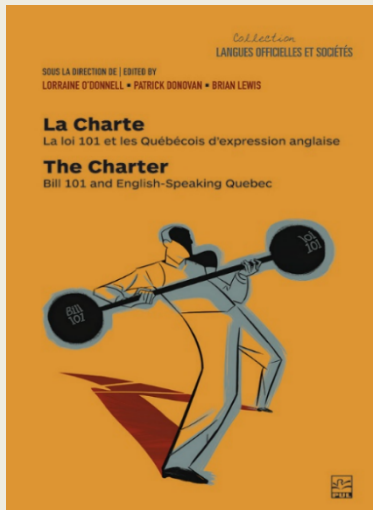


# Willingness of Quebec-born Anglophone and Francophone undergraduate students to stay in Quebec or leave



***Richard Bourhis & Rana Sioufi***

Département de psychologie,  
Université du Québec à Montréal

[bourhis.richard@uqam.ca](mailto:bourhis.richard@uqam.ca)



**QUESCREN 'Lunch & Learn' series**  
**Montréal, September 16, 2021**

Bourhis, R.Y. & Sioufi, R. (2021). Anglophone and Francophone desire to stay or leave Quebec: A study of Quebec-born undergraduates in Montreal. In L. **O'Donnell, P. Donovan & B. Lewis** (Eds.). *The Charter: Bill 101 and English-speaking Quebec*. (pp 85-124). Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval. (20 chapters !)

# Willingness of Quebec-born Anglophone and Francophone students to stay in Quebec or leave

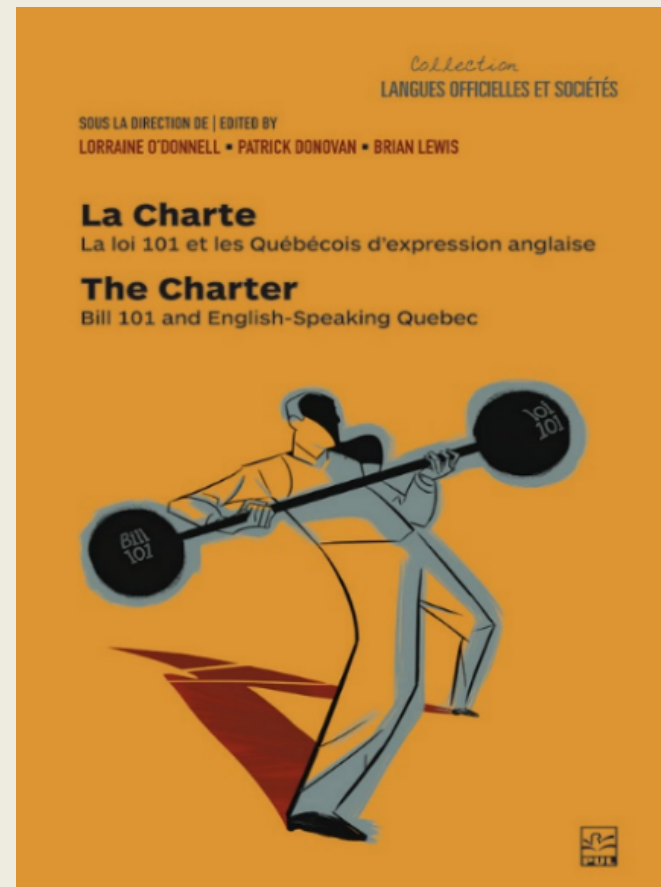
Contents of this Lunch & Learn' QUESCREN is as follows:

Slides 1 to 24 are for the presentation of  
September 16, 2021

Slides 25 -36 offer extra information related to  
the study, published as:

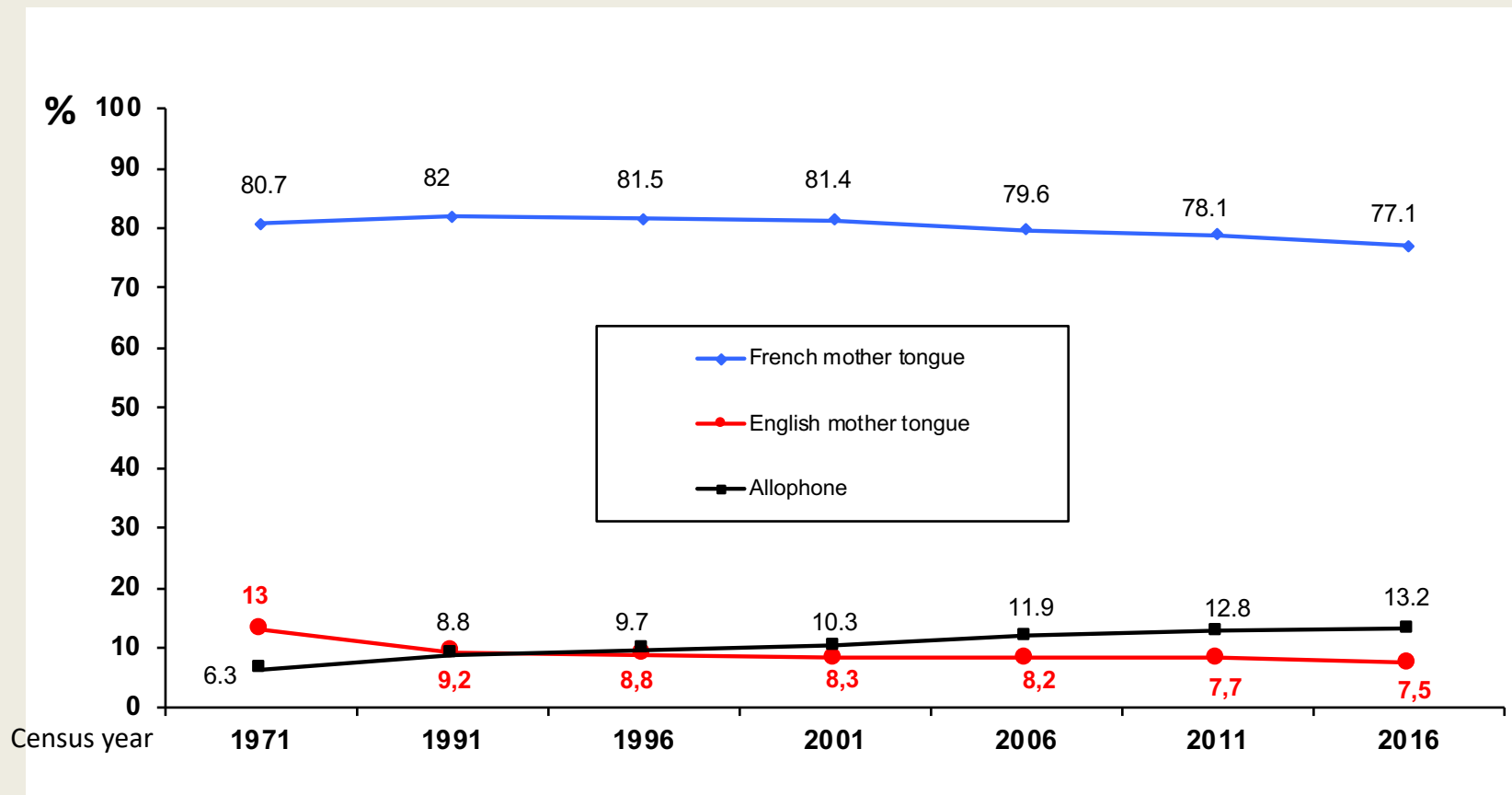
**Bourhis**, Richard Y. and Rana **Sioufi**,  
“Anglophone and Francophone desire to stay or  
leave Quebec: A study of Quebec-born  
undergraduates in Montreal.” In *La Charte : La  
Loi 101 et Les Québécois d'expression Anglaise /  
The Charter: Bill 101 and English-Speaking  
Quebec*, edited by Lorraine **O'Donnell**, Patrick  
**Donovan**, and Brian **Lewis**, pp. 85-124. Québec:  
Presses de l'Université Laval, 2021.

For information on the book or to order it in  
digital or paper format, click [here](#).



# Number & percentage of Quebec population by mother tongue (L1).

Canadian Census: 1971 – 2016

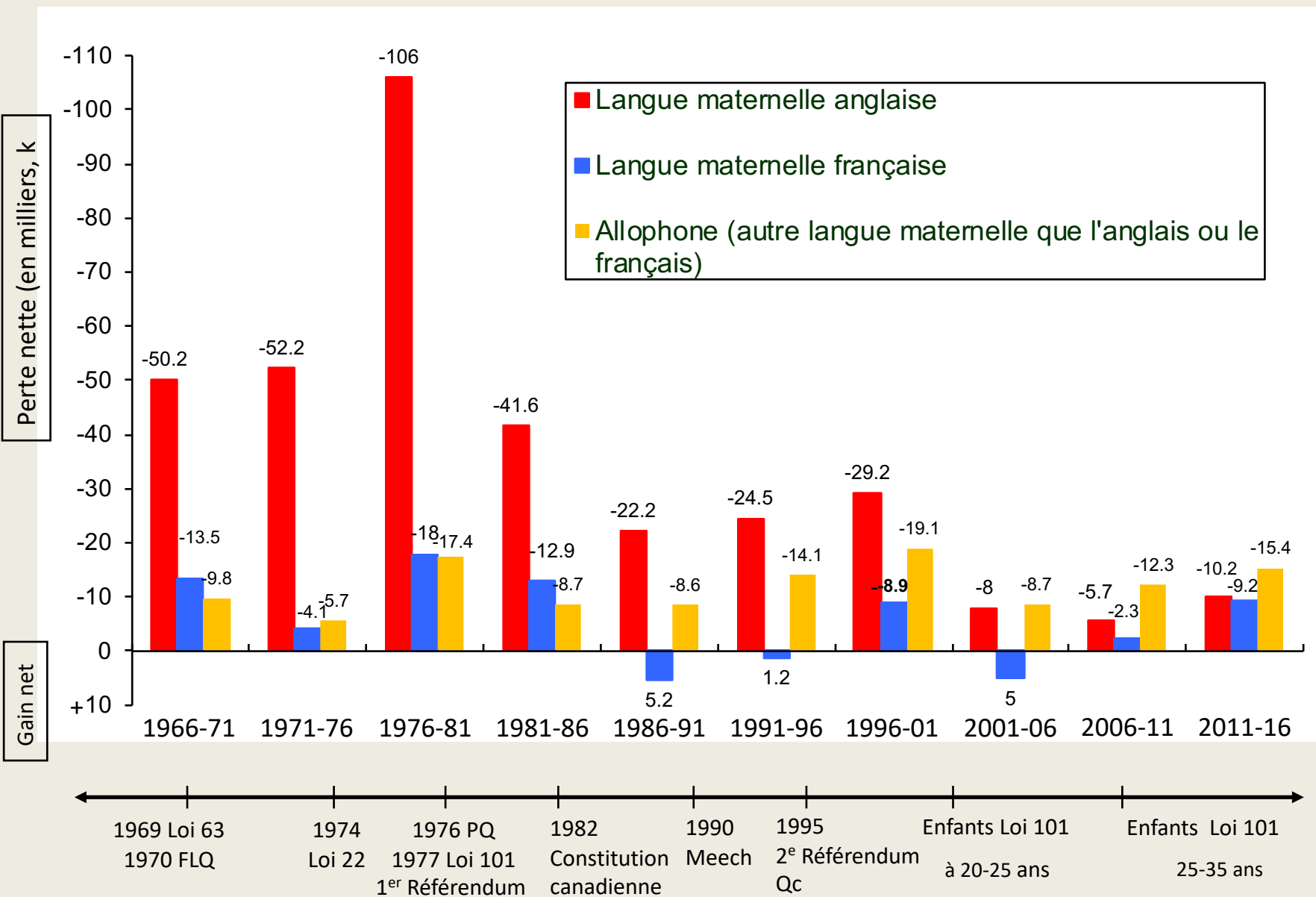


◆ L <sub>1</sub> French	4 860 410	5 585 645	5 741 435	5 802 020	5 916 840	6 102 210	6 219 660
● L <sub>1</sub> English	788 830	626 195	621 865	591 380	607 165	599 225	601 155
■ Allophone	390 415	598 445	681 285	732 180	866 000	961 695	1 060 830

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

**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



# Some PULL & Push factors affecting inter-provincial migration for Quebec-born **Anglophones** and **Francophones**

**Pull factors** are those which **attract** **Anglophones** and **Francophones** to migrate from Quebec to rest of Canada (ROC)

1. **Economic factors** : individuals seek better jobs, higher salary and better career prospects in ROC
2. **Achievement goals** : pursuing further *studies & training* in ROC .
3. **Affective factors**: Joining one's family or spouse in ROC

**Push factors** are **aversive** circumstances which incite **Anglophones & Francophones** to move out of Quebec for the ROC

1. **Economic factors**. Lack of employment prospects and career opportunities in Quebec.
2. **Intergroup tensions**: political uncertainty and feeling *ill at ease, stigmatised or discriminated* in Quebec
3. **Low or reduced access to services** in one's own language for CEGEP, health & social services, municipal & provincial services in Quebec

# Quebec-born Anglophones & Francophones :

## To stay or leave Quebec ?

*Why?*

To get a  
better  
job/career



To join my  
partner/family



To avoid  
linguistic  
tensions



*Where?*

To English  
province  
Canada



To French  
region of  
Canada



To United-  
States



# Method

## Participants

- **Quebec-born Francophones: N = 234: Women: 175 ; Men: 59**
- **Undergraduate students at UQAM, 19-30 years of age**
- **Mother tongue French, *born* and raised in Quebec**
- **Parents have French as mother tongue & born in Quebec**
  
- **Quebec-born Anglophones: N = 205 : Women: 148; Men: 57**
- **Undergraduate students at McGill University, 19-29 years of age**
- **Mother tongue English, *born* and raised in Quebec**
- **Parents have English as mother tongue, born in Quebec or ROC**

# Method

**Quebec-born Anglophones (N=205)** and **Québec-born francophones (N= 234)** completed a questionnaire in **French** or **English** in class or on line.

Each Item was rated using the 7 point Likert scale.

**1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = totally**

1. Demographic profile & multiple identity scale
2. Self rated knowledge and use of French and English
3. Personal financial situation and career prospects
4. Individual network of linguistic contacts (INLC)
5. Mobilisation for improving own group vitality
6. Linguistic security and feeling of threat in presence of out-groups
7. Feeling of being personally victim of discrimination
8. Perception of collective discrimination experienced by ingroup & outgroup
9. Desire to migrate to ROC or stay in Quebec
10. Reasons for leaving Quebec
11. Acculturation orientations of Québec anglophones & francophones
12. Opinion survey on French-English relations on 21 items

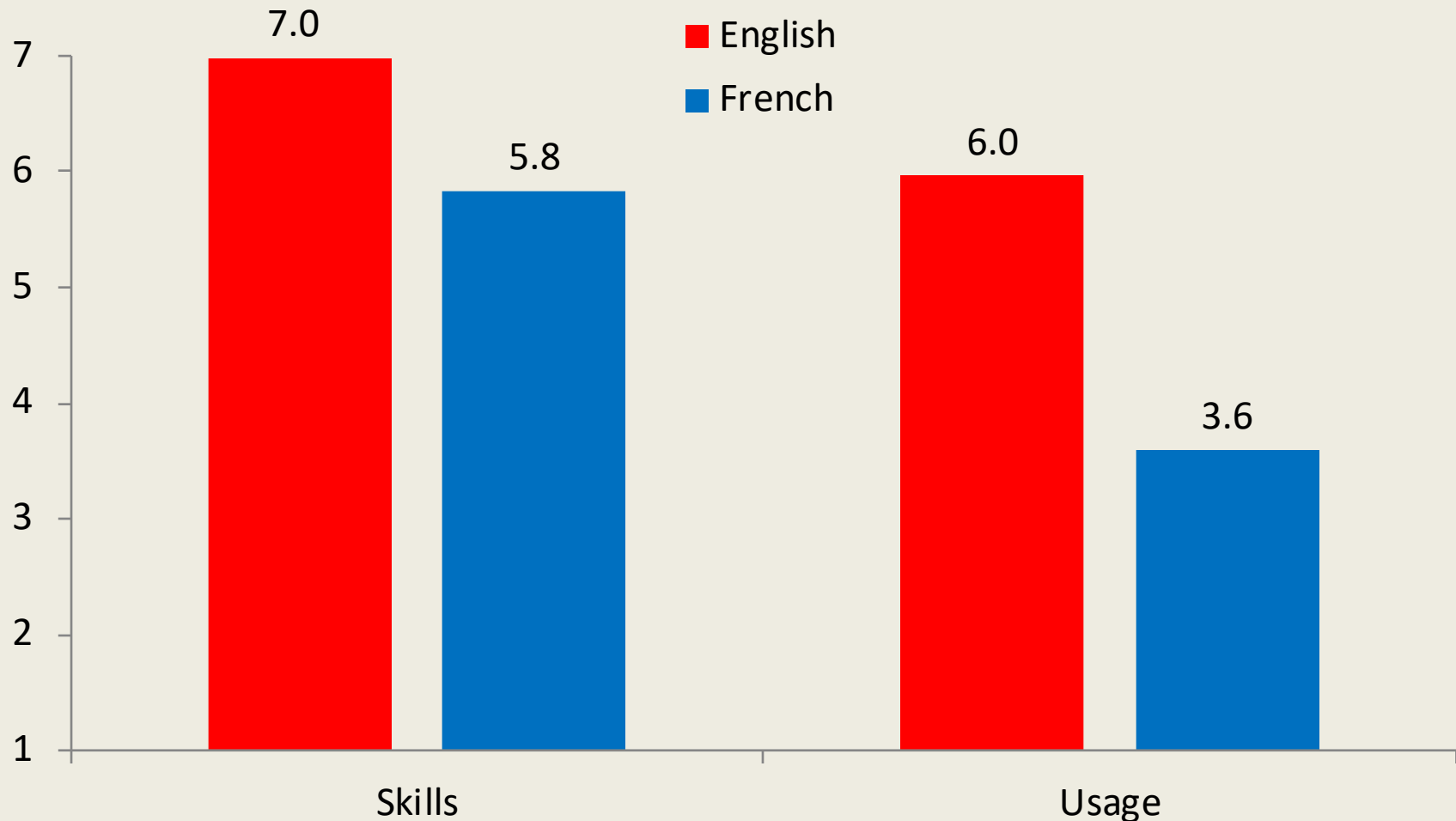


## Quebec-born Anglophones at McGill : N = 205

Self-rated Linguistic **Skills** (understand + speak) &

**Usage** of French & English (at home + friends + work + university)

**1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = fluently/always**

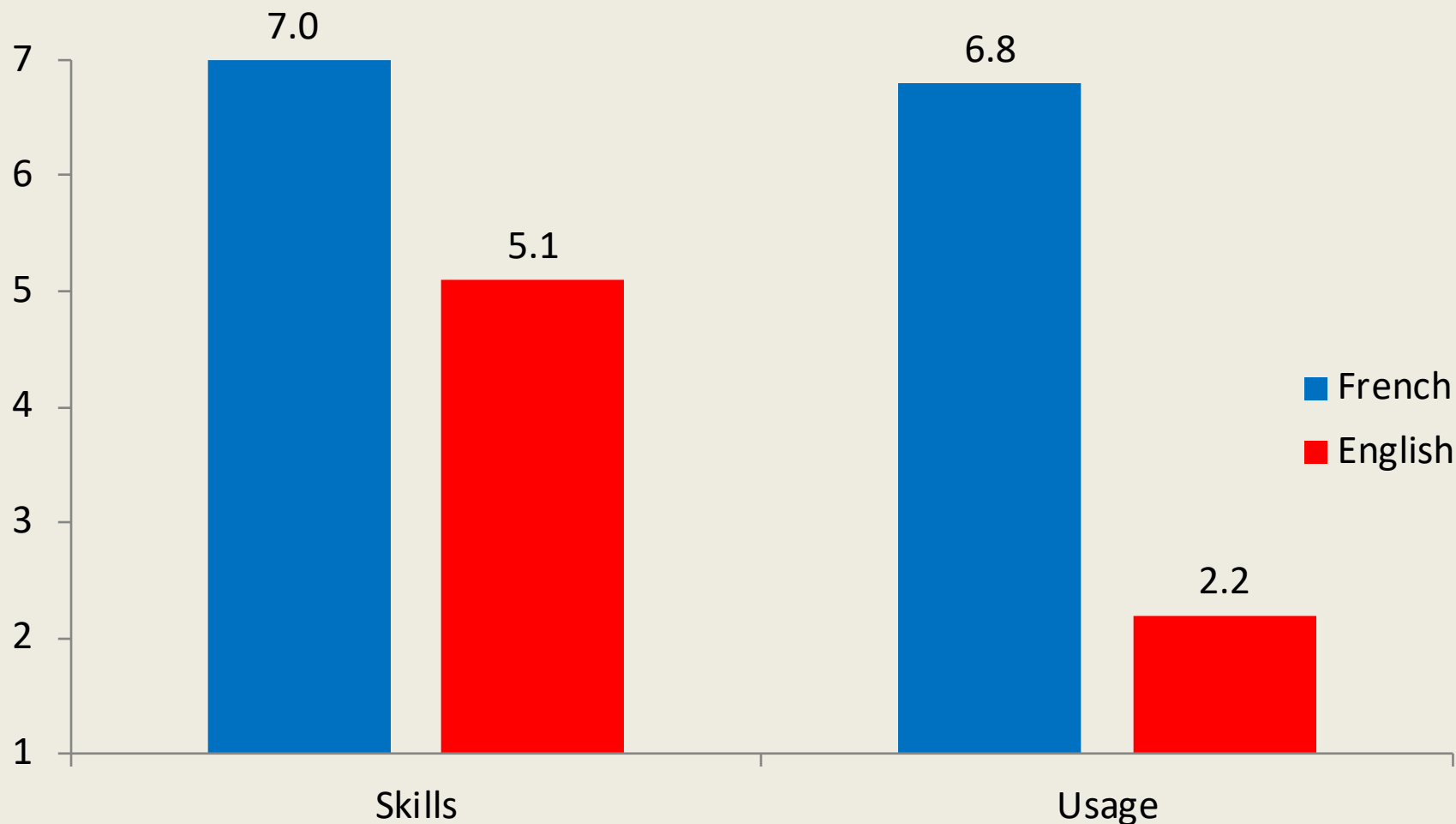


## Quebec-born francophones at UQAM: N = 234

Self-rated Linguistic **Skills** (understand + speak) &

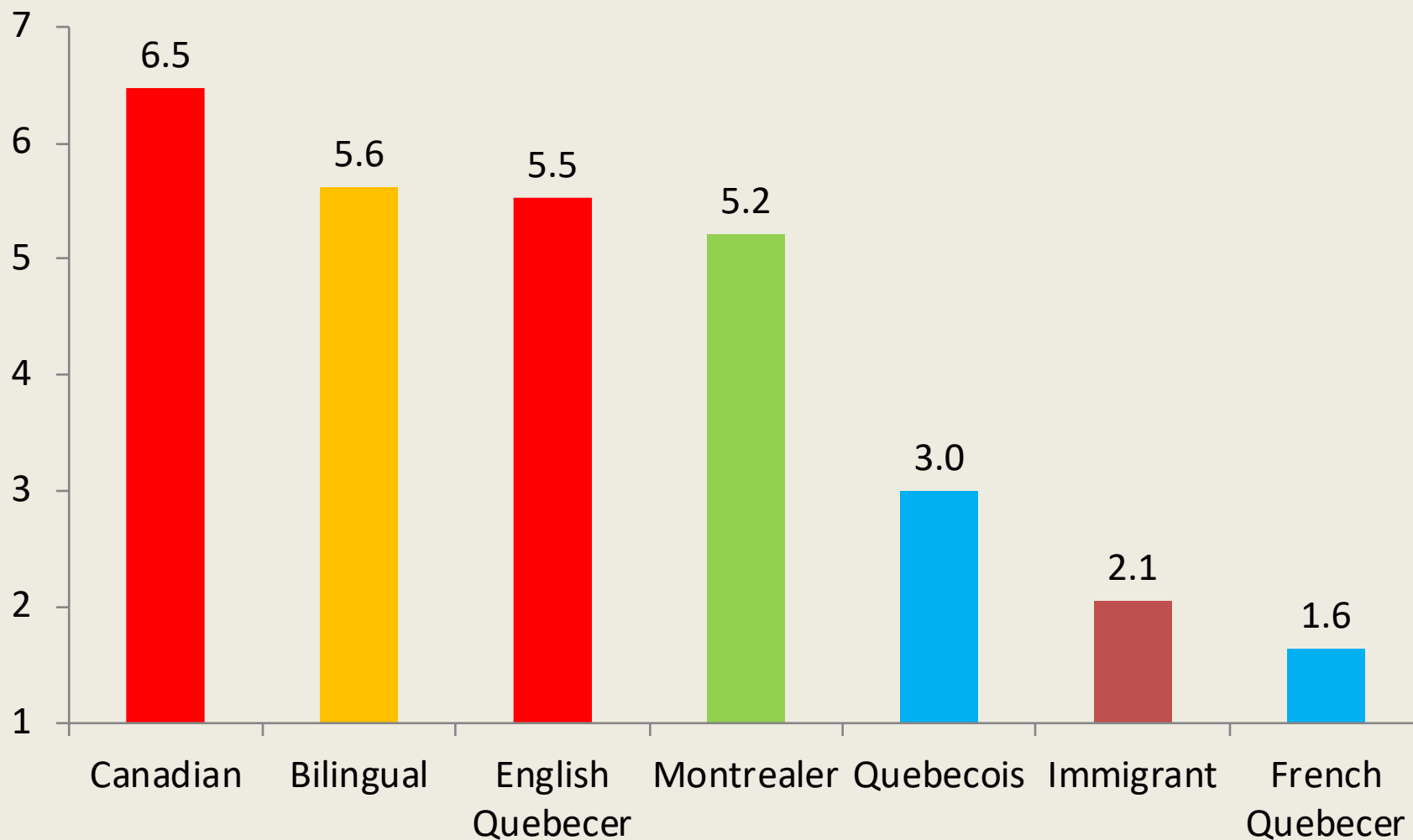
**Usage** of French & English (at home + friends + work + university)

1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = fluently/always



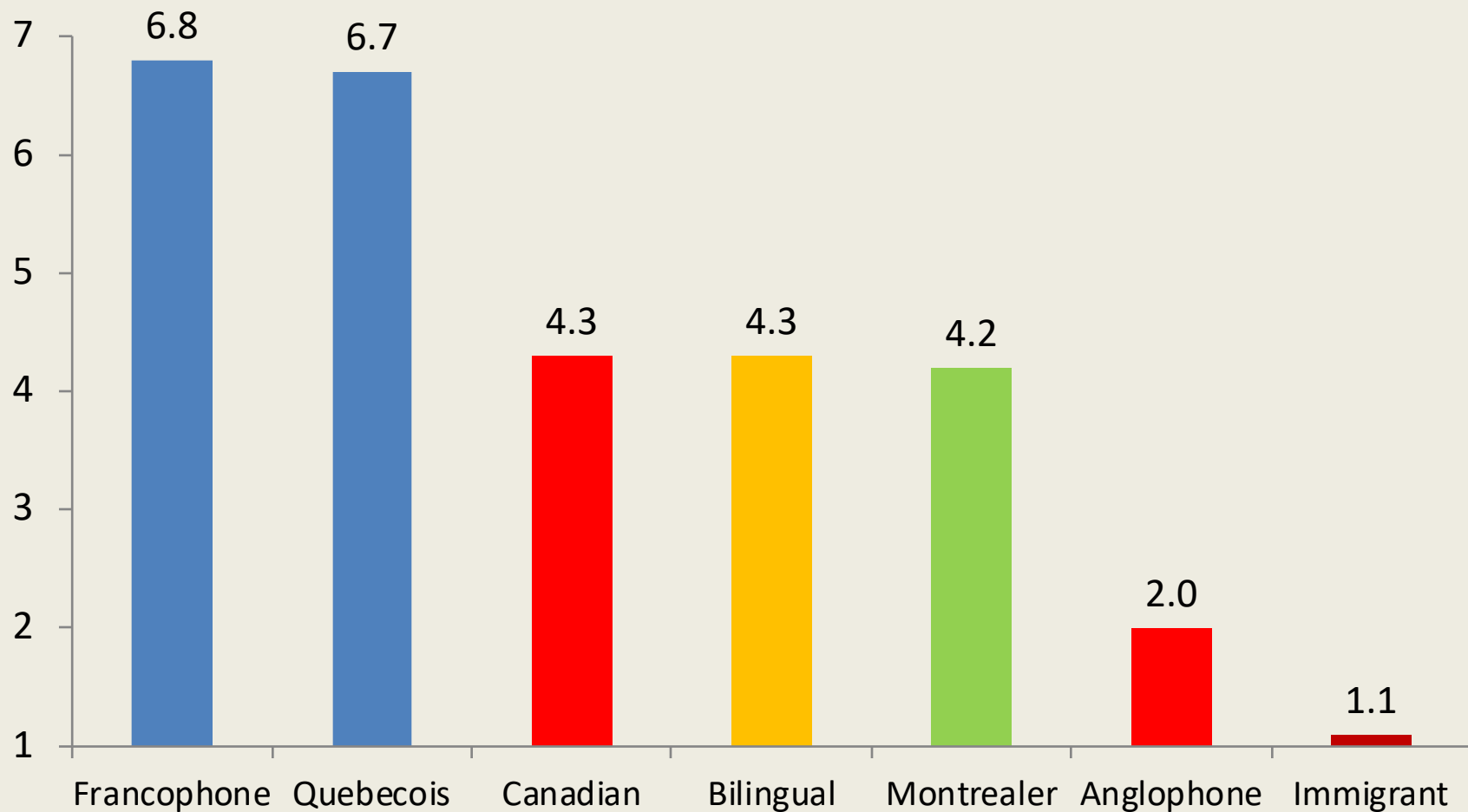
## Multiple identification of Quebec Anglophones (N = 205)

1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = totally



## Very Strong identification of Québécois Francophones N = 234

1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = totally

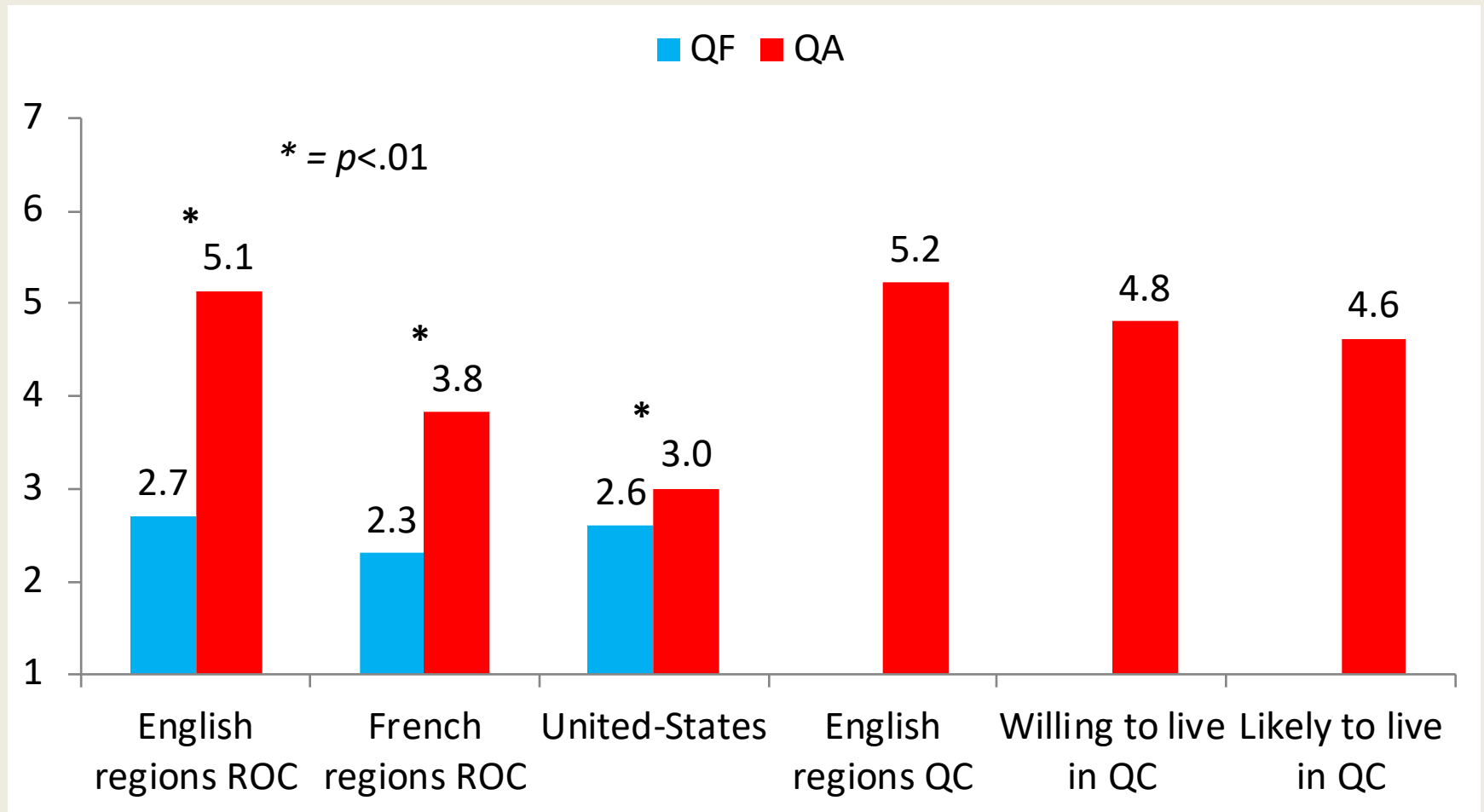


# Desire to leave (stay) Quebec for following destinations:

**QF: Quebec-born Francophones at UQAM (n=234)**

**QA: Quebec-born Anglophones at McGill (n=205)**

**1 = not at all willing; 4= neutral; 7 = very willing**



**Francophones rate positive economic prospects in Quebec: M = 5.3 \*\***

**Anglophones rate neutral economic prospects in Quebec: M = 4.1**

1= totally disagree; 4= neutral; 7= totally agree

-In the years to come, I think that I have good chances of finding a job in Quebec that corresponds to my area of training

**QF: 5.7; QA = 4.0**

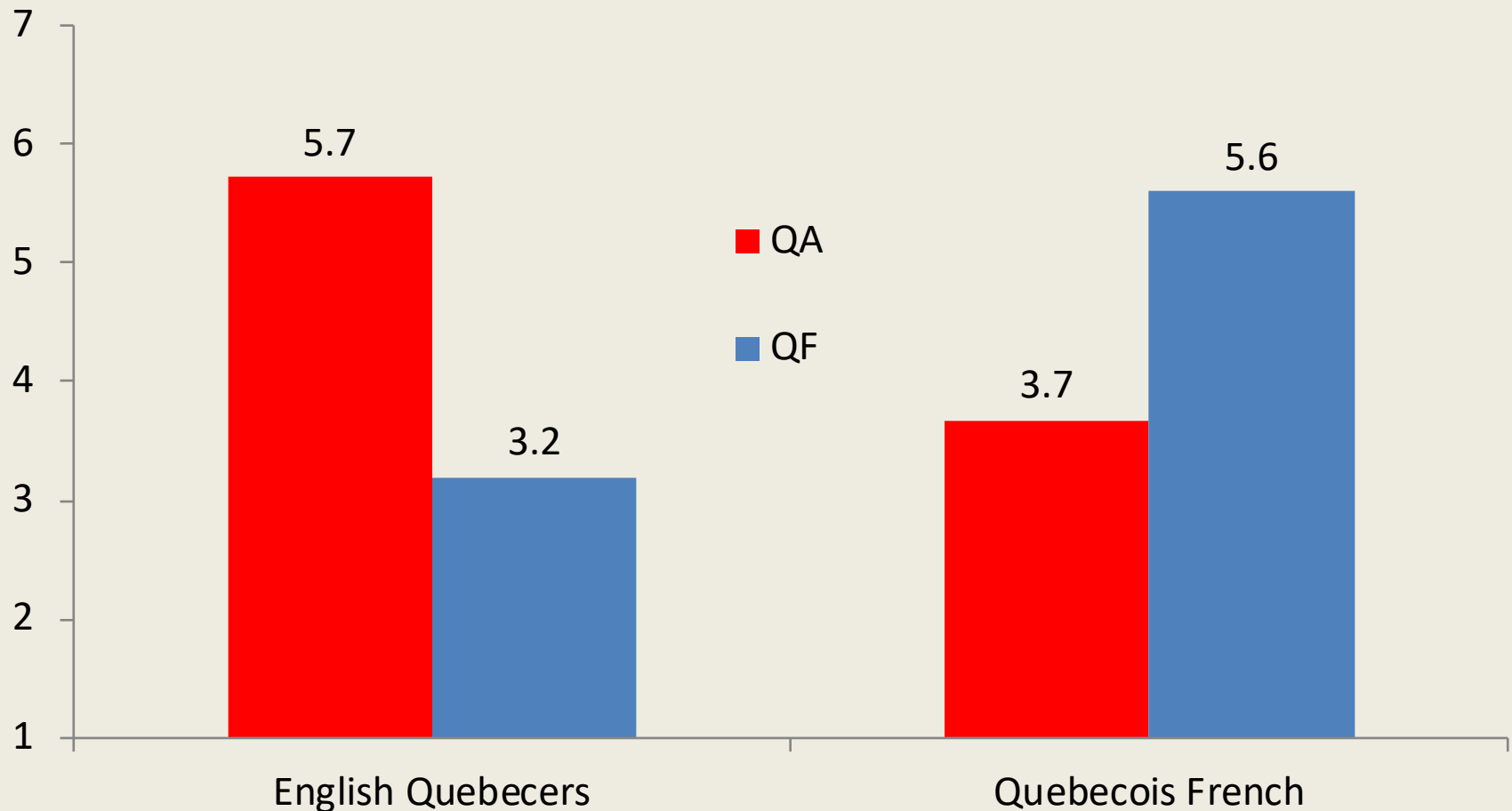
-All things considered , I think that I have good chances of building a good career in my area of training by staying in Quebec

**QF= 5.9; QA =3.9**

-I think my financial situation is quite promising in the years to come in Quebec: **QF: 4.8 ; QA: 4.1**

-In the years to come, my chances of finding a well paying job in Quebec are quite small. **QF: 1.4; QA: 2.8**

Willingness to **personally mobilise to improve VITALITY** of **Anglophone minority** and **Francophone majority** (vitality= demography + institutional support + status )  
by **Quebec-born Anglophones (N=205)** ; **Quebec-born Francophones (N=234)**  
**1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= much; 7 = very much**



**By Quebec – born Anglophones N = 205**

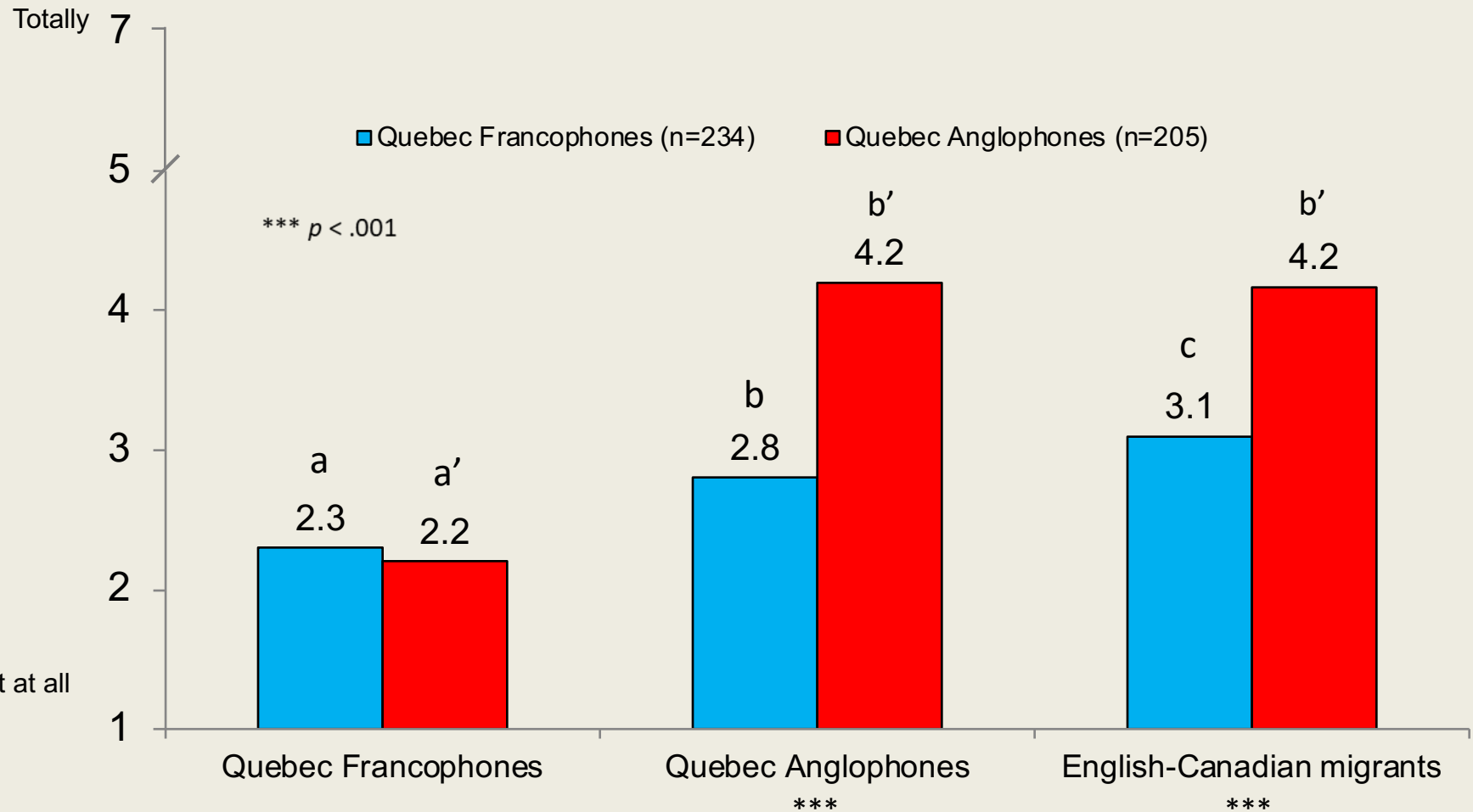
**By Quebec- born francophones QF: N = 234**

Perception of **collective discrimination** experienced by groups as rated by:

**Quebec Francophones (QF): N = 234 ;**

**Quebec Anglophones (QA): N = 205**

**1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = very much**

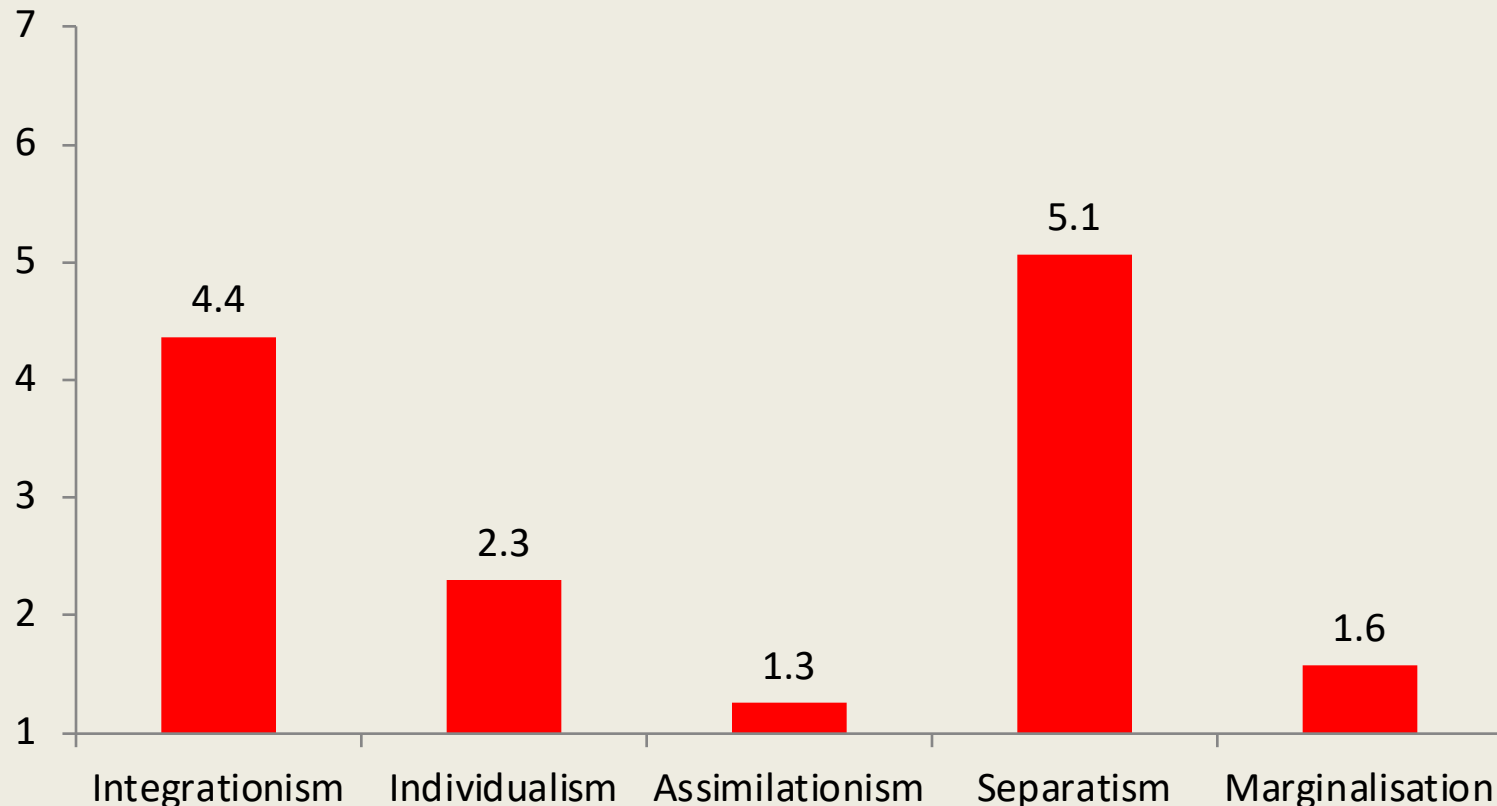




**Acculturation Orientations (culture + values + customs ) of  
Quebec anglophones toward Québécois Francophone majority**  
**1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = very much**

**Integrationism:** *I wish to maintain my cultural heritage & also adopt key features of  
Québécois French culture*

**Separatism:** *I wish to maintain my cultural heritage rather than adopt Québécois  
French culture*

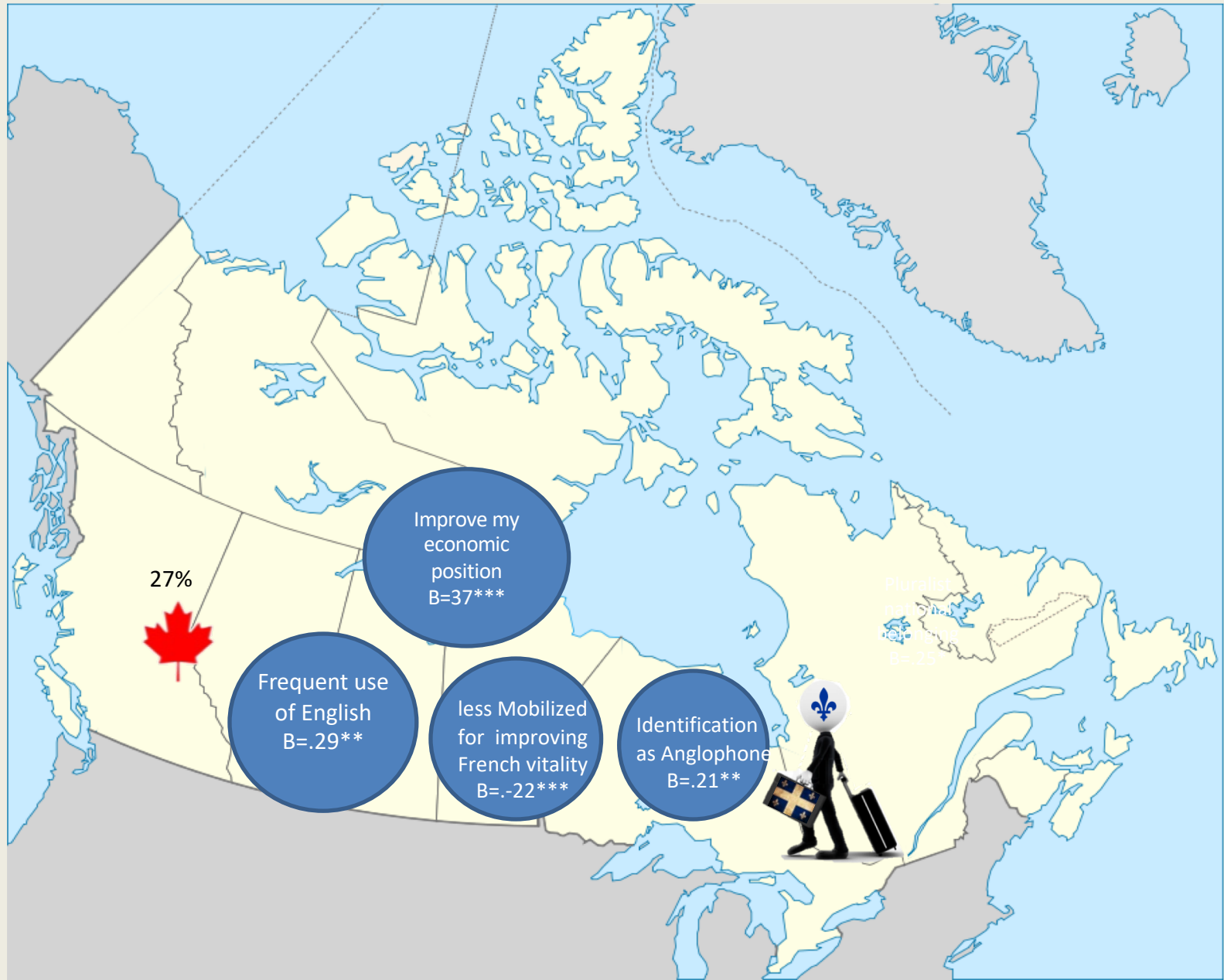


# Predictors of Desire to stay or leave Quebec

- Though Quebec-born Francophones had little desire to leave Quebec, **what factors predicted their desire to leave for the rest of Canada?**
- Quebec-born Anglophones have a dilemma:
- Quebec-born Anglophones would like to stay and live in Quebec, which *is* their birthplace !
- *But* Anglophones also wish *to leave Quebec* for the rest of Canada (ROC)!
- What factors predicted Anglo desire to *stay* in Quebec ?
- What factors predicted Anglo desire to *leave* for ROC?

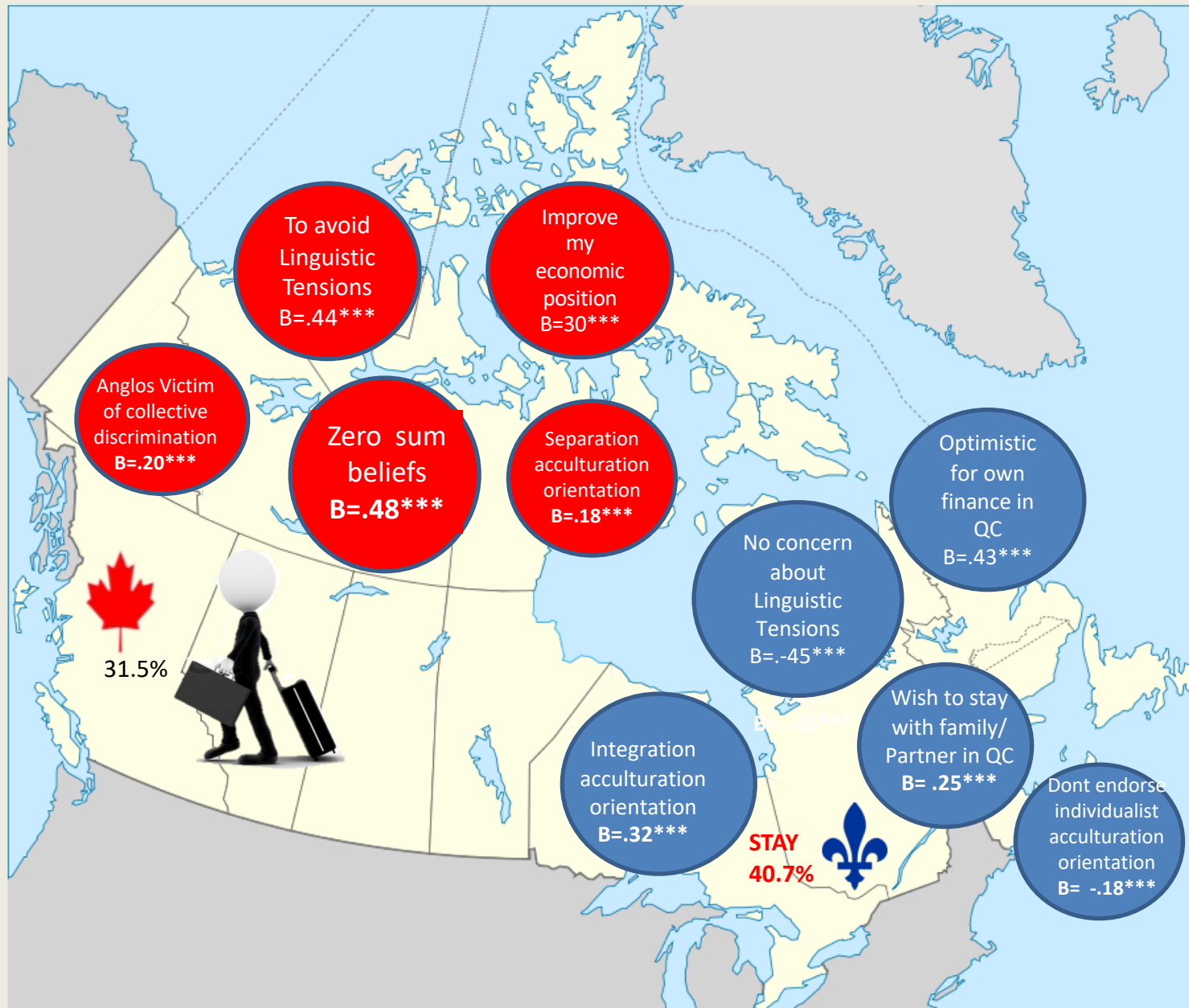
# Factors which predict Quebec Francophone willingness to leave Quebec for ROC

(Multiple regression (forward) 27% of variance explained)



# Factors which predict Quebec Anglophones willingness to stay or leave in Quebec

(multiple regression, forward: stay 40.7%; leave: 31.5% explained variance)



## Summary : Quebec-born Anglophone students at McGill

1. Anglophones endorse multiple identities as Canadian, bilinguals, English Quebecers and Montrealers. QA rate they speak French well and use it moderately. They are motivated to improve the vitality of their minority Anglo-Quebec community.
2. Anglophones are pessimistic regarding their financial and career prospects in Quebec. They feel that anglophones are collectively victim of discrimination in Quebec. They feel that when they are personally victim of discrimination it is mainly because of their English language (*linguicism*).
3. Anglophones **who wish to stay & live in Quebec** are not concerned with French-English linguistic tensions, are optimistic about their career prospects situation, wish to stay with family/partner, endorse integration by keeping own Anglo-Quebec cultural heritage and adopting Québécois French majority culture
4. Anglophones **who wish to leave Quebec** want to avoid French-English tensions, wish to improve their personal economic situation, see Anglophones as victims of collective discrimination and endorse the separation acculturation orientation.

# Notes: Quebec-born Anglophone students at McGill

1. The **vitality** of *English speaking communities of Quebec* (ESCQ) is **declining** demographically, institutionally and in status.
2. Quebec-born **Anglophone** students at McGill have the **dilemma** of **staying in their Quebec homeland** or **leaving for the rest of Canada**.
3. Anglophone willingness of **staying** in Quebec or **leaving** for the rest of Canada reflects **push** and **pull factors** based on personal and collective beliefs & motivations

Opinions

## La guerre linguistique est finie: le français a gagné!

**CALVIN Veltman**  
*Natif de Chicago, l'auteur est professeur en études urbaines et territoriales à l'UQAM. Spécialiste des questions linguistiques, il est notamment le coauteur d'une récente étude sur l'intégration des immigrants au milieu scolaire.*

La réplique que M<sup>me</sup> Louise Beaudoin a servi à l'excellent éditorial d'Alain Dubuc sur la situation de la langue française à Montréal (*La Presse*, 9 octobre), ainsi que celle de Mario Beaulieu, président du Parti québécois de Montréal-Centre (ibid.), me laissent profondément troublé. Je me demande si nous ne sommes pas en présence d'autruches qui, parce que la réalité ne leur convient pas, choisissent de se mettre la tête dans la sable.

Autrement, nous serions obligés de conclure qu'ils ne nous disent pas la vérité par simple calcul politique: à nous répéter que « le noir est blanc », en finissant par nous convaincre.

Si, dans sa réplique, M. Dubuc parle « des dérapages pantisants qui rapetissent le français et qui nous rapetissent tous », on peut également parler du « nationalisme autrichien » émis d'espérance, peu respectueux pour la diversité du peuple québécois et par surcroît, tout à fait inutile.

Tout d'abord, il faut dire qu'aucune étude sérieuse publiée dans les dix ou quinze dernières années ne met en doute la francisation régulière et progressive de la population immigrante. Il s'agit d'un revirement dramatique lorsqu'on se rappelle l'anglicisation massive des immigrants et de leur progéniture, pendant les années 50 et 60. Pour qu'on puisse prétendre que nous « obtenons pas » notre part « des transferts linguistiques », comme le fait M. Beaulieu, on a toujours recours aux taux globaux d'anglicisation et de francisation de l'ensemble du groupe (lire, communément appelé les « allophones »). En fait, les données montrent qu'en 1996, le français obtenait 39 % des transferts linguistiques en provenance des groupes allophones, en

de la faiblesse de notre langue mais plutôt à cause de la composition même de l'immigration. Nous avons dans nos propres études (pour le compte de l'Anctel MCCQ) constaté qu'il est difficile de franciser une population issue d'un milieu anglophone, voire même des anciennes colonies de l'empire britannique, en excluant ce type de groupe. Les immigrants au Québec se francisent massivement, qu'ils soient allophones unilingues à l'arrivée ou non.

Encore plus important, les enfants de l'immigration vont maintenant à l'école francophone, de toute évidence, une francisation insaisissable est en cours. Nous venons plus loin que le français est beaucoup plus dominant à l'école que ne le laisserait soupçonner la panique linguistique de leurs parents. Mais, comme les enfants habitent toujours avec leurs parents, le transfert linguistique demeure caché, les parents les déclarant de langue allophone au recensement canadien. Ce n'est qu'au moment où ces enfants quittent la maison que le transfert linguistique accompli deviendra « visible » au recensement canadien: les enfants renfleront alors eux-mêmes le questionnaire. Il y a donc une bonne part de la francisation

qu'ébécois semble également avoir diminué de 1,6 % en 1971, 1,1 % en 1996 (ibid., p. 79). Il s'agit d'un changement fort important, étant donné l'importance du groupe francophone.

■ Le taux de francisation du groupe anglophone est passé de 7,3 % en 1971, à 10,3 % en 1996 (ibid., p. 79).

■ Alors qu'en 1971, qui avait reçu le français comme langue maternelle (en raison de la francisation des parents), il y en avait cinq qui recevaient l'anglais (en raison de l'anglicisation); en 1996, une faible majorité de tels enfants était déjà francophone (ibid., p. 73). Ce chiffre avait tendance à augmenter

chapitre de la francisation pour les marchands de la peur. Il a donc fallu « inventer » de nouveaux problèmes. Par exemple, que les francophones devenaient bientôt minoritaires sur l'île de Montréal. Pour arriver à faire cette démonstration, il faut « oublier » que les immigrants, leurs enfants et petits-enfants ont déjà pour une large part le français comme langue d'usage et même maternelle, et dans une génération ou deux, comme langue maternelle. Et même si l'étalement urbain contribuait à la « distanciation » de Montréal, telle que définie par les « nationalistes autrichiens », que faudrait-il faire pour sauver le français? Empêcher les francophones d'acheter des maisons en banlieue? (...)

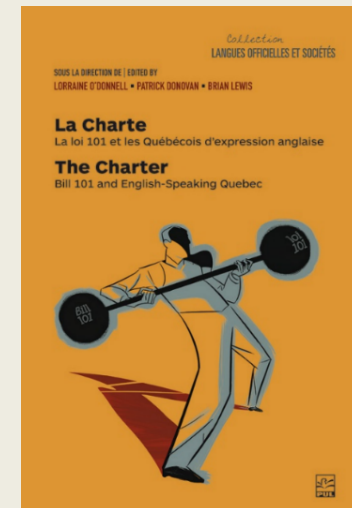
Il faut se rendre à l'évidence: la guerre linguistique est finie! Le français a gagné! L'avenir du groupe anglophone est incertain, fragilisé par le grand nombre de marginaux hors groupe et par l'immigration continue. Les terres linguistiques sont en danger, à moyen et à long terme. Que la place des langues allophones augmente ou diminue suivant l'ampleur de l'immigration internationale est sans importance.

Il n'y a aucune raison que certains nationalistes québécois refusent d'admettre cette réalité. En fait, l'adoption de la loi 101 et ses multiples effets sur l'évolution de l'équilibre linguistique au Québec constituent l'une des plus belles réussites du nationalisme québécois, même si on peut regretter le départ d'un grand nombre de non concitoyens productifs de langue anglaise (ou avariée). (...)

Cela dit, la reconnaissance de la supériorité de la langue française suppose les mêmes dangers politiques pour un nationalisme trop idéaliste. Car il est vrai que les Québécois francophones mettent de l'avant leur nationalisme. Comme les Anglo-Québécois ne semblent plus jouer le mauvais rôle des immigrants et comme le Canada anglais nous ignore (notamment bénéfique, semble-t-il), com-

Calvin Veltman

*La Presse, Montréal, octobre 1999*



## Summary: Quebec-born francophone students at UQAM

1. Quebec francophones identify strongly as Francophone and Québécois, but less so as Canadians. They are strongly motivated to improve the vitality of their Francophone majority community.
2. Francophones are optimistic regarding their financial and career prospects in Quebec. They do NOT feel that they are personally victim of discrimination or that Francophones as a majority group are victim of discrimination
3. Quebec francophones **wish to stay in Quebec** and do NOT wish to migrate to the USA or Rest of Canada (ROC) where francophones are in a minority.
4. For francophones who wish to leave Quebec for the ROC, pull factors are: to improve their personal job and career prospects, their frequent use of English, identification as anglophones, and lower mobilization to improve French vitality in Quebec.



**MERCI**

**THANK YOU**

**GRACIAS**      **GRAZIE**

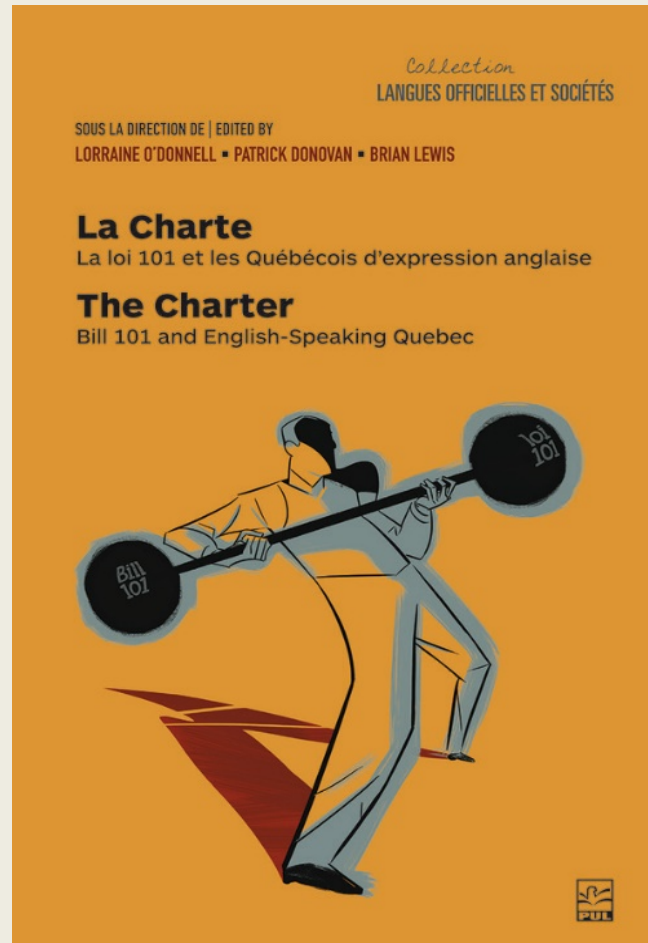
**شُكْر**

**להודות**

**Obrigado**      **Trugarez**



Other features of this study are presented in slides 26 to 36  
*See slide 2 for background information*



# Quebec-born Anglophones also completed a 21 item opinion survey on French-English relations

1= totally disagree; 4= neutral; 7= totally agree

Our factor analysis of the 21 opinion items yielded 5 independent factors which we correlated with Anglo desire to stay or leave Quebec

- **Factor 1: Solidarity with English-speaking communities of Quebec** (5 items= 13.2% of variance; r= stay)
- **Factor 4: Multiple identities and advantage of both French & English communities** (3 items = 11.3% of variance; r=stay)
- **Factor 5 : Optimistic perceptions of mutual support for French and English communities.** (3 items = 8.7% of variance; r=stay)
- **Factor 2: Dissatisfaction with QA mobilization to defend the vitality of the ESCQ** (5 items =12.8% of variance; r= **leave**)
- **Factor 3: Perceptions that Québécois Francophones want the vitality of the ESCQ to decline** ( 5 items: 11.7% of variance; r= **leave**)
- (5 factors accounts for 57.7% of variance)

Opinions survey concerning French-English relations in Quebec

Factor 1 is correlated with *Anglo desire to stay in Quebec*

**Factor 1: Solidarity with English-speaking communities of Quebec:**

5 opinion items, M= 5.0 & 13.2% of variance. Positively correlated with *Anglo desire to stay in Quebec* ( $r=+.27$ ) & correlated with desire to NOT leave Quebec ( $r= -.20$ )

Items:

- I feel solidarity towards English speakers in other regions of Quebec (M= +5.6)
- English-speaking Quebec is a community of communities (M= + 5.5)
- I am aware that the Canadian Official Languages Act supports Francophone minorities outside Quebec and the English language minority of Quebec (M= + 5.0)

Opinion survey concerning French-English relations in Quebec  
Factor 5 is correlated with *Anglo desire to stay in Quebec*

Factor 5 : Optimistic perceptions of mutual support for French and English communities. 3 opinion items M= 3.2 & 8.7% of variance . Positively correlated with *Anglo desire to stay in Quebec* ( $r = +.34$ ) & correlated with desire to NOT leave Quebec ( $r = -.38$ )

Items:

- The majority of Québécois Francophones support the institutions of the English-speaking communities of Quebec (M= 3.1)
- It is the prevalence of French that contributes most to unique character of Montreal (M= 3.4)
- The majority of English Quebecers support the quest to make French the common public language of all Quebecers (M= 3.0)

Opinion concerning French-English relations in Quebec

Factors 4 is correlated with *Anglo desire to stay in QC*

**Factor 4:** Multiple identities and advantage of both French & English communities. 3 items at M= 6.3 and 11.3% variance. Positively correlated with *Anglo desire to stay in Quebec* ( $r = +.14$ ;  $p < .05$ )

Items:

. The co-existence of French and English institutions contribute to the economic and cultural vitality of Quebec (M= 6.2).

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

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

## Opinion concerning French-English relations in Quebec

### Factors 3 is correlated with *Anglo desire leave Quebec*

**Factor 3:** Perceptions that Québécois Francophones want the vitality of the ESCQ to decline. 5 items at M= 4.9 and 11.7% variance. Positively correlated with **Anglo desire to leave Quebec for ROC** ( $r = + .29$ ) & correlated with desire to NOT stay in QC ( $r = -.17$ ).

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

The majority of English Quebecers feel that the English language is threatened by the presence of French speakers (M= 4.4)

. The majority of Québécois francophones feel that the French language is threatened by the presence of English speakers in QC (M= 5.3)

Opinion concerning French-English relations in Quebec

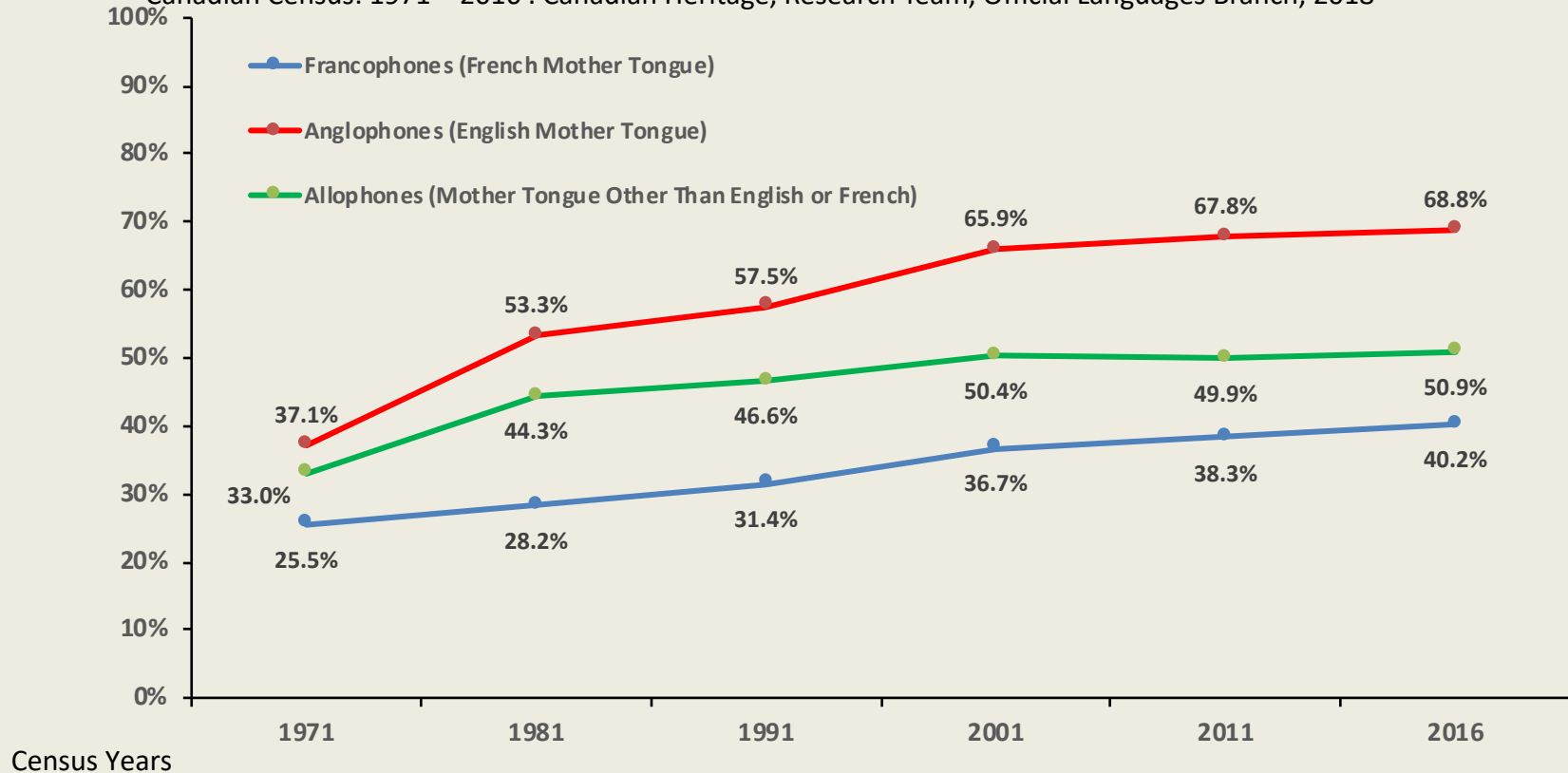
Factor 2 is correlate with *Anglo desire to leave Quebec*

Factor 2: Dissatisfaction with QA mobilization to defend the vitality of the ESCQ. 5 items at M= 5.0, 12.8% of variance. Positively correlated with *Anglo desire to leave Quebec for ROC* ( $r = + .19$ )

- The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec is declining (M= 5.1 )
- The ESCQ should be more united in defending/enhancing their institutions in Quebec (M= 5.7)
- English Quebecers can NOT be accepted by Francophones as dyed-in-the –wool ‘Québécois’ (M= 4.0)

## French-English bilingualism in Quebec by mother tongue (L1) of Quebec Francophones, Anglophones & Allophones

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



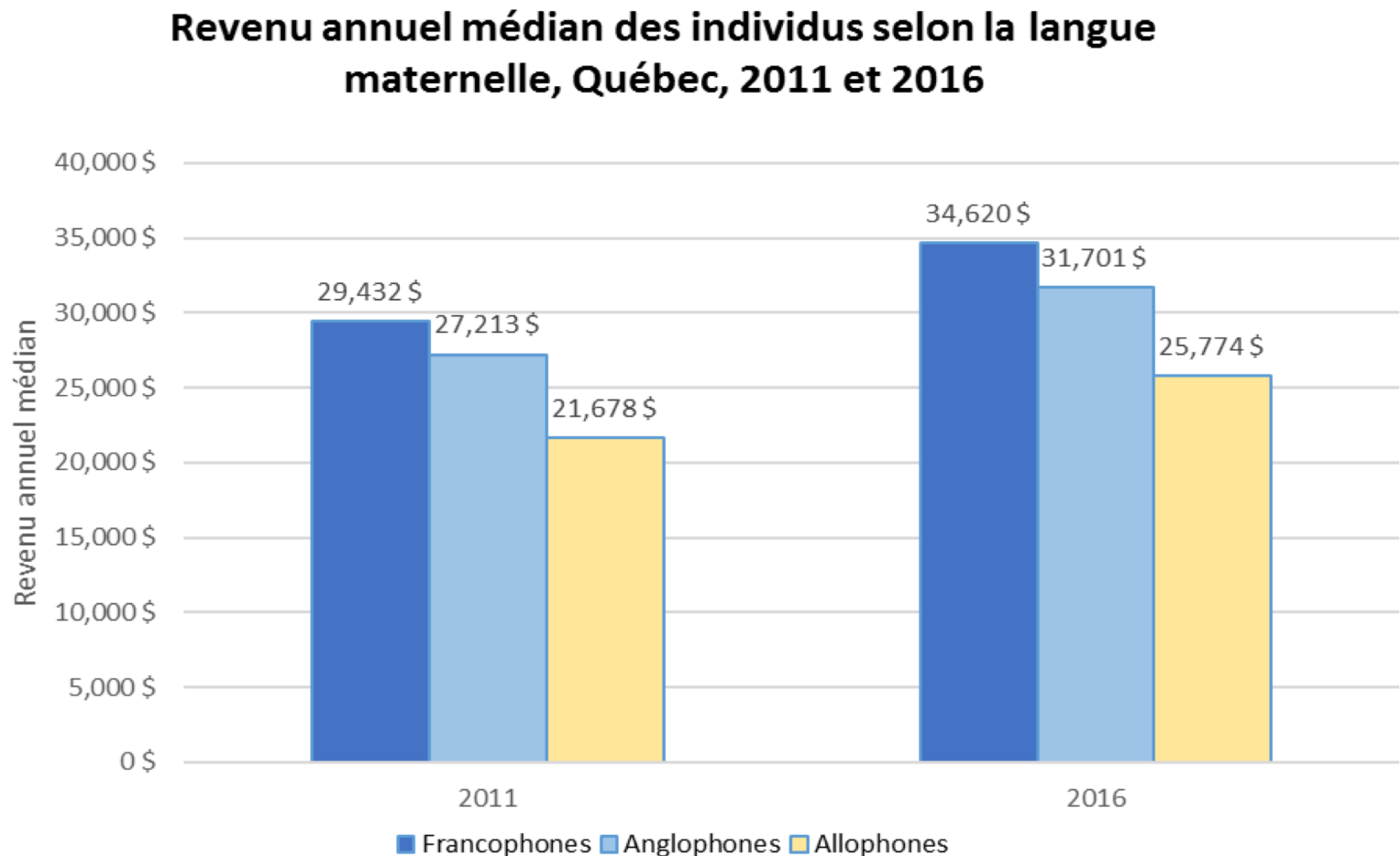
◆ L <sub>1</sub> French	1 238 500	1 499 200	1 746 798	2 122 050	2 334 520	2 502 735
● L <sub>1</sub> English	292 800	375 500	342 766	377 090	406 130	413 575
■ Allophone	122 900	188 800	285 200	357 210	480 000	539 455

**Mother tongue L<sub>1</sub>:** First language learned at home in childhood and still understood at time of census (L<sub>1</sub> single response).

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

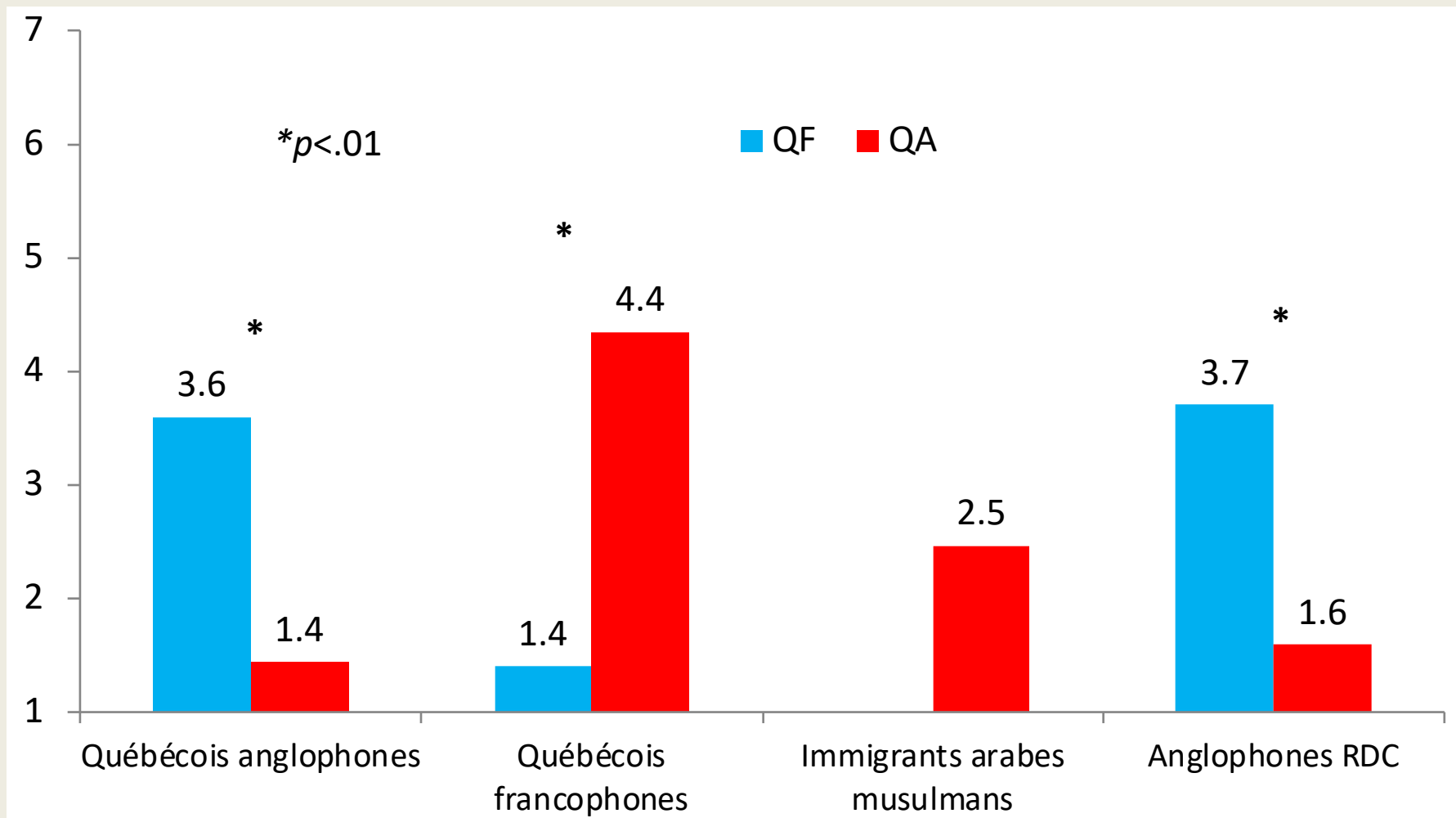


## Quebec Francophones (L1) have higher median individual income \$ than Anglophones & Allophones: 2011 & 2016 Census



Source : Basée sur les données du Recensement du Canada, 2011 et 2016

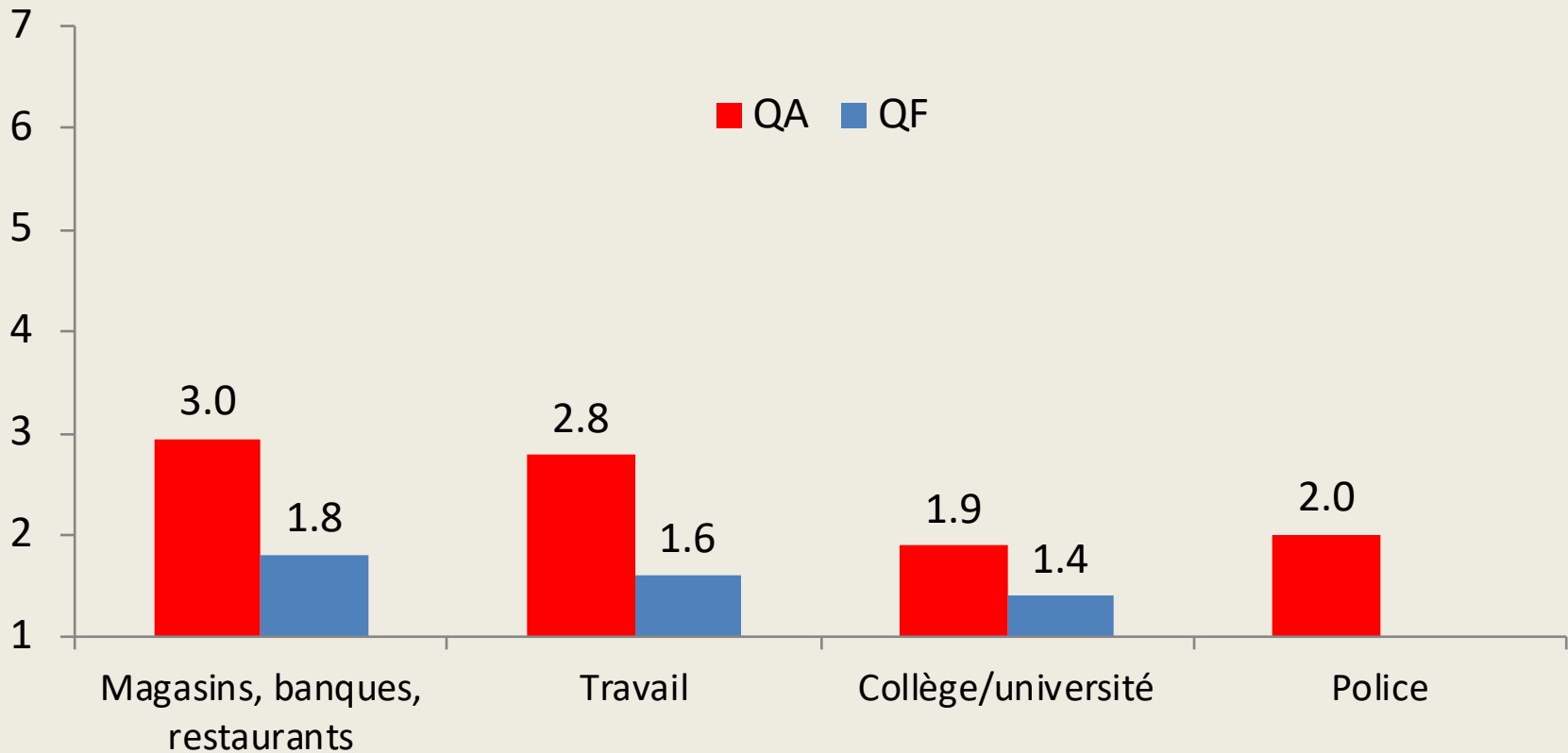
Feeling of *identity threat* in the presence of different groups in Quebec  
**Quebec-born francophones (QF=234) & Quebec-born anglophones (QA=205)**  
1= not at all; 4= moderately; 7= very much



# Perception of being **personally victim of discrimination** in different settings in Quebec as rated by:

**Quebec-born Francophones (QF): N = 234 ; Quebec-born Anglophones (QA): N= 205**

**1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = very much**



# Perceived basis for being **personally** victim of discrimination

Quebec Francophones (QF): N = 234 ; Quebec Anglophones (QA): N = 205

1 = not at all ; 2= a little bit; 4= moderately; 6= very much; 7 = very much

