des étudiants anglo-québécois (A.Q.; n = 205) de l'Université McGill. À la lumière des résultats, les A.Q. seraient plus enclins à quitter le Québec pour le reste du Canada que les F.Q. Pour les étudiants F.Q., la volonté de s'établir dans le reste du Canada serait motivée par la recherche de meilleures perspectives économiques et par le désir de suivre un proche ou conjoint. Pour les étudiants Q.A., les causes d'un départ vers le reste du Canada seraient le sentiment d'être victimes de discrimination, l'évitement des tensions linguistiques et l'endossement de l'orientation d'acculturation séparatiste favorisant le maintien de la culture canadienne anglaise plutôt que l'adoption de la culture québécoise francophone. Parmi les causes de la volonté des A.Q. de rester au Québec figurent les perspectives économiques favorables et l'endossement de l'orientation d'acculturation intégrationniste combinant les cultures anglophones et francophones du Québec. Un sondage d'opinion mené uniquement auprès des A.Q. permet de mieux comprendre leur désir de demeurer au Québec ou de quitter leur province. Les résultats mettent en évidence l'importance des tensions linguistiques et de la discrimination comme facteurs de prédiction de la volonté d'anglophones nés au Québec d'émigrer de leur province d'origine vers le reste du Canada.

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I want to say unequivocally that I care deeply for the English-speaking community of Quebec. It's part of my Quebec, it's part of our Quebec. What the province is today is in large part due to the work the English-speaking community has done through the years — the universities, the colleges, the hospitals.

— Philippe Couillard, former Quebec Premier  
(2014-2018) (CBC News, 2017)

One goal of this chapter is to address issues of interprovincial migration from Quebec to the rest of Canada (ROC), 40 years after the adoption of the *Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101, 1977). A useful construct to frame interprovincial migration is ethnolinguistic vitality. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group was defined as that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within multilingual settings such as Quebec (Giles et al., 1977). The more vitality an ethnolinguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity. Conversely, ethnolinguistic groups that have little vitality are more likely to cease to exist as distinctive language communities. Three broad dimensions of variables constitute the ethnolinguistic vitality of language communities: demography, institutional support, and status. Demographic variables are related to the number of speakers composing language groups, their birth rate, their age pyramid, mixed marriages, their proportion and concentration relative to other ethnolinguistic communities, and their pattern of immigration and emigration within and outside their territory. Demographic indicators of “strength in numbers” can be used as a legitimizing tool for granting linguistic minorities the institutions they need to develop their language community within the state. Institutional support is defined as the degree of control language communities command over institutions such as education, health care, social services, the judiciary, municipal and regional public administrations, the mass media, culture, the economy, leisure, and religious institutions (Bourhis, 2017). Maintaining demolinguistic strength and gaining institutional support is enhanced by the social status of linguistic communities. Status variables include the socio-historical prestige of language communities as well as language laws recognizing their official status within the state (Bourhis, 2001; Ehala, 2010).

Analysts have made useful objective assessments of the vitality of ethnolinguistic communities within regional territories using census and institutional support data to compare their relative strengths and weaknesses for both research and public policy developments (Bourhis & Landry, 2012; Johnson & Doucet, 2006). Studies using the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) have shown that minority and majority respondents are usually realistic about their respective subjective vitality position (Bourhis et al., 1981; Abrams et al., 2009). However, studies of subjective vitality perceptions revealed that perceptual and motivational biases can affect such representations, with some individuals exaggerating the strength of their own group vitality relative to more objective assessments, while other individuals from the same language group may underestimate their

ingroup vitality relative to that of the language majority (Harwood et al., 1994; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993; Smith et al., 2018). Studies have also shown that language minorities and majorities are keen to improve their own group vitality on institutional and status variables while also preferring migrants likely to contribute to their ingroup vitality rather than those likely to bolster the vitality of rival language communities (Sioufi, 2016; Sioufi & Bourhis, 2017). Studies also show that language minorities and majorities often mobilize collectively to defend or improve their respective vitality prospects, including their right to use their own group language in public institutional settings through language policies and laws of multilingual states (Allard & Landry, 1994; Bourhis & Landry, 2012; Bourhis et al., 2019; Gilbert, 2010).

## **SOME HISTORICAL AND VITALITY FEATURES OF FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITIES IN QUEBEC**

The adoption of language laws can enhance or undermine the vitality of language groups such as the French and English communities of Quebec. Based on the Canadian census, individuals who have French as a mother tongue are labelled Francophones, those who have English as a mother tongue are labelled Anglophones, while Allophones are individuals whose mother tongue is other than French or English. Both Francophones and Anglophones have a double status in Quebec: Quebec Francophones (QFs) constitute the language majority within the province but remain a linguistic minority in Canada; Quebec Anglophones (QAs) are a minority at the provincial level but constitute the language majority at the Canadian level.

Indigenous communities have been established in the “New World” continents for 15,000 years. As immigrants from France, many French Canadians can trace their cultural ancestry to the 17th century in Nouvelle-France under French colonial rule, before the British conquest of 1759 (Lacoursière, 1995). For close to four centuries, French Canadians succeeded in controlling their own distinctive French religious, political, administrative, judicial, cultural, health, and educational institutions in Quebec (Plourde et al., 2000). However, up to the middle of the 20th century, French Canadians were an economically and socially disadvantaged majority in their own province ruled by an English Protestant ruling elite (Rudin, 1985). Up to World War II, the three pillars of French-Canadian identity were the Catholic religion, “la race” and the French

language. As French Canadians became increasingly educated, secular, and wealthy following the 1960s modernization of the Quiet Revolution, the French language became the main distinguishing symbol of Quebec Francophone identity being redefined as “Québécois” (Oakes & Warren, 2007).

In line with Quebec Francophone aspirations to secure French as the distinguishing badge of their collective identity, the *Charter of the French Language* (Bill 101) was adopted in 1977 as the first legislative act of the nationalist Parti Québécois government (Bourhis, 1984; Corbeil, 2007; Martel & Paquet, 2010; Rocher, 2002). Overall, Bill 101 succeeded in increasing the institutional and status vitality of French relative to English in most public and private institutions of the province including the work world (Bouchard, 2002; Québec, 2001; Vaillancourt, 2019). Taken together, these trends contributed to improving the income of Francophones relative to Anglophones in the province (Vaillancourt et al., 2007). In a study of self-declared language use at work conducted in 2016, results showed that 95.6% of Francophones declared using French more than 50% of the time at work, 72.1% of Allophones also did so, while a significant minority of Anglophones (43.7%) used French more than 50% of the time at work (Olivier, 2017).

A key role of Bill 101 was to ensure the widespread knowledge of French as the shared public language of communication across Quebec society (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Corbeil, 2007). By 1991, the proportion of the Quebec population of all backgrounds declaring knowledge of French was 93%, and increased to 95.4% by the 2016 census, attesting to the success of Bill 101 in enshrining French as the shared language of public communication in Quebec (Houle & Corbeil, 2018). Knowledge and use of French in the province was supported by favourable demolin-guistic trends showing that the French mother tongue population increased in numbers from 4,860,400 (81%) in 1971 to 6,219,665 (79.1%) by the 2016 census (Statistics Canada, 2017a; Houle & Corbeil, 2018). The slight decline in the proportion of French mother tongue speakers was due to the decline in the birth rate of Francophones (Paillé, 2019) and to the doubling of the proportion of Allophones in the province, from 6.3% (380,415) in 1971 to 13.2% (1,060,830) in 2016, reflecting mostly immigration trends to Quebec during this period.

However, other studies commissioned by the Office québécois de la langue française (OQLF) focused on more or less pessimistic projections for the future of the French language over the coming decades in Quebec

(Paillé, 2011; Termote et al., 2011). Some worried that French mother tongue speakers were reaching the tipping edge of losing their majority status on the island of Montreal (Curzi, 2014). Other analysts considered that Quebec language policies did not go far enough in supporting French as the language of work, especially in Montreal, with its enduring Anglophone minority and growing Allophone immigrant population (Termote, 2019). Others highlighted that Bill 101 had been unduly diluted by *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* rulings adopted by the Canadian Supreme Court (Plourde, 1988; Woehrling, 2005). Failures of the 1980 and 1995 referendums on Quebec sovereignty and the rising number of immigrants, maintained Quebec nationalist discourse focused on linguistic threats to Francophone community vitality in the province. Such discourse framed the position of Quebec Francophones as a fragile majority in Quebec while highlighting their weak vitality minority position in Canada (23%) and North America (2%). Bemoaning the power of attraction of English, some noted that, across the province, the number of QFs who were French/English bilinguals increased from 25.5% (1,238,500) in 1971 before Bill 101 to 40.2% by 2016 (2,502,735) (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

Quebec Anglophones (QAs) are a distinctive cultural minority with ancestral roots in Quebec that date to the British conquest in the 18th century. As part of the British North American colonies, the English-speaking population of Quebec grew as British immigrants settled in the province alongside the established French-Canadian Catholic majority population. These British immigrants were not only of Irish Catholic background, but also of Scottish and English Protestant background. By the founding of the Canadian Confederation (*BNA Act*, 1867), the Quebec Anglophone minority was 260,000 strong, making up 25% of the population of Quebec (Rudin, 1985). For the next hundred years, the English-speaking population declined in the regions of Quebec as it migrated to the city of Montreal, the economic hub of the province.

From Confederation to the 1960s, the English-speaking minorities developed and funded their own educational, health care, and religious institutions, and maintained strong cultural links with English speakers in Ontario and other Canadian provinces, while the largely Protestant elite controlled key economic sectors of the Canadian economy, including those in Quebec (Dickinson, 2007). Class stratification in Quebec benefited the Protestant business elite, while Irish Catholics and speakers of English

from various ethnic backgrounds constituted working-class poor and middle-class elements of this minority. As noted by historian Ronald Rudin (1985):

Although there were numerous English-speaking Montrealers who worked for wages that were insufficient to support a family, the disproportionate representation of English speakers in well-paying jobs led to the situation in 1961 in which an English speaker earned 50% more than the average French-speaking Montrealer. Between 1960 and 1980, however, this situation changed considerably so that English speakers earned only 14% more than French speakers in 1981. This change coincided with the decline in the power of the English-speaking elite, a process that had begun in the 1920s. Well-paying jobs were increasingly distributed in a different fashion, encouraging both the upward mobility of a number of French speakers and the departure of English-speaking Montrealers. Those who departed tended to be relatively well paid and well educated; those left behind occupied lower paying positions, which depressed the average earnings of English speakers (pp. 202-203).

Quebec Anglophone influence also dropped following the ascendancy of the Francophone majority during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, the election of the nationalist Parti Québécois in 1976 and its adoption of pro-French language laws such as Bill 101 in 1977 (McLeod et al., 1982). QAs who stayed were forced to redefine themselves as a declining multi-ethnic language community needing to mobilize collectively to defend their institutions as historical minorities in Quebec (Caldwell, 2012). Many QAs were vehemently opposed to Bill 101, which resulted in the formation of the advocacy group Alliance Quebec and the Anglo-rights provincial Equality Party that gained some seats in the Quebec National Assembly (Stevenson, 1999; Scowen, 1991, 2007). Despite QA mobilization efforts to defend their historical rights and institutions, the application of language laws such as Bill 101 and the increasing control of Francophone government bureaucracies in education, health, social services, and justice contributed to the decline of Anglophone community vitality on the demographic and institutional support fronts (Bourhis, 2012, 2017).

The above-mentioned sociopolitical factors, along with low birth rate and outmigration of Anglophones to the ROC, help account for the decline of the QA mother tongue population, which dropped from 789,200 (13% of Quebec's population) in 1971 to 601,155 (7.5%) in 2016 (Corbeil et al., 2010; Statistics Canada, 2017a). First official language spoken (FOLS) was developed by Statistics Canada in the 1996 census. When taking FOLS

into account, the demolinguistic situation of the QA minority was seen as less problematic since it included English speakers of various mother tongues. The number of QAs based on FOLS was 925,830 (13.1%) in 1996 and rose in absolute number to 964,120 (12%) in 2016. Many QA stakeholders prefer the higher FOLS indicator as a measure of their demolinguistic vitality and as a basis for receiving English language services from federal, provincial, and municipal government institutions (Jedwab, 2012).

Today, QA advocacy groups such as the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) address strategic issues affecting the development and vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ). Thanks to funding by Canadian Heritage, the non-profit QCGN encourages collaboration among its 50 member organizations while helping federal, provincial, and municipal governments to commit to the legislative policies and investments needed to maintain and develop the institutional vitality of the ESCQ across the province (Martin-Laforge, 2018). Thus, minority organizations such as the QCGN, the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN), the English Language Arts Network (ELAN), and the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN) are developing the leadership, research, and community mobilization needed to address the challenge of maintaining the urban and regional institutions necessary to serve the basic needs of the ESCQ in health care, social services, business, education, research, culture, and arts (Bourhis, 2017; Carter, 2012; Jedwab & Maynard, 2012; Lamarre, 2012; Rodgers, 2011; Rodgers et al., 2012).

Limiting access to schooling in the minority language can be an efficient way of eroding the demographic and institutional vitality of minorities (Fishman, 2001). Quebec National Assembly laws including Bill 22, Bill 101, Bill 104 and Bill 115 successfully restricted access to English schools for immigrants and QFs, while only QA “rights-holders” could attend English schools (Bourhis & Foucher, 2012; Lamarre, 2012; Paillé, 2019). From the 100% baseline of 255,205 students in English elementary and secondary schools in the combined public and private systems in 1971, there were only 95,753 students left in the English school system by 2017, or only 37% of the original 1971 baseline (Bourhis & Sioufi, 2017). This decline due to laws such as Bill 101, the low birth rate and outmigration forced English school boards to make commensurate cuts in school budgets, and merge and close schools. These attrition pressures resulted in fewer jobs for present and future QA teachers, administrators and support staff in English schools across the province. In contrast, the decline of the French

school system was less pronounced given that Francophone and immigrant students had to attend the French-language school system following the adoption of Bill 101, thus compensating somewhat for the declining birth rate among Francophones. Quebec Ministry of Education data shows that, from the 100% baseline of 1,378,788 students in French elementary and secondary schools in the public and private systems in 1971, by 2017 there were 920,070 students in French schools, or 67% of the original 1971 baseline (Bourhis, 2019).

Most English schools in Quebec provide quality French teaching for their students through ever-popular French immersion programs and phased-in English-language teaching. In 2011, as many as 83% of elementary students in English school were enrolled in French immersion classes, while, in secondary schools, 65% of students were enrolled in French immersion (ABEE, 2016). Canadian census data shows that an increasing proportion of QAs have become French/English bilinguals since the adoption of Bill 101: from 37% in 1971 (282,800) to 68.8% in 2016 (413,575), with as many as 78% of QA bilinguals in the 18 to 24 age range (Bourhis, 2019). Quebec Ministry of Education figures show that, while secondary school graduation rates were at 70% in the 60 French school boards in the province, graduation rates in the 9 English school boards were at 85%, attesting to the latter's strong academic performance (ABEE, 2018; Jennings, 2015). Interestingly, Quebec Francophones and Allophones would like access to English schools to learn English, as reflected in a representative poll showing that 61% of Francophones and 67% of Allophones wish to obtain better access to the English-language school system for their children (Lacoursière, 2010).

Taken together, these results show that Bill 101 and related laws achieved their goal of restricting access to English-language schools despite federal government funding for these schools through direct transfer payments to the Quebec government. With net Quebec Anglophone outmigration, the English-language school system cannot count on English-Canadian migrant rights-holders from the ROC to improve enrolments in Quebec English-language schools, while international immigrants and QFs remain banned from English-language schools. Despite decades-long pleas by Anglophone community leaders to allow immigrants from English-speaking countries to access English-language schools (Goldbloom, 2015), successive Quebec governments have remained steadfast in excluding English-speaking and Allophone immigrants from accessing the English-language school system. For many Francophone elected representatives, the planned decline of the English-language school system is seen as a

necessary measure given the imperative of sustaining the majority French-language school system and ensuring the integration of immigrants into the Francophone host majority rather than the Anglophone host minority (Macmillan, 2003). Francophone majority discourse at the provincial level also invokes the threatened status of Francophones as a minority at the Canadian national level to justify the attrition of the English-language school system within Quebec.

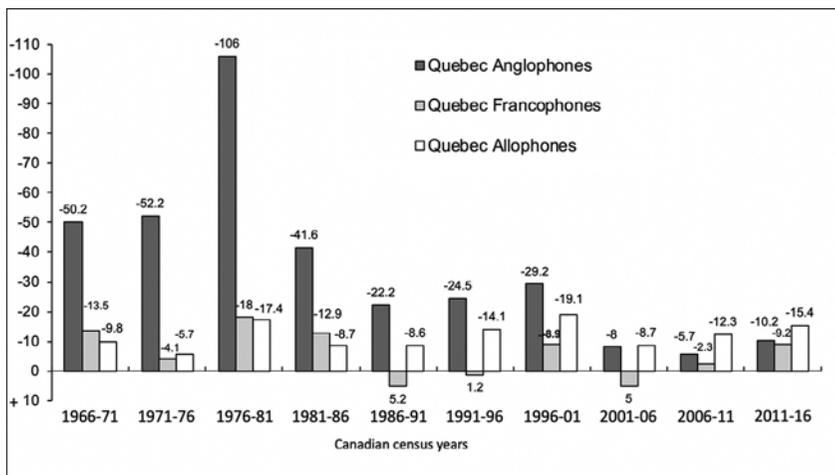
## INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION IN QUEBEC

Classic migration theory proposes both push and pull factors to help account for international and internal migration movements (Lee, 1966). Better jobs and economic prospects can be seen as “pull factors” motivating individuals to migrate from low to high opportunity regions or countries. “Push factors” are aversive circumstances inciting individuals to move out of their region or country of origin, including economic hardship, environmental degradation, linguistic, ethnic and religious tensions, insecurity, corruption, and civil conflicts.

Census and economic studies of Canadian interprovincial migration focus mainly on economic factors and show that unemployment and income differentials are key factors accounting for such migration across Canada (Coulombe, 2006). For various economic, fiscal, and political reasons, Quebec experienced the highest cumulative outmigration of any of the 10 Canadian provinces, losing over 582,000 residents, who migrated to the ROC between 1971 and 2015 (Clemens et al., 2016). This outmigration was prevalent especially among the highly mobile 20- to 29-year-olds (39% of outmigration) in the early stages of their career following the completion of a post-secondary degree. Conversely, Quebec recorded the lowest rate of in migration (adjusted for population) of any province between 1971 and 2015.

**Figure 1**

Net Interprovincial Migration of Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones in Quebec



Arrival — Departure = Net Loss Out-Migration in Thousands (K).

Net loss: QA: -349.8K; QF: -55.2K; A: -119.8K. Canadian census: 1966-2016.

Figure 1 shows interprovincial migration of Canadian citizens to and from Quebec between 1966 and 2016. After subtracting departures from arrivals in Quebec, Canadian census data shows that the net outflow of Francophones to the ROC was 55,200 between 1966 and 2016. As the dominant majority in Quebec, QFs have few push reasons to leave their province for the ROC, where Francophones remain fragile minorities in all provinces including Ontario (5%) and New Brunswick (33%) (Sioufi et al., 2016). However, pull factors such as seeking specialized skills and better job prospects and joining next of kin and partners remain reasons for outmigration to the ROC for both QFs and QAs.

Also shown in Figure 1 is the net interprovincial outflow of QAs to the ROC, which amounted to 349,800, thus contributing to a significant decline of the QA minority in Quebec (Corbeil et al., 2010). What is known as the “Anglophone exodus” began in the 1966 to 1981 period caused by push factors such as urban guerilla actions of the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) including the October Crisis of 1970, the election of the nationalist Parti Québécois government in 1976, the adoption of pro-French language laws such as Bill 101, and the Parti Québécois government’s first referendum on Quebec sovereignty-association held in 1980. These critical incidents, along with labour strife and high income taxes,

remain salient push factors in the historical narrative of many Quebec Anglophones, whose net outmigration remained constant up to the 2011-2016 Canadian census period (Bougie et al., 2010). As seen in Figure 1, such factors and others may also help account for the net outmigration of 119,800 Allophones from Quebec to the ROC in the 1966 to 2016 period.

Clearly, economic factors may not be alone in accounting for the interprovincial migration of Quebec Anglophones to the ROC, as assumed by economists. We propose that linguistic tensions and acculturation processes can complement economic factors in accounting for QAs' desire to migrate from Quebec to the ROC. Though being the victim of prejudice and discrimination is often based on category memberships such as sex/gender (sexism), age (ageism) and race/ethnicity (racism), it can also be based on language and accent (linguicism: Bourhis & Carignan, 2010). At the collective level, linguicism is defined as ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate and enshrine the unequal division of power and resources between contrasting language groups (Phillipson, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988). At the individual level, the literature on evaluative reactions to language and accents shows that speakers who use speech styles that are devalued by dominant majorities are often victims of linguicism, which may result in limited employment opportunities, difficult access to health care and educational services and feelings of social exclusion from mainstream society (Bourhis & Montreuil, 2017; Bourhis et al., 2007; Fuertes et al., 2012). In this study, it is mainly at this individual level of linguicism that we explore linguistic tensions as a complementary factor accounting for QAs' and QFs' desire to migrate from Quebec to the ROC.

Analyses of the 2001 Canadian census showed that QAs who left Quebec were more likely to have a university degree and as likely to be bilingual, suggesting that lack of French skills was not the main reason for outmigration (Floch & Pocock, 2012). These analyses also showed that QAs who left for the ROC enjoyed higher incomes than those who stayed in Quebec. The cumulative effects of QA outmigration were reflected in the 2011 Canadian census showing that the median annual income of mother tongue QAs was \$27,213, while that of QFs was highest at \$29,432, and that of Allophones was lowest at \$21,678 (Statistics Canada, 2013). This trend was confirmed in the 2016 census: the median annual income of mother tongue QAs was \$31,701, while that of QFs remained highest at \$34,620, and that of Allophones was lowest at \$25,774 (Statistics Canada, 2018). Jedwab (2017) showed that, based on the 2016 census, the proportion of QAs living under the poverty line was 11.7%, while that of the QF majority was lowest at 7.2%, and that of Allophones was highest

at 17.2%. Studies also show that QAs representing 7.5% of the Quebec population in 2016 have been systematically under-represented in the workforce of the Quebec government. QA employees hired in the Quebec public service declined from 4% in the 1960s to only 1% of the 57,500 public servants working in the Quebec government in 2018 (Cooper et al., 2019).

Considering the declining vitality of the Anglophone minority in Quebec, studies showed that QA outmigration was not only an exit strategy motivated by individual economic interest, but also in part the result of collective political helplessness (Pettinicchio, 2012). Interviews with Quebec Anglophones who left the province revealed that many did not feel accepted by the Francophone majority, especially in the workplace (Magnan, 2005). A Canadian post-census telephone survey of 45,000 respondents conducted across Canada showed that, in Quebec, twice as many Anglophones (18%) as Francophones (7%) declared having been victims of personal discrimination (Bourhis et al., 2007). The survey also showed that linguisticism based on language/accents was rated as the main factor accounting for being the victim of discrimination compared to ethnicity, race, or religion. As we have seen, many QAs who stayed in Quebec did mobilize as minority pressure groups to safeguard their individual rights and institutional vitality in education, health care, social services and the courts (Jedwab & Maynard, 2012; Stevenson, 1999).

## ACCULTURATION AND INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION IN QUEBEC

Our understanding of QAs' and QFs' willingness to stay or leave Quebec can also be bolstered by considering how minority QAs wish to acculturate within the majority Quebec French culture, while also considering how majority QFs wish to acculturate English-Canadian migrants who settle in Quebec. The Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) was designed to account for intercultural relations between international immigrants and members of host majorities in receiving countries (Bourhis et al., 1997, 2010). Another goal of this study was to extend the IAM to the case of interprovincial migration of contrasting linguistic communities that share a common citizenship within the same state. In this Quebec study, we adapt the IAM to include the following components: a) acculturation orientations adopted by QAs toward the Quebec Francophone majority culture; b) acculturation orientations adopted by QF majority

members toward English-Canadian migrants settling in Quebec from the ROC; and c) intergroup relations between QFs and QAs which may be harmonious, problematic, or conflictual.

How do Quebec Anglophones wish to acculturate within the Québécois Francophone majority culture? QAs can adopt any of five acculturation orientations depending on their desire to maintain their own heritage culture or their wish to adopt the culture of the Quebec Francophone majority. The Immigrant Acculturation Scale (IAS; Bourhis et al., 2009) was adapted for assessing the acculturation orientations of QA minority group members toward the Francophone majority culture. QAs who adopt the *integration* orientation wish to maintain key features of their own Anglo-Quebec culture while adopting aspects of the QF majority culture. QAs who are *individualists* care little about their own culture or that of the QF majority since they are more concerned with their personal needs and aspirations. QAs who adopt the *assimilation* orientation are willing to relinquish their own cultural heritage for the sake of adopting the culture of the dominant QF majority. In contrast, QAs who endorse the *separatist* orientation prefer to maintain their own culture while rejecting key aspects of the QF dominant culture. *Marginalization* characterizes QAs who feel estranged from both their own cultural heritage and that of the QF mainstream.

How do Quebec Francophone host majority members want English Canadians (EC) who migrate from the ROC to acculturate within Quebec society? As adapted to the Quebec case, the IAM proposes that, by virtue of their power advantage in their province, QF majority members may endorse any of five acculturation orientations towards EC migrants. Welcoming orientations are individualism and integrationism. QFs who endorse *integrationism* accept that ECs maintain their English language and features of their culture of origin while also adopting features of mainstream Québécois culture. *Individualists* don't mind whether EC migrants maintain their language and culture of origin or adopt mainstream Québécois culture, because they consider that each individual is free to adopt the culture of their choice. Less welcoming orientations are assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism, since they entail rejection of the EC culture of origin. QFs who adopt the *assimilationist* orientation expect ECs to give up their English language and culture for the sake of adopting the majority French language and Québécois culture. QFs who adopt the *segregationist* orientation distance themselves from EC migrants by wishing them not to adopt or transform the dominant Québécois culture, though they accept that EC migrants maintain their language and heritage

culture as long as this occurs within separate English-speaking urban enclaves of Montreal. QFs who adopt the *exclusionist* orientation are intolerant of EC migrants who maintain their English language and culture, and refuse to allow ECs to adopt features of Québécois culture, while preferring that ECs not migrate to Quebec. These QF majority acculturation orientations are measured using the Host Community Acculturation Scale, adapted in this case for the Quebec setting as regards culture, values and customs (HCAS; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001).

The IAM also proposes that dominant majorities may endorse different acculturation orientations toward minorities they consider “valued” or somewhat “devalued.” One Quebec study showed that Quebec Francophones were more individualist and integrationist toward “valued” French-speaking immigrants from France than toward “devalued” French-speaking Arab Muslim immigrants from North Africa (Bourhis et al., 2008). Despite their shared identity as Canadian citizens, QF acculturation orientations toward English-Canadian migrants from the ROC settled in Quebec were ambivalent, with endorsement of integrationism, assimilationism and segregationism situated between orientations toward French immigrants from France and Arab Muslim immigrants from North Africa.

## THE STUDY

The study was conducted with QF and QA undergraduates born in Quebec, attending their respective French and English Universities in downtown Montreal: Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) and McGill University. Given their occupation as university undergraduates in Montreal, the age, provincial origin, socioeconomic status, and educational background of our Francophone and Anglophone respondents was well matched. Upon graduation, such university students have recent marketable training and fewer affective ties than older married individuals, all of which facilitate out-of-province mobility and employment. Attitude and scale items surveyed in the questionnaire study were used to explore the economic, acculturation, and linguistic tension factors accounting for QF and QA undergraduates’ desire to stay or to leave Quebec (Sioufi & Bourhis, 2018).

Our first hypothesis (H1) deals with interprovincial migration and proposes that Quebec-born Anglophones are more willing to leave Quebec than Quebec-born Francophones. We propose that QAs are more willing than QFs to move to the ROC where they can feel more culturally secure

as they join English majority provinces. QFs may be more willing to stay in their province of birth given their secure high-vitality majority group position in Quebec, while migration to an English majority province in the ROC would entail a drop to a vulnerable minority situation as Francophones (Gilbert, 2010).

What hypotheses can be made about the push-pull factors accounting for QFs' and QAs' desire for interprovincial migration? As a pull factor, hypothesis 2 (H2) proposes that both QFs and QAs may be more willing to migrate to the ROC if doing so improves their individual economic and career prospects. As regards push factors, QAs who consider leaving Quebec may do so to avoid living in a tense linguistic situation that makes them feel uncomfortable and somewhat excluded as a minority (H3). Conversely, we do not expect QFs to experience push factors to move out of Quebec given their comfortable position as the high-vitality majority in the province.

The way QFs wish EC migrants to acculturate within Québécois Francophone culture may affect QAs' desire to stay or leave Quebec. We expect QFs to hold ambivalent acculturation orientations toward EC migrants moving to Quebec from the rest of Canada (ROC; H4). On the one hand, QFs may endorse integrationism, thereby inviting EC migrants to adopt the Québécois French majority language and culture while maintaining their EC culture. Alternatively, QFs may endorse segregationism given their fear that EC migrants could dilute the Québécois French culture and language while bolstering the vitality of the rival Quebec Anglophone host minority.

Given their declining vitality as a linguistic minority born in Quebec, QAs are also likely to endorse ambivalent acculturation orientations toward mainstream Québécois Francophone culture (H5). As an historical minority born in Quebec, QAs may endorse the integration orientation by virtue of their bilingualism and the fact that they remain committed to both English and French culture in the province. QA bilinguals may also endorse the separatism orientation as a result of feeling less accepted and secure about their rightful place within the Québécois French majority, and therefore seek comfort by keeping within their own Quebec Anglophone minority community while being less inclined to adopt Québécois Francophone majority culture.

## PARTICIPANTS

Following ethics board approval at both McGill University and the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), undergraduate students were recruited in the Faculty of Education and the Psychology Department of each university. Permission from professors teaching education and psychology courses in these institutions was obtained, and undergraduates completed the survey questionnaire during class time. Instructions for completing the English questionnaire were given in English to undergraduates at McGill University, while instructions were given in French to undergraduates at UQAM. Respondents were debriefed in their respective language in each university following completion of the questionnaire. Of all the undergraduates who completed the questionnaire at UQAM, only those who had French as their mother tongue, were born in Quebec, and had both a French-speaking father and mother were included for analysis as Quebec Francophones for our study:  $N=234$ . Of the undergraduates who completed questionnaires at McGill University, only those who had English as a mother tongue, were born in Quebec, and had both an English-speaking mother and father were included as Quebec Anglophones for our study:  $N=205$ . The final sample was made up of 320 female and 117 male undergraduates with an age range of 19 to 29.

## THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaires were completed using a seven-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree/not at all; 7 = totally agree/very much) for most items unless otherwise specified. All undergraduates completed questionnaire items measuring their willingness to stay in Quebec or migrate to the ROC, along with social psychological correlates of such desires to stay or leave Quebec. Socio-psychological correlates likely to predict willingness to stay or leave Quebec included the following validated psychometric scales: 1) Multiple identification scale with linguistic and national groups; 2) Proficiency and use of French and English languages; 3) Reason for migration scale including for a better job, desire to join family members/partners and avoiding linguistic tensions; 4) Personal financial situation scale; 5) Personal willingness to mobilise to improve ingroup vitality (ego-vitality scale); 6. Endorsement of French vs English zero-sum belief scale; 7) Host majority acculturation orientation towards EC migrants to Quebec (HCAS scale); 8) QA minority acculturation scale (IAS) within Québécois society; 9) Perception of being personally victim of

discrimination & linguistic scale; and 10) Perception of being victims of collective discrimination as QAs and QFs. Cronbach-alpha statistical analyses showed that these 10 scales had quite acceptable internal validity ranging from 0.65 to 0.92. QAs completed an additional 20-item opinion survey dealing with key vitality, language policy and intergroup relation issues in Quebec.

## RESULTS

Repeated measures (RM) ANOVAs and *t* tests were conducted to compare QA and QF respondents on the various scales and socio-psychological correlates included in the questionnaire. All mean scores reported herein were statistically significant at the  $p < 0.01$  or  $p < 0.001$  levels unless otherwise stated. All factor analysis and multiple regression scores reported herein were statistically significant unless otherwise stated. To ease the reading and comprehension of our results we limited the details of each multivariate statistical analysis. Readers wishing to consult full details of these analyses are invited to contact the first author.

### Comparing Quebec Francophone (QF) and Quebec Anglophone (QA) respondents

As majority group members in Quebec, QFs identified twice as much as Francophone ( $M=6.8$ ) and Québécois ( $M=6.7$ ) than as Canadians ( $M=4.4$ ) and bilinguals ( $M=4.3$ ), and identified very little as Anglophones ( $M=2.0$ ). In contrast, minority QAs identified most as Canadians ( $M=6.5$ ), followed closely by bilinguals ( $M=5.7$ ) and English Quebecers ( $M=5.6$ ), while identifying little as Québécois ( $M=3.0$ ) and least as French Quebecers ( $M=1.6$ ).

Both groups reported high first-language (L1) skills ( $M=7.0$ ) and usage (QF:  $M=6.8$ , QA:  $M=6.0$ ) relative to their second language (L2). However, QAs reported stronger L2 French language skills ( $M=5.8$ ) and usage in their everyday life ( $M=3.6$ ) than did QFs regarding their L2 English skills ( $M=5.2$ ) and their use of English ( $M=2.2$ ). Thus, QAs were more bilingual and used their second language more than did majority QFs.

## Willingness to stay in Quebec or migrate to English Canada

QAs were as willing to stay in Quebec ( $M=4.8$ ) as they were willing to leave for the ROC ( $M=5.1$ ), but were not so interested in moving to the USA ( $M=3.0$ ). QFs were even less willing to move to the ROC ( $M=2.7$ ) or to the USA ( $M=2.6$ ), reflecting their satisfaction with staying in their own French majority province.

## Reasons for migration

Separate factor analyses for QF and QA respondents were conducted on the items of the reasons for migration scale in order to identify item clusters which best captured reasons for each group to move to the ROC. For QFs, principal component analysis (varimax rotation) revealed four distinct orthogonal factors: economic reasons, boosting English skills, linguistic tensions, and joining family members. Economic reasons included items such as to get a better job, to study, and to ensure a better career. The boosting English skills factor included to improve my English skills and to speak English in the workplace. The joining family factor included the following items: to join my family and to get married or be close to my partner. The three items comprising the French-English linguistic tensions factor were to leave behind linguistic tensions in Quebec, to avoid being judged because I am a Francophone, and for the experience of living in an English majority culture. QFs rated joining family ( $M=4.7$ ) as the most important reason for moving to the ROC, followed by economic reasons ( $M=4.0$ ), boosting English skills ( $M=3.5$ ), and, least importantly, to avoid linguistic tensions ( $M=1.3$ ).

For QAs, four distinct orthogonal factors emerged from the reason for migration scale accounting for willingness to move to the ROC: economic reasons, linguistic tensions, joining family and self-development. The economic reasons factor included the item “to get a better job.” The French-English linguistic tensions factor included eight items: to avoid being judged because I am an English-speaking Quebecer, to leave behind linguistic tensions in Quebec, to stop being in a linguistic minority situation, for the experience of living in an English majority culture, to get better access to health care in English, to be able to work in English, to get better access to English schooling for myself and/or my children, and to pay lower taxes. Taken together, the French-English linguistic tensions push factor can be seen in the acculturation framework as a problematic inter-group relation rather than a harmonious one. The Family factor was made

up of two items: to join my family, and to get married or be close to my partner. The fourth factor, self-development, grouped together the following: for adventure, to study, and to improve my English skills. QAs rated economic reasons ( $M=5.0$ ) as the most important reason for moving to the ROC. However, the push factor French-English linguistic tensions ( $M=4.1$ ) was also an important reason for QAs to desire outmigration from Quebec. Least important for leaving Quebec were the pull reasons of joining family ( $M=3.5$ ) and seeking self-development ( $M=3.2$ ).

Which of the above reasons for migration best predicted that QF and QA respondents would leave the province? In the case of QFs, a multiple regression was conducted testing each of the four orthogonal factors as predictors of willingness to move to the ROC. Results showed that, for QFs, only economic reasons predicted willingness to move to English Canada (standardized beta weight = +0.38; explained variance: 15.7%).

For QAs, we conducted a multiple regression testing each of the orthogonal factors as predictors of willingness to move to English Canada. Results showed two significant predictors for QAs' willingness to move to English Canada accounting for 44% of the explained variance: to avoid French-English linguistic tensions in Quebec (beta weight = +0.42) and for personal economic reasons (beta weight = +0.33).

What reasons did QAs invoke for staying in Quebec? Multiple regression results indicate three distinct predicting factors: not being concerned with French-English linguistic tensions in Quebec (beta weight = -0.40), not being concerned with economic reasons (beta weight = -0.20) and willingness to stay with family/partner in Quebec (beta weight = +0.28). These three factors combined accounted for 28% of the variance explained for willingness to stay in Quebec, and show that it is mainly to stay with loved ones that QAs wanted to stay in Quebec.

### **Socio-psychological factors related to willingness to stay or leave Quebec**

What socio-psychological factors other than answers on the reason for migration scale help account for willingness to stay or leave Quebec? We first describe results obtained with the socio-psychological variables measured in the questionnaire. Reflecting the positive socio-economic situation of the QF majority in Quebec, results showed that QFs perceived they had a more positive job and better financial and economic prospects in Quebec ( $M=5.2$ ) than did QA minority respondents ( $M=4.1$ ). For

instance, while QFs felt they had a good chance of obtaining a job in their field in the future in Quebec ( $M=5.7$ ), QAs were not so optimistic ( $M=4.0$ ).

The ego-vitality scale using nine items measured to what extent QF and QA undergraduates were ready to act personally in order to improve the vitality of their own community compared with that of the outgroup community (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). For example, items included I want to help improve the strength of the French, English language communities in my region, and I want to encourage the creation of businesses in my region for French and English communities. Results showed that QFs and QAs were more willing to mobilize to improve the vitality of their own language community on the combined demographic, institutional, and status aspects of their own language community (QF:  $M=5.6$ ; QA:  $M=5.8$ ), than to mobilize in favour of the outgroup vitality community (QF:  $M=3.2$ , QA:  $M=3.7$ ). Thus, QAs were as keen to mobilize personally to improve the vitality of their minority English-speaking community as QFs were to maintain their own vitality as the linguistic majority community in Quebec.

The French-English zero-sum belief scale measured the degree to which QF and QA undergraduates felt that the well-being of their respective communities was undermined by rivalries between the QF and QA groups on ten items (adapted from Esses et al., 1998). QFs rated their agreement with items such as allowing the English language to thrive means that the French language is weakened in Quebec, and the more English-Canadian migrants speak English, the less French can thrive in Quebec. QAs rated items such as English Quebecers already living here lose out when Québécois Francophones make political and economic gains in Quebec, and the more French Canadians promote their own culture, the less opportunity there is for the English-Canadian culture to thrive in Quebec. While endorsement of zero-sum beliefs was moderate for both groups, it was significantly stronger for QAs ( $M=4.4$ ) than for QFs ( $M=3.5$ ), reflecting QA minority group perceptions that French-English relations are more polarized and competitive than was seen to be the case by majority group QFs.

Majority group QFs felt moderately threatened by the presence of local minority QAs ( $M=3.6$ ) and English-Canadian migrants from the ROC ( $M=3.6$ ), while feeling no threat from the presence of their own QF group peers ( $M=1.5$ ). QA minority group members felt more threatened by the presence of local QF majority group members ( $M=4.4$ ) than by the presence of minority Arab Muslim immigrants ( $M=2.4$ ) and minority French-Canadian migrants from the ROC ( $M=2.1$ ). QAs felt no threat

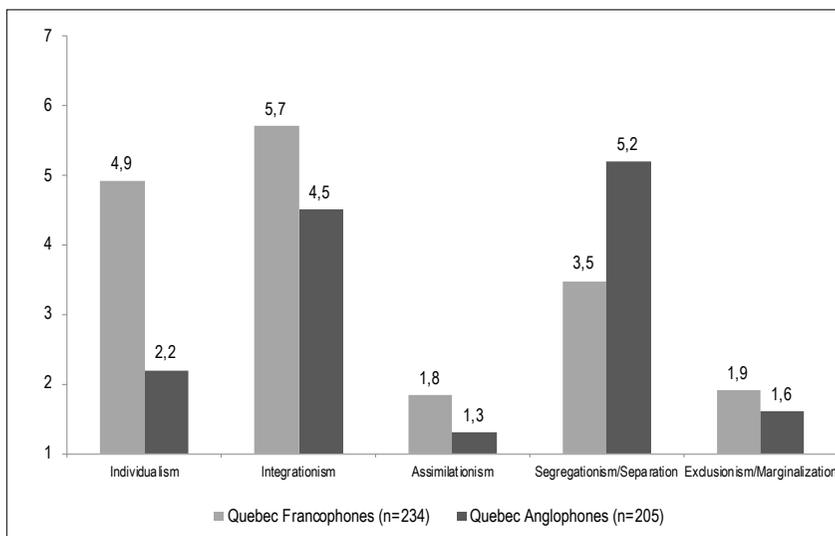
from the presence of English-Canadian migrants from the ROC ( $M=1.5$ ) or from the presence of QA ingroup members ( $M=1.4$ ). Though Québécois Francophones make up 80% of Quebec's population, our QF participants felt as threatened by the presence of the Quebec Anglophone minority as did our QA undergraduates by the presence of the Québécois Francophone majority, thus perpetuating a 21st-century version of Quebec's "two solitudes."

Respondents rated the extent to which they had been victims of personal discrimination at work, in stores/restaurants, at school/university and in encounters with security forces in the past five years (Bourhis et al., 2007). In these four settings combined, QF majority group respondents experienced very little personal discrimination in Quebec ( $M=1.6$ ) compared with QA respondents ( $M=2.5$ ). Though both linguistic groups did not feel that they were victims of personal discrimination because of their race (QF:  $M=1.2$ ; QA:  $M=1.3$ ), QAs felt more discriminated against than QFs because of their ethnic background (QA:  $M=2.5$ , QF:  $M=1.2$ ) and especially because of their mother tongue and accent (*linguicism*; QA:  $M=4.2$ ) compared with QFs ( $M=2.4$ ).

Respondents rated to what extent they felt that Quebec Francophones, Quebec Anglophones and English-Canadian migrants from the ROC experienced discrimination as group members in everyday situations. As regards such perceptions of collective discrimination, QFs and QAs agreed that Quebec Francophones were unlikely targets of discrimination because of their linguistic category membership ( $M=2.3$ ,  $M=2.2$ , respectively). QF majority group undergraduates perceived that English-Canadian migrants from the ROC ( $M=3.1$ ) experience more discrimination than Quebec Anglophones ( $M=2.8$ ), while perceiving that members of their own Quebec Francophone ingroup suffered least from discrimination ( $M=2.3$ ). However, QA minority group respondents perceived that Quebec Anglophone ( $M=4.2$ ) and English-Canadian migrants from the ROC experience more collective discrimination ( $M=4.2$ ) than members of the Quebec Francophone majority ( $M=2.2$ ).

**Figure 2**

Quebec Francophone (n=234) acculturation orientations toward English-Canadian migrants using HCAS. Quebec Anglophone (n=205) acculturation orientations toward Québécois French culture using IAS



Within-subject RM ANOVA, pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni adjustment,  $a > b > c > d$ ,  $A > B > C > D > E$ ,  $p < 0.05$ . Between-subject (2 (group)  $\times$  5 (acculturation) RM ANOVA interaction effect:  $F(2,437) = 146.6$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . Post-hoc independent sample t-tests, participant groups: significant difference at \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

As regards acculturation orientations, how did QFs wish English-Canadian migrants from the ROC to acculturate within the Québécois Francophone majority culture? As seen in Figure 2, HCAS scale results showed that QFs endorsed integrationism ( $M=5.7$ ), most strongly followed by individualism ( $M=4.9$ ), while they moderately endorsed segregationism ( $M=3.5$ ) toward EC migrants. QFs very weakly endorsed assimilationism ( $M=1.8$ ) and exclusionism ( $M=1.9$ ) toward EC migrants.

How did QAs wish to acculturate within Québécois francophone mainstream culture? Figure 2 shows that QA minority undergraduates adopted most strongly the separation orientation ( $M=5.2$ ) toward Québécois culture, followed by integrationism ( $M=4.5$ ). QAs only weakly endorsed individualism ( $M=2.2$ ), marginalization ( $M=1.6$ ) and assimilationism ( $M=1.3$ ).

## **Socio-psychological factors accounting for willingness to stay or leave Quebec**

Using multiple regressions, we tested each of our socio-psychological correlates as possible predictors of QFs' and QAs' willingness to move from Quebec to English Canada. Quebec Francophones' willingness to move to English Canada was predicted only by the following three socio-psychological correlates: not being personally mobilized for improving ingroup Francophone vitality (beta weight = -0.25), frequent use of English in everyday life (beta weight = +0.20), and identification as Anglophone (beta weight = +0.19). Taken together, these three predictors explained 27% of the variance.

When it came to QAs' willingness to leave Quebec for the ROC, results showed the following three variables as reliable predictors: endorsement of French-English zero-sum beliefs (beta weight = +0.31), endorsement of the separation acculturation orientation (beta weight = +0.17), and perceiving that QAs are victims of collective discrimination in Quebec (beta weight = +0.15). These three predictors explained 31.5% of the variance.

A third multiple regression analysis explored QAs' willingness to stay in Quebec. The following three socio-psychological correlates explained 40.7% of the variance: being optimistic about their personal financial situation in Quebec (beta weight = +0.29), endorsement of the integration acculturation orientation (beta weight = +0.27), and not endorsing the individualism orientation (beta weight = -13).

## **Opinion survey completed by Quebec Anglophones**

QA respondents (N=210) completed an opinion survey consisting of 21 items covering many current linguistic and community relations issues pertinent to the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ). As in the other questionnaire items used in the study, QAs used a seven-point rating scale to express their agreement (7), neutrality (4), or disagreement (1) with each opinion item. A factor analysis of the 21 items yielded five independent and significant factors accounting for a total of 58% of the variance. Only survey items loading significantly on the respective factors are listed along with their positive (+) or negative (-) loading on the factor. An opinion statement loading negatively on a factor signifies that QAs do not endorse this particular opinion statement.

**Factor 1**, solidarity with the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ), was made up of five items, of which the mean endorsement score was  $M=5.0$ , and which accounted for 13.2% of the variance obtained on the opinion survey. The survey items loading on Factor 1 were as follows, each item being followed by its mean score in parentheses:

1.1: I feel solidarity toward English speakers in other regions of Quebec ( $M=+5.6$ ).

1.2: English-speaking Quebec is a community of communities ( $M=+5.5$ ).

1.3: I know about English-speaking communities in regions of Quebec other than my own ( $M=+5.4$ ).

1.4: I am aware that the Canadian *Official Languages Act* supports Francophone minorities outside Quebec and the English language minority of Quebec ( $M=+5.0$ ).

1.5: The majority of English Quebecers feel that the English language is threatened by the presence of French speakers in Quebec ( $M=-4.4$ ). (The less QAs agree with this item the more they endorse Factor 1.)

**Factor 2**, dissatisfaction with QA mobilization to defend the vitality of the ESCQ, was made up of five items, of which the mean endorsement score was  $M=5.0$ , and which accounted for 12.8% of the variance. The survey items loading on Factor 2 were:

2.1: Canadian language legislation should be used more effectively to defend/enhance the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec ( $M=+5.7$ ).

2.2: The English-speaking communities of Quebec should be more united in defending/enhancing their institutions in the province ( $M=+5.7$ ).

2.3: The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec is declining ( $M=+5.1$ ).

2.4: The English-speaking communities of Quebec should be more militant in defending/enhancing their institutions in the province ( $M=+4.5$ ).

2.5: English Quebecers can be accepted by Francophones as dyed-in-the-wool "Québécois" ( $M=-4.0$ ). (The less QAs agree with this item the more they agree with Factor 2.)

**Factor 3**, perceptions that Québécois Francophones want the vitality of the ESCQ to decline, was made up of five items, of which the mean

endorsement score was  $M=4.9$ , and which accounted for 11.7% of the variance. The survey items loading on Factor 3 were :

3.1: The majority of Québécois Francophones feel that the French language is threatened by the presence of English speakers in Quebec ( $M=+5.3$ ).

3.2: The majority of Québécois Francophones would like to see a decline in the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec ( $M=+5.2$ ).

3.3: The majority of English Quebecers feel that the English language is threatened by the presence of French speakers in Quebec ( $M=+4.4$ ).

3.4: The majority of Québécois Francophones support the institutions of the English-speaking communities of Quebec ( $M=-3.1$ ).

3.5: Québécois Francophone politicians support the institutions of the English-speaking communities of Quebec ( $M=-3.0$ ). (The less QAs agree with items 3.4 and 3.5 the more they agree with Factor 3.)

**Factor 4**, multiple identities and advantages of bilingualism, was made up of three items, of which the mean endorsement score was  $M=6.3$ , and which accounted for 11.3% of the variance. The survey items loading on Factor 4 were :

4.1: I believe that people can have multiple identities at the same time: e.g., Black + Canadian + Quebecer + English-speaking ( $M=+6.6$ ).

4.2: The co-existence of French and English institutions contributes to the economic and cultural vitality of Quebec ( $M=+6.2$ ).

4.3: It is the prevalence of both French and English that contributes most to the original character of Montreal ( $M=+6.1$ ).

**Factor 5**, optimistic perceptions of mutual support for French and English vitality, was made up of three items, of which the mean endorsement score was  $M=3.2$ , and which accounted for 8.7% of the variance. The survey items loading on Factor 5 were :

5.1: It is the prevalence of French that contributes most to the unique character of Montreal ( $M=+3.4$ ).

5.2: The majority of Québécois Francophones support the institutions of the English-speaking communities of Quebec ( $M=+3.1$ ).

5.3: The majority of English Quebecers support the quest to make French the common public language of all Quebecers ( $M=+3.0$ ).

We conducted two-tailed correlations to test how each of these five opinion factors related to QAs' desire to stay in Quebec or leave the province for the ROC. Correlations reaching significance at the  $p < 0.01$  level of significance are reported unless otherwise indicated. Factor 1, solidarity with the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ), was positively correlated ( $r = +0.27$ ) with the desire of QAs to stay in Quebec and was negatively correlated ( $r = -0.20$ ) with their desire to leave for the ROC. Factor 2, dissatisfaction with QA mobilization to defend the vitality of the ESCQ, was positively correlated with the desire of QAs to leave Quebec for the ROC ( $r = +0.19$ ). Factor 3, perceptions that Québécois Francophones want the vitality of the ESCQ to decline, was positively correlated ( $r = +0.29$ ) with QAs' desire to leave the province for the ROC, and negatively correlated ( $r = -0.17$ ) with QAs' desire to stay in Quebec. Factor 4, multiple identities and advantages of bilingualism, was positively but weakly correlated with QAs' desire to stay in Quebec ( $r = +0.14$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ). Factor 5, optimistic perception of mutual support for French and English vitality, was positively correlated with QAs' desire to stay in Quebec ( $r = +0.34$ ) and negatively correlated with their willingness to leave the province for the ROC ( $r = -0.38$ ).

## DISCUSSION

Results showed that, as the linguistic majority in their province, Quebec-born Francophone undergraduates identified twice as much as Québécois than as Canadian, used three times more French than English in their everyday life, and did not feel they were victims of personal or collective discrimination. They were optimistic about their career and economic prospects in Quebec and were not interested in moving out of their province other than for pull factors such as joining a partner/family member or improving their English skills and career prospects. Despite their high-vitality majority group position, QAs felt linguistically threatened by the presence of the Quebec Anglophone minority and English-Canadian migrants from the ROC, and were highly motivated to personally improve the vitality of their Francophone linguistic community.

Quebec-born Anglophone undergraduates identified very much as Canadians, bilinguals and English Quebecers and little as Québécois. Though QAs used more English than French in their everyday life, they reported using more French as their second language than QFs reported using English as their second language. Importantly, QAs were as willing

to mobilize in favour of improving their minority Anglophone vitality as were majority QFs to do likewise for their own majority community. However, compared with QFs, QAs felt that they were more likely to be victims of personal discrimination, and felt this discrimination was based more on their mother tongue and accent (linguicism) than on their ethno-cultural background. QAs also felt they were victims of collective discrimination and were less optimistic about their career and economic prospects in Quebec. QAs felt more threatened by the presence of the QF dominant majority than by the presence of Arab Muslim immigrants or that of French-Canadian migrants from the ROC.

As posited in our ambivalence hypothesis (H4), QFs endorsed mixed acculturation orientations toward English-Canadian migrants despite their common citizenship as Canadians. QFs strongly endorsed integrationism and individualism toward EC migrants to Quebec, while moderately endorsing segregationism toward them. With the caveat of lack of causal direction, our additional correlation analyses show that the more QFs felt threatened by Anglophones (QAs and ECs), the more likely they were to adopt segregationism toward them ( $r=+0.28, p<0.01$ ), and the less likely they were to adopt integrationism ( $r=-0.20, p<0.01$ ) and individualism ( $r=-0.25, p<0.01$ ).

QAs endorsed both the separation and integration orientations, which also supports the ambivalence acculturation hypothesis (H5). Despite their French/English bilingualism, QAs endorsed the separation orientation, which reflects commitment to their Quebec Anglophone culture while rejecting aspects of mainstream Québécois Francophone culture. Our correlation analyses show that the more QAs perceived they were victims of personal discrimination, the more they adopted the separation orientation ( $r=+0.32, p<0.01$ ). Likewise, the more QAs felt personally discriminated against because of their mother tongue/accent (linguicism), the more likely they were to endorse the separation orientation ( $r=+0.31, p<0.01$ ). Also, the more QAs felt threatened by QFs, the more they endorsed the separation orientation ( $r=+0.30, p<0.01$ ). Though correlational, these findings support the IAM proposal that linguistic minorities who feel they suffer discrimination and linguicism, are the ones most likely to endorse separation because this orientation offers the safety of remaining in own-group speaker networks while avoiding threats from language majority group members (Bourhis et al., 2010). Bilingual QA respondents also endorsed the integration acculturation orientation: maintaining commitment to their own English Quebecer cultural heritage while also adopting features of the majority Québécois French culture. Additional correlation

analyses show that the more QAs felt threatened by QFs, the less they endorsed integrationism ( $r=-0.36, p<0.01$ ). Also, the more QAs experienced being personally discriminated against, the less they endorsed integrationism ( $r=-0.22, p<0.01$ ).

What socio-psychological correlates best predicted respondents' willingness to move to English Canada? Multiple regression results supported Hypothesis 2 by showing that pull factors related to seeking better individual economic prospects predicted both QFs' and QAs' willingness to move to English Canada, which is in line with classic economic analyses of inter-provincial migration in Canada (Coulombe, 2006).

Other socio-psychological variables predicting bilingual QF undergraduates' desire to move to the ROC were regular use of English and identification as an Anglophone. Furthermore, QFs willing to migrate were also *less* concerned with mobilization to improve Francophone vitality in Quebec. Push factors related to linguistic tensions—namely, zero-sum beliefs, feeling threatened by the presence of minority Quebec Anglophones and segregationism toward EC migrants—did *not* predict QFs' willingness to move to the ROC. Given their status as a high vitality linguistic majority in Quebec, QFs may wish to leave their province mainly for pull reasons reflecting individualistic goals of economic and career advancement, thus supporting Hypothesis 2.

QAs' willingness to stay in Quebec was most strongly predicted by their self-rated favourable career and financial prospects within the Quebec work force. The other powerful predictor of QAs' willingness to stay in Quebec was their integration orientation within Quebec Francophone culture, a finding also supported by correlations between willingness to stay in Quebec and the desire to mobilize in favour of Quebec Francophone vitality ( $r=+0.37, p<0.01$ ). It is clear that Quebec-born QAs who wish to stay in their ancestral home province also wish to actively contribute to the development of mainstream Quebec Francophone society, which bodes well for social cohesion in the province. However, QAs' willingness to stay in Quebec also depends on their sense of being accepted within the Québécois Francophone majority, not only as the bilinguals that they are, but also as distinctive English-speaking communities with historical roots in the province. Such feelings of belonging to Quebec society are in part revealed in the opinion survey completed by our Quebec-born Anglophone respondents. We saw that opinions correlated with QAs' desire to stay in Quebec were optimistic perception of mutual support for English and French vitality, solidarity with the English-speaking communities of

Quebec, endorsement of multiple identities and the advantages of bilingualism, and *not* perceiving that Québécois Francophones want the vitality of the ESCQ to decline. In line with the interactive acculturation model (IAM), we conclude that bilingual QAs' desire to stay in the province and integrate into Quebec society must also depend on how dominant majority Francophones wish to integrate them within the work force and as a distinct cultural community within the province.

We saw that our bilingual QA respondents felt that they would like to stay in their ancestral province, but that they were equally likely to wish to move to English Canada — and this twice as much as QF respondents. These results support Hypothesis 1: our bilingual QAs were more willing to leave Quebec than QF respondents. On the reason for migration scale, QAs' willingness to move to English Canada was best predicted by the French-English linguistic tension factor, thus supporting Hypothesis 3. This factor was made up of push items such as to avoid being judged because I am an English-speaking Quebecer, to leave behind linguistic tensions in Quebec, to get better access to health care in English, and to be able to work in English. Also supporting Hypothesis 3, the following socio-psychological factors predicted QAs' willingness to leave Quebec: French-English zero-sum beliefs and perceptions that QAs are victims of collective discrimination. In line with the IAM acculturation model, our results also showed that QA endorsement of the separation acculturation orientation predicted willingness to move to English Canada. Relatedly, endorsement of individualism predicted lower willingness to stay in Quebec, suggesting that leaving the province can be an individualistic exit strategy from a problematic intergroup linguistic setting. From a vitality perspective, this individualistic exit strategy also contributes to the demographic decline of the English-speaking minority in Quebec and robs it of the human capital it needs to maintain its institutional support and demographic vitality (Floch & Pocock, 2012).

Further supporting Hypothesis 3, opinion items correlated with QAs' willingness to leave Quebec were not having optimistic perceptions of mutual support for French and English vitality, perceptions that Québécois Francophones want the vitality of the ESCQ to decline, dissatisfaction with the lack of QA mobilization to defend the vitality of the ESCQ, and not being in solidarity with the ESCQ. Considering that QAs identified more strongly as Canadians than as English Quebecers, it may be that identification with majority English Canadians is more comforting than identifying with a vulnerable linguistic minority that has uncertain vitality prospects in Quebec (Pettinicchio, 2012). The option of “voting with one’s

feet” by moving to the ROC may be salutary as an individualistic strategy, not only in the case of international migration but also in cases of inter-provincial migration from a dominant French majority setting such as Quebec.

## CONCLUDING NOTES

Forty years after Bill 101, we have seen that some bilingual Quebec-born Anglophone undergraduates are still willing to leave Quebec for the ROC. Longitudinal studies along with forthcoming census results are needed to verify whether QA undergraduates’ willingness to leave Quebec is matched by their actual emigration to English Canada after they complete their university degrees. QA undergraduates’ willingness to leave their ancestral province for the ROC can be seen as a barometer of problematic intergroup relations between the QF majority and the QA minority. Such QA outgoing trends are likely to deplete the human capital needed to maintain and develop the institutional vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. Taking stock of existing QA outmigration trends, it is noteworthy that former Liberal Quebec Premier Philippe Couillard stated:

At certain moments of our history, our fellow English-speaking Quebecers have not always felt entirely welcome in their home province.... To those English-speaking Quebecers living in Toronto or elsewhere in Canada, proudly wearing Montreal Canadiens jerseys on game nights, I say it’s time, if you want, to come home to Quebec (Global News, 2017).

The then Premier Couillard walked the talk of his invitation by appointing a Minister responsible for Relations with English-speaking Quebecers on October 11, 2017. On November 24, 2017, his Quebec government created the Secrétariat aux relations avec les Québécois d’expression anglaise, which reported directly to the Executive Council Office of the Quebec government. The Secretariat was made responsible for ensuring that the concerns of English-speaking Quebecers were taken into account in government orientations and decisions, in collaboration with government ministries and bodies. As defined in the news release of November 24, 2017, explicit goals of the Secretariat following province-wide hearings with the ESCQ were to support “community vitality; access to public services particularly in the areas of health and social services; networking and partnership between public and non-profit organizations who are active in all regions of Quebec; employability,

retention of young graduates, and support for French second language training” (SRQEA). To facilitate the achievement of these goals, the Quebec Liberal government granted an extra budget of \$25 million over six years to the Secretariat on April 10, 2018. This provincial funding complemented the existing 2018-2023 Federal Action Plan (\$2.3 billion) supporting the English-language minorities of Quebec and the one million French minorities in the ROC. Much welcomed by the ESCQ, can the Quebec government Secretariat be an institutional support measure likely to encourage more Quebec-born QA bilinguals to stay in their province rather than move to the ROC?

While a number of Francophone media pundits derided the need for “les Anglais” to benefit from a Secretariat, English-speaking Quebecers were confronted with a divisive “critical incident” of much symbolic punch that monopolized media attention on both sides of the linguistic divide. On December 3, 2017, the *Bonjour-Hi* debate held in the Quebec National Assembly resulted in the all-party adoption of the following *non-binding* motion excluding the word *Hi* from the *Bonjour-Hi* greeting often heard in downtown Montreal stores:

Que l’Assemblée nationale réaffirme clairement à tous que le français est la langue officielle et commune du Québec; qu’elle prenne acte que 94 % des résidents du Québec comprennent le français; qu’elle rappelle que le mot «Bonjour» est un des mots de la langue française les plus connus chez les non-francophones du monde; qu’elle rappelle que ce mot exprime magnifiquement la convivialité québécoise. En conséquence elle invite tous les commerçants et tous les salariés qui sont en contact avec la clientèle locale et internationale de les accueillir chaleureusement avec le mot Bonjour.

Many members of the English-speaking communities of Quebec were much disappointed to have *Hi*’s historical presence in Quebec symbolically purged from greetings, not only by nationalist parties, but also by the then governing Liberal Party. Anecdotal evidence suggested a defiant resurgence of the *Bonjour-Hi* greeting in Montreal stores by Anglophones and Francophones in their intercultural encounters following this government motion. At the collective level, the president of the English-speaking advocacy group QCGN addressed its concerns to the Liberal Party leader as follows:

Your government has allowed itself to be outmanoeuvred by a cynical wedge tactic. Internationally, you have now sent out an official National

Assembly word, unanimous no less, that the simplest speaking of English here is unwelcome.... English is not a toxin from which the culture of Quebec must be protected. It is wounding to our community to have to have it so treated. Much more importantly, it is damaging to social peace and to the majority community's notion of propriety for such gestures of scorn to be expressed by our leaders.... Modeling divisive and stigmatizing behaviour signals an intolerant societal norm. You and your government can and must do better. Let the guiding principle for all to be to ensure that Quebec's whole remains greater than the sum of its parts (Authier, 2017).

Philip Authier, the author of the above article, reported: "Couillard's entourage, however, argued that the community needs to understand the Liberals are the only party that really defends Anglophones, and to go too far might hurt the party with Francophone voters" (2017). During the period leading to the October 1, 2018, Quebec election, the leaders of the four political parties agreed to three leadership debates, one of which was to be held in English, a highly symbolic first in the history of the province. The English debate watched on TV by a large number of Quebec Anglophones focussed on relevant policy issues for the ESCQ. In a yes-no answer format, the four leaders each declared they were in favour of maintaining the newly created Secrétariat aux relations avec les Québécois d'expression anglaise. Only François Legault, the leader of the nationalist Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ) party, stated in a post-debate scrum that "I think it's mostly smoke and mirrors," while stating he was open to keeping it "if it's useful" (QCGN, 2018).

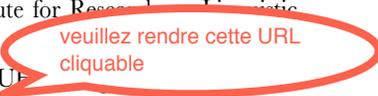
The CAQ won the 2018 provincial election with 39% of the popular vote and a majority of seats in the Quebec National Assembly. The CAQ's platform included the elimination of both French and English school boards to reduce school taxes. In 2020, the CAQ majority government used closure to adopt Bill 40, which abolished French and English school boards. Bill 40 sacked 700 French school board commissioners in 60 French School boards to avoid litigation. French school boards were effectively eliminated, replaced by Service Centers run by appointed members with little decision-making power. This Ministry of Education centralizing policy was decried by QA advocacy groups, who saw the abolition of its English school boards as the loss of their capacity to 'manage and control' their only level of full self-governance in the province (ABEE, 2019). The English School Board Association challenged abolition of its school boards in Quebec superior court invoking Article 23 of the Canadian Charter. It won a stay of order in late 2020 maintaining its nine English School boards

pending a Quebec court or eventual Canadian Supreme Court ruling in 2021. Taken together, can these recent intercultural, institutional, and symbolic events combine as problematic intergroup push factors likely to incite other mobile QAs to leave their historical province of origin?

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