Alliance Quebec: Needs Assessment Study

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"The Historical Background of the Situation of English-speaking Quebecers"

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English-speaking people living in Quebec - the Anglos, as they are often called - are caught in a paradox. On the one hand, they seem to be the luckiest of citizens. On average, they are better educated than other English-speaking people in Canada or than their French-speaking fellow citizens in Quebec. They earn, on average, better salaries than the average Quebecer. And, being far more numerous than any other official language minority (in fact, their numbers just about equal the combined total of all francophones in Canada outside Quebec), they can enjoy amenities in their language of which their francophone cousins can only dream.

At the same time, though, Quebec's Anglos are the only official language minority that lives under a provincial law designed specifically to limit the use of their language, to restrict access to their schools, to make it difficult to work in their mother tongue, to keep them from being too visible, to prevent immigrants from melding into their community. They are the only official language community whose rights and amenities are being reduced, while all the others see their rights and their recognition enhanced. They are the only official language community that lives under the abiding threat of losing their country through secession, which encourages its members to move away to other parts of Canada.

The paradoxical situation of Quebec's Anglos, who enjoy the best of worlds and the worst of worlds, can only be understood by a grasp of Quebec's distinct history.

For better or for worse, all of us suffer today still the consequences of the mercantilist follies of the kings of France. They wanted a perpetual colony to supply the mother-country with furs and raw materials. They did not want a full society to compete with metropolitan France. And so, though France at the time had three times the population of Britain, during the entire century and a half it controlled New France, it sent over to its colony an average of fewer than 70 settlers a year. New England, meanwhile, received an average of 1400 a year so that, by 1760, New England had 20 times the population of New France. Demographics dictated that North America would eventually speak mostly English - and that French Quebec would suffer from a demographic siege mentality, partly based on reality, party exacerbated by predictions that French in Quebec could disappear, that *la belle province* could become another Louisiana. After Quebec's once-record birth rate plummeted below the replacement level in the 1970s, the Anglos were made to bear the brunt of the corrective measures inspired by nightmare scenarios.

History lives with us in other ways. At the time of Confederation, as the 1871 census demonstrated, there were some 754,000 people of British origin in Quebec, but only 184,000 people of French origin altogether, dispersed over the territory today occupied by the four Atlantic provinces (including Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, which were not then part of Canada), Ontario and the West. Though the French language was protected by the British North America Act in the federal Parliament and federal courts, and Catholic and Protestants schools were protected in Ontario and Quebec, no protection was afforded the French language in the other provinces. In the years that followed, French schools were restricted or abolished in every one of the provinces, leaving a legacy of outrage and resentment in French Quebec that still burns today. The federation - and Quebec's Anglos - inherit the bitter fruit of that historic resentment.

A further legacy of history is the imperial pride and British chauvinism that swelled in Canada during the high Victorian era and crested during the First World War. This chauvinism, especially in its Orange variety, was anti-French and anti-Catholic. It was influential in the suppression of French schools in Manitoba and later in Ontario, in the hanging of Louis Riel, the participation in the imperialist South African War at the turn of the century, and in the imposition of conscription in 1917 for a most unpopular war that was widely viewed in Quebec as a clash of empires from which Canada should abstain. It, too, left its residue of historical resentment which, today, is visited on Quebec's Anglos.

Another abiding source of ethnic resentment was the economic inequality that existed for so long between those who spoke French and those who spoke English. As far back as 1831, the great French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville commented during his visit to Lower Canada: "The bulk of the population and the immense majority, everywhere, is French. But it is easy to see that the French are the vanquished people. The rich classes belong for the most part to the English race."

Tocqueville, and a great number of nationalist historians since, attributed the disparity in wealth to an original conquest. But Étienne Parent, the great *patriote* editor, had a different explanation. In a series of lectures he delivered in 1846, he warned that French Canadians clung unduly to old traditions, while the English-speaking newcomers constantly looked for innovative ways to make a living. French Canadians must revise their attitudes and adopt a commitment to education and to industry, Parent urged.

"Let us admit it," he said, " we despise industry." No sooner had a man managed to set up a successful shop than he wanted to sell it and have his son become a professional - a doctor, lawyer, notary or priest. The prejudice against industry and the lack of interest in education could eventually be fatal, Parent admonished.

"If those who have enough money to have their children well educated also despise industry, we will lose industry irrevocably to other hands, and the mass of the population will fall body and soul under the domination and the exploitation of another race."

Parent lost his campaign to have his French-speaking fellow citizens change their attitudes. Instead, the influential voices for the next century were those who preached an ultra-conservative doctrine, that the vocation of French-speaking Canadians was to cultivate the land, not develop industry in the cities. This doctrine was expressed by the great historian François-Xavier Garneau, by the novelists Patrice Lacombe, author of *La terre paternelle,* or Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau, author of *Charles Guérin*, who was to be the first premier of Quebec from Confederation in 1867. It was preached by the bishops in their pastoral letters, and by the priests from the pulpits, and it was repeated in the orations of the politicians.

Here is what the bishops and archbishops of Quebec, Montreal and Ottawa told their flocks in a joint letter of 1894.

It is said with great pertinence that agriculture is the true foster-mother of peoples, their main source of wealth; it is on the land that one finds the true fortune of a nation - a fortune as stable and reliable as the goodness of God, a fortune which never completely fails to renew itself and which suffers fewer of those disastrous fluctuations which affect so often and so hard commerce and industry

By contrast, the prelates denounced the cities as "modern Babylons where people go in search of happiness only to find their ruin.... In the big cities, in the factories, the man of the fields soon finds himself in contact with the sirens of impiety, with perverted hearts; he loses gradually his spirit of faith and religion which had previously inspired him. His beliefs and his morals come to a sad shipwreck, and he reaps for his old age only misery and dishonour."

A quarter of a century later, in 1923, the bishops were still preaching the same message in a letter to be read from every pulpit. Again, they preached that outside of the farm, salvation was doubtful.

It is there, in contact with the earth which roots one in the homeland, in the great fresh air of the fields which tones one's physical and moral vigour, in the grandiose setting of nature which elevates the soul, and in the virtue of sanctifying work which disciplines the energies, it is there that our race drew its strength, it is there that our survival was assured, there that those virtues which are characteristic of our people and have made it the happiest and the most religious people on earth, grew and were strengthened.

There then followed the usual denunciation of the factory and of the city, the corrupters of the children of God. "For the little bit of money that can be earned there more easily, the factory will atrophy the physical vigour of your children; the city, with its promiscuity, its unhealthy attractions, its immodest sights, will exercise over their souls an influence that will be all the more disastrous because the simplicity of their preceding education will have forearmed them poorly against the fascinating assaults of these novelties."

Instead of looking to industry and the city to absorb the teeming children of the large families on the long-settled farms along the St. Lawrence River, Quebec's leaders, both religious and lay, chose to warn them against moving to Montreal or Sherbrooke or to the textile factories of New England. The solution offered was to recruit them to clear and populate the forests away from the traditional centres of settlement. The new national dream was to colonise the virgin lands of the Saguenay, the Laurentians, Abitibi and Témiscamingue

But the warning of Parent, unheeded, was to be prophetic: “Hurry to bring yourselves up to the level of these newcomers, otherwise, you can expect to become the servants of their servants, as several of you are already on the outskirts of the big cities. Hurry to have your children educated.”

The new industries that replaced the fur trade were largely developed by people who spoke English. Philemon Wright, an American farmer who had moved from New England to Hull, finding he could not make a go of farming, got the idea of floating logs down the Ottawa and St. Lawrence River to Quebec to be loaded there on boats for England. He launched the forestry industry that was to occupy so large a role in Quebec’s economic history.

In the 1820s, English-speaking merchants in Montreal prevailed on the government - against the opposition of nationalists like Louis-Joseph Papineau - to construct the Lachine canal so as to by-pass the rapids on the St. Lawrence south of the island. They created the conditions for the industrial development along the canal that soon made Montreal the industrial centre for all of Canada. As Mason Wade described it: “By 1867 Montreal had become the metropolis of Canada and its port completely eclipsed Quebec as the centre of the British import and export trade.” The second industrial city was Sherbrooke, with its textile factories, also developed for the most part by people speaking English.

The industrial revolution, with its rejection of traditional subsistence agriculture, had begun in England and quickly spread to the United States. The new attitudes were exported to Canada, conveyed for the most part by English-speaking immigrants, but resisted by the leaders of French Canada who saw in it a betrayal of their traditions and their faith.

Such a new-style entrepreneur was William Price, who was to be called “the father of the Saguenay.” He migrated to Quebec from England in 1809 at the age of 20 to take a job as clerk He eventually created the William Price Company, which developed a lumber empire along the Saguenay, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers.

And so it was that, shortly before the middle of the 19th century, William Price brought a capitalist development to the Saguenay region, while at the same time the Roman Catholic church was sponsoring “colonisation” there by encouraging group migration from the settled farms along the St. Lawrence River. Many of the new settlers also came on their own, most of all from nearby Charlevoix County. The result, according to historian Gérard Bouchard, was the co-existence and “co-integration” of two very different economic organizations: English capitalism and a French peasant economy. Each needed the other to survive.

“The peasant economy came to maintain close and long-standing relations with the capitalist economy, but without truly becoming converted to its spirit and its structures,” Bouchard wrote in *Quelques arpents d’Amérique. Population, économie, famille au Saguenay 1838-1971* (Montréal: Boréal, 1996), p. 141.

Young people growing up on the farm in the Saguenay region would often spend the winter working as lumberjacks for the company founded by William Price. Their participation in the capitalist economy made it possible for the “peasant” economy centred on the family to survive.

But the net result was that wealth was visibly, dramatically apportioned unequally between French-speaking and some English-speaking people in the Saguenay region. And the striking differences were bound to result in resentment among francophones who saw themselves in subservient positions in the economic and social structure. The region has defined itself by the hardships and the isolation that its people have suffered. And the mentality there has been marked by the poverty of the French-Canadian colonisers in contrast to the Anglo bosses.

In her 1994 novel, *Le chemin Kénogami,* writer Cécile Gagnon tells the story of a young girl who moves to the region in 1854 and works as a maid in an inn. She describes a vivid scene when the potentate of the area, William Price, came on a visit. All the local people, excited, come by to see him, as though he were visiting royalty.

The young girl, impressed, wonders about his hold on her people. “Why is this Mr. Price, the grandfather to whom everyone came to settle their accounts and put forward their innumerable needs - why was he the chief, since he was not one of us? Were the *Anglais* always masters of the others, everywhere?”

It was also in this region that the classic novel, *Maria Chapdelaine,* is situated. Though written by a Frenchman who came to Quebec, it has been accepted as articulating the very “Voice of the land of Quebec” in one passage that has been memorised by generations of school children: “Round about us foreigners came whom it please us to call the barbarians. They have taken almost all power. They have acquired almost all the money. But, in the land of Quebec, nothing has changed.”

Those words, written in 1912, became the leitmotif of another classic novel, *Menaud, maître-draveur,* published in 1937. In it, the master lumberjack Menaud rages at the *Anglais* who have invaded his land and profaned it by their presence. He repeats to himself incessantly the words from *Maria Chapdelaine,*

Autour de nous des étrangers sont venus qu’il nous plaît d’appeler les barbares. Ils ont pris presque tout le pouvoir. Ils ont acquis presque tout l’argent. Mais au pays de Québec, rien n’a changé. Rien ne doit changer.

Those same words return in Roch Carrier 1977 novel, *Pas de pays sans grand’père,* when a grand-son teaches the words of the Voice of the Land of Quebec to his grandfather. The message

implied: these words express the classic relationship between French-speaking and English-speaking Quebecers.

The words, of course, imply hostility and resentment. The French geographer, Raoul Blanchard, came to Canada after the Second World War and made a study of the demographic settlement of the province of Quebec over time. He dealt with that ethnic resentment in a book he published later (*Le Canada français.* Collection Que sais-je? Presses universitaires de France, 1970).

“ If nationalist sentiment has so strongly implanted itself in the province… it is above all because the French Canadians deeply resent a state of inferiority with respect to their English-speaking compatriots. It is not unfounded, because the inferiority is conspicuous: the real command levers, whether in finance, industry, large-scale commerce, agriculture, are in the hands of foreigners who are indiscriminately called *Anglais,* while the French are restricted to the liberal professions, minor commerce, agriculture, and all the lower positions in industry.

“This inequality, which seems to be increasingly offensive and unbearable, has several causes.”

For Blanchard, the chief explanation of the inequality lies in the educational system of French Quebec at the time.

We think, above all, that the education which is given to them is largely responsible for this French lack. Based almost to the present time on the humanities, neglecting the scientific disciplines, it did not favour access to the command positions in industry or in the responsible jobs, that the British managers reserve jealously for their compatriots.

Blanchard notes the irony: that the *Anglais* have "conquered" all the best positions even though they constitute a small minority in the province.

There is there for the French Canadians a feeling of resentment, of frustration, which is felt all the more deeply as their intellectual progress are considerable, thanks to their universities which are in full expansion and because secondary education is now also evolving. They are, nevertheless, in their own *patrie,* second-class citizens. One can easily understand that they take amiss this inequality and that their feelings towards their British compatriots are without cordiality. (p. 101-102)

When Lucien Bouchard published his memoirs, *À visage découvert,* in 1992, he evoked the image of his father who had gone to school only as far as Grade Four. He recalled his father at the kitchen table trying to write to a son studying in France; finally the tears welled up in his father's eyes, he crumpled the paper and gave up. He was unable to write to his own son.

"I cannot think of Lake Kénogami or of Lake Long without again seeing my father shovelling the crusts of sawdust, hours at a time, into the back of his truck," Bouchard wrote.

"When the politicians remembered them, it was to concede to the *Anglais* timber limits, permits to flood agricultural lands or hydro-electric rights over their rivers," Bouchard wrote with some bitterness.

Their relations with the outside world and the management of industrial activities were, for a very long time, the privilege of an anglophone elite. It was not up to lumberjacks or to men standing over a vat of aluminium to deal with international clients. In any case, business was not transacted in their own language.

He notes that "our fathers" made valiant efforts to try to create French-Canadian enterprises, but failed. He implies that the French-speaking people of the region would have had good reason to hold it against the Anglos.

"Strangely enough, no acrimony resulted towards the anglophone bosses. That is probably because of the Québécois temperament that is not at all vindictive. But it is certain that the collective memory has forgotten nothing."

In 1988, when he first ran for Parliament as a Tory, he brought his friend Brian Mulroney, the Prime Minister of Canada, to visit the ancestral land. Bouchard wrote that he wondered then what his grandfather would have thought of this.

"I feared that I had committed a kind of profanation, because for my grandfather, the land was so sacred." As for Menaud, for an *Anglais* to tread on ancestral land becomes a "profanation".

The city of Chicoutimi was actually founded by a métis with an American mother, Peter McLeod, who built sawmills on the Chicoutimi River and the Rivière-du-Moulin in 1842-43; the installations were bought by William Price 10 years later

and his company kept them in operation for more than 60 years. Though the first pulp and paper mill in the region was established by J.E.A. Dubuc, it was Price Brothers, owned by the descendants of William Price, which established pulp and paper mills in Jonquière, Kénogami and several other localities, and which developed the hydro-electric plants of the region. Price Brothers created one company town, Riverbend, on the Saguenay near Alma, where most of the inhabitants were English-speaking.

The Saguenay region received another major infusion of English-speaking capital and people in the 1920s when the Aluminium Company of America (later Alcan Aluminium Lt.) opened a giant plant in Arvida, on the south shore of the Saguenay west of Chicoutimi. The company imported specialised employees from the United States, other parts of Canada and also people from many other countries. It created a company town where all the major facilities were constructed by the company, and the general language in use was English.

Schools, churches, a library, a drama club, sports teams, a newspaper, all were operated in English. But, after 1960, the English-speaking personnel mostly left and was replaced by French-speaking personnel, Arvida lost its municipal status and was incorporated into Jonquière, the institutions that were operated in English closed down one by one or converted to French. Today, the entire region has only two English elementary schools and one high school, where a high proportion of the students are actually francophones. The English language has almost entirely disappeared from sight.

The experience of the Saguenay could be multiplied in many dozens of municipalities in Quebec. The textile plants, the pulp and paper plants, the mining communities were generally developed by English-speaking capitalists. Many company towns were created, with English as the dominant language. But, over time, especially after the Quiet Revolution, control passed to the French-speaking managers and French replaced English as the general language of communication. Most of the English-speaking population left the area when retiring or changing jobs. The current English-speaking population is a tiny proportion of the local population, and is substantially intermarried with French-speaking spouses.

An example that could serve as the prototype for dozens of mining towns and pulp-and-paper mill towns is offered by the history of Rouyn-Noranda, in northwestern Quebec. It is located in the Témiscamingue region, along the Ontario border and Lake Temiscaming. The lumber industry first began moving crews along the eastern shores of Lake Temiskaming in 1853. By 1900, about 5000 men were employed in the timber industry in the region, moving always further north as the trees were cut. The companies holding timber concessions were named J. R.

Booth, W. C. Edwards, Fraser and Company, McLaren Brothers, Sheppard and Morse, Gillies Brothers, Hawkesbury Lumber, Bronson, Klock, Riordan and McLaughlin - all English-speaking.

After the lumberjacks came the settlers. In the 1880s, French Quebec was energised by the preaching of a priest, François-Xavier-Antoine Labelle, who had been named parish priest in St-Jérôme. A nationalist as well as a fervent Catholic, he urged his vision of a chain of French-Catholic “colonies” or rural settlements extending from Montreal to Saint-Boniface in Manitoba. His slogan was, “*Emparons-nous du nord!”* (Let’s take control of the north.) He advocated the construction of a railroad from St. Jérôme to Mont-Laurier, and eventually to Lake Temiskaming. By 1988 he had been appointed deputy minister of agriculture and colonisation,

By 1884, a colonising society, *La société de colonisation du lac Témiscamingue* was formed under the auspices of the Bishop of Ottawa and the presidency of an Oblate priest. The society began sending settlers into the area. Others came on their own. By 1911, the Témiscamingue numbered 6,817 French and 717 British.

As the colonisation frontier moved slowly north, bringing French-speaking people as permanent settlers, the mining frontier that eventually reached Bouyn-Noranda followed an entirely different dynamic. It began in Ontario with the

decision of the Ontario government to build a railroad from North Bay through the wilderness of the Canadian shield to the *more fertile* clay belt beyond. It was meant to encourage farmers to settle in the north. But, a year after construction began in 1902, when the crews had reached mile 102, silver was accidentally struck at what was to be Cobalt. Five separate strikes were made in that year, and a rush was on which led to prospecting, speculation, and eventually the development of a string of mining communities which were to dot northern Ontario and reach by extension to Noranda, and eventually Bourlamaque and Val d'Or. The people who took part came from all over Canada, from the United States, from England and Scotland. They generally spoke English.

It was a prospector originally from Nova Scotia, Edmund Horne, who was to discover the ore body that eventually led to the mine and smelter, and created the community that was to be Rouyn-Noranda.. He had been prospecting in Ontario, and in 1911 first prospected the Quebec site east of Kirkland Lake. His base of operations was Ontario, he was financed by a syndicate from New Liskeard, then by a New York syndicate, and eventually by Noah Timmins, a store keeper from Mattawa, Ontario, who had made a fortune from the silver strike at Cobalt, invested in other mines, notably in the Hollinger Mine at Porcupine, and financed the mine and smelter in the mid-1920s that was to be Noranda Mines.

At the beginning, there was little to differentiate Noranda from other mines in Ontario. French-Canadians played a small role in the mine itself. In the composition of its work force, it resembled the gold mines of northern Ontario, which a royal commission described as follows in 1917:

The mine workers are a most cosmopolitan population. For common labour and shovellers, Italians and Russians are mostly employed; underground drilling is mostly done by Finlanders, Swedes and Austrian Poles. Canadians, English, Irish and Scotch, are employed as mechanics, woodworkers in the mills, and for other surface operations, while the engineer's staffs are practically all Canadian.

By 1922, the news of Horne's discovery provoked a rush of prospectors, speculators and people wanting to sell goods and services to those engaged in the search for metals. Rouyn had its start as a village of shacks and tents. The Banque canadienne nationale opened a branch there in 1925, a Catholic priest arrive and a school was opened by the Grey Nuns that same year, a theatre, the Regal, the following year: it served both for entertainment and on Sunday for the services of the Catholic, Anglican and United churches. But, essentially, Rouyn grew up haphazardly, without planning, without zoning restrictions. It was incorporated as a village in 1926, and a town the following year. Its population was mostly French.

Noranda received its charter as a town in 1926, and it was to b a company town, planned and owned by Noranda Mines, primarily though not exclusively for its employees. The lots were surveyed, streets and sewers were laid out, different parts of the town were designed to accommodate different densities. The municipal council was controlled by senior company management.

By 1931, the combined populations of the two towns was 5,471, with people of French origin representing 43 per cent, British origin 20 per cent, and all other origins 37 per cent. The lingua franca was English whenever people of different origins spoke together

At Noranda Mines itself, with its head office in Toronto, the language of work was English. About 50 per cent of its employees were born outside of Canada. French Canadians numbered only 12 per cent.

The company built a hotel and theatre in 1928. In 1931 it built a curling rink and arena. It constructed a golf course in 1934. The social life of the area was dominated by the mine. The French Canadian professionals mostly lived in Noranda rather than Rouyn. The taxes were low in Noranda and the services good. The streets were paved. There were trees and parks and gardens. Rouyn, by contrast, was treeless and its streets potholed. The municipal administration of Noranda was conservative and sound, that of Rouyn was recurrently the subject of scandals. By 1930, Rouyn could not pay the interest on its debt and the provincial legislature set up a form of trusteeship.

As was common at the time, there was a complete English high school to Grade 11, but on the French side, those who wanted to complete their secondary school had to go away. The French high school in Noranda only added a Grade 11 in 1942, in Rouyn the French high school only offered Grade 11 several years later. Most French-speaking children left school after Grade 6.

During the 1930s a new wave of colonisation was encouraged by the federal and Quebec governments under the slogan, “Retour à la terre.” It was an attempt to deal with the unemployed in the cities by giving them money to move to the northern lands of Témiscamingue and Abitibi. Between 1931 and 1936, 54,000 people were persuaded to move as settlers into the area. But most of them were city dwellers who had no previous experience with agriculture, and many lived in absolute misery, some surviving on bread and grease heated on the stove, wearing clothes made out of flour bags, for footwear having only rubbers and stockings with a band around them.

The settlement of the 1930s ensured that the preponderance of the population would be French. But the personal and social cost was very high. Most of the newly colonised farms were eventually abandoned. The villages which had had for a time a wide range of institutions saw their railway station, their bank or Caisse populaire, even their churches close down one by one in the following decades.

The early dominance of English in Rouyn-Noranda began to be challenged. In 1937, a Junior Chamber of Commerce of Rouyn-Noranda was founded and, unlike the senior Chamber, its proceedings were carried on in French only. And, on June 24 of that year - a symbolic date -a French newspaper was founded, *La Frontière,* and its resolve to defend the French language was displayed in the first issue.

La Frontière will be, in this rich part of Quebec which is especially threatened with falling under the yoke of foreign capital, a newspaper committed to the interests of our people - of those who were the first to invade this immense northern empire and who want their sons to feel that they are at home here. ...It will work to ensure that the French-speaking agricultural class and working class not be forced, on this Québécois land, to bow before the English or the foreigner. ...United, (French Canadians) will be stronger and better able to resist the arrogance of those business people of every description who forget too easily that the soil and the sub-soil of Western Quebec were first opened to civilisation by our people and that the riches mining regions of Abitibi and Témiscamingue are part and parcel of Quebec and not of Ontario.

The war years cut off the source of immigrant labour which had been so important in the early decades for underground work. The colonisation movement of the 1930s produced an immense supply of replacement labour which now spoke French. The French-speaking proportion of the population grew steadily. In 1931, the French had been a minority of 34 per cent. That rose to 62 per cent in 1941, 72 per cent in 1951 and 79 per cent in 1961. It was not that the people of British and “other” origins had declined in absolute numbers. In fact, both had increased numbers in 1961 over 1941. But the population of French origin had increased by 182 per cent over those same 20 years.

Even in Noranda, the “English” city in comparison to Rouyn, the “French” city, by 1961 the French accounted for 60 per cent of the population. Over time, the influence of French increased steadily. The mines continued to be English bastions, but they were a less and less significant factor in the total employment picture, as Rouyn-Noranda became a commercial centre for the region offering professional services (including a hospital), hotels, entertainment and, increasingly, government services. Except for the mines, all the other sectors of activities were carried on predominantly in French. And, in 1961, the mining industry accounted for only 31.6 per cent of the total labour force. The trend towards French was demonstrated by the fact that, by 1961, the older people of all origins in Rouyn-Noranda were mostly able to speak English, while among younger people, most could speak French.

Among the age group of 30 years or older, 58 per cent of those of French origin could also speak English, but only 29.8 per cent of those of British origin could speak French, and among those of other origins only 27 per cent could speak French.

But among those aged 15 to 20, only 47.1 per cent of those of French origin could also speak English, while 71 per cent of those of British origin could also speak French, as could 64.9 per cent of those of other origins.

French was already on the ascendant. But it was the Quiet Revolution that changed decisively and quite rapidly the relative positions of French and English. The major new factor was that henceforth, the power of the state - the provincial government - was thrown into the balance to buttress, reinforce, and eventually impose the French language. And, in the new outlook, Rouyn-Noranda was the very exemplar of what the Quiet Revolution set out to change.

*In his memoirs, René Lévesque drew his own picture of the relative position of French and English in Quebec. He described it as typical of colonialism.

"We won’t talk about finance: money was only made seriously in English. All the strategic resources, as we would say now, were also in the hands of anglophones. That was clear from the very first glance in those “company towns” - mining or pulp-and-paper towns - where the best district, tidy, shaded, in the best location, carried inevitably a name that was not in our language (*un nom pas de chez nous)*. A whole regional lot of little Upper Westmounts or little Hampsteads where lived not only fortune but also influence and especially control.” (*Attendez que je me rappelle,* Montreal, Éditions Québec/Amérique, 1986), p. 227-228.

Lévesque picked out Noranda Mines as an example of colonial - thereforee foreign - domination.

“In the mines, it was Noranda that called the shots, to the point of considering government services as one of its branches…. The entire industry was literally under foreign occupation and,

by passing laws and regulations and through periodic confrontations with the local potentates, we tried to repatriate it little by little.”*

The Quiet Revolution had two thrusts. One was the reform of institutions, such as the system of education, the provincial civil service, the institutions of welfare, such as hospitals, orphanages, residences for seniors, the labour code including the legal framework for collective bargaining and the role of the Roman Catholic Church. French Quebec, long committed to ultra-conservative traditions, turned resolutely towards the public philosophies and individualistic life styles of North America. The watchword was *rattrapage*, catching up, of what could be called modernisation.

The second thrust, of particular impact on English-speaking Quebecers, was the resolute application of the powers of the provincial government to advance the cause of the French language and of French-speaking Quebecers.

Premier Jean Lesage expressed the new activist conception of the state in a speech to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in 1963: “The Québécois have only one single powerful institution, their government. And now they want to use that instrument to build the new era to which they could not otherwise aspire.”

The new conception of the state as the ethnic champion for French-speaking Quebecers was in sharp contrast with the conception of the state in the period preceding the Quiet Revolution. Then, the ultra-mountain view was that the state should have as little to do as possible with education, welfare, or most other sectors of life beyond the post office and national defence. Parents were supposed to have the last word, along with the Church, with respect to education. The Church ran newspapers and publishing houses, unions, Cassias popularise, orphanages and hospitals, social clubs and recreational facilities, in addition to providing moral and religious leadership.

Lévesque expressed the conception of the state as champion of the francophones with this formula: “The state is one of ours, it is even the one of ours with the biggest muscles.”

An important part of the Quiet Revolution consisted in building up the muscles of the states, by the formation of a much larger and more activist public service, by the creation of crown corporations to operate in the forestry industry, mining, steel, asbestos and, of course, most important, hydro-electricity. The Société Générale de Financement was created as an investment arm. The state created the single largest pool of capital by channelling the pension funds of the province and various industries into the Caisse de dépôt et placement.

This vastly expanded public sector was not used to operate impartially towards those sectors of the economy that operated in French and those that operated in English. On the contrary. Political Scientist Pierre Fournier published a study in 1978 that demonstrated how effectively the crown corporations were used as instruments of the ethnic state.

Each of the 17 agencies he studied deliberately made a contribution to careers specifically for French Canadians. For instance, he says this about the Société Générale de Financement:

The great majority of the SGF’s affiliates are French-Canadian companies, and they are the ones that have most benefited from the technical and financial help of the SGF. Only 2 or 3 per cent of the thousand or so cadres at the SGF and its affiliates are not francophones. Moreover, all new appointments among the directors are French Canadians whom the SGF went after, mostly from the private sector.

When Hydro--Québec took over Shawinigan Water and Power Co in 1963, only 12 per cent of the engineers were francophones, Fournier reports. That soon changed. “More than 90 per cent of the management personnel and of the employees are francophones an the language of work is French.”

The Caisse de Dépôt, according to Fournier, used its great economic leverage to promote francophones. “For the past few years, the Caisse has favoured the appointment of francophones to the boards of large companies....In general, it is especially concerns of a nationalist order that seem to guide the Caisse with respect to being represented on boards of directors.” The Caisse, he added, also “contributed somewhat to francizing St. James Street by applying a policy of favouring in the first place local francophone financial houses, then other Montreal firms, and then Toronto firms, “especially if they have a research branch in Montreal.”

What Fournier described in great detail was one dimension in the construction of "Québec Inc." which began in 1962 with the Quebec elections on nationalising the hydro power companies. It meant using pubic money to favour companies that were or could be controlled by francophones. Long after Fournier's study appeared, Pierre Arbour was to document in his book how the Caisse continued to favour French-speaking capitalists and managers in Quebec over English-speaking Canadians, whether in Quebec or outside the province. A striking instance was the Caisse's use of its power to block the sale of Steinberg's to a consortium led by some of its employees, or to another consortium based in Toronto. It chose, instead, to foster the sale to Michel Gaucher, a ship owner with no experience in groceries, who soon drove the company into insolvency at great cost to all Quebecers.

René Lévesque was named Minister of Hydraulic Resources in the 1960 Liberal government of Jean Lesage. He was also responsible for mines, and he took Noranda Mines as one of his first targets. For him, the contrast between Noranda and Rouyn was similar to what one found in African colonies between the white colonisers and the black colonised.

"Learn to become civilised in the time that remains to you," he warned the management of Noranda Mines.

And, at Noranda Mines itself, the trend was strongly towards French and francophones. In May, 1965, for the first time, the top position in Noranda went to a francophone. Of the 1634 employees working there in that year, 63.7 per cent were francophones, Francophones made up 69.2 per cent of hourly-paid employees, 55 per cent of the foremen, 35.4 per cent of office personnel and 23.1 per cent of the staff.

The later 1950s and the 1960s was the era of decolonization. Britain gave its independence to Ghana in 1957, but France was torn and threatened even with revolution at home as it tried to come to terms with the independence movements of North Africa. It took a bloody conflict before Charles de Gaulle was able to sever the colonial bond with Algeria, at the risk of his life.

The anti-colonial literature that was written in French to mobilise to throw off the yoke of foreign domination had a great impact in Quebec. Albert Memmi and *his Portrait du Colonisé*, Frantz Fanon and his *Les Damnés de la Terre,* were read in Quebec and their presentations of colonialism as a form of national enslavement were read as applying to Quebec - because of the contrasts found in places like Rouyn-Noranda. Jacques Berque, Jean-Paul Sartre were all the rage among Quebec's young intellectuals. They justified assassination and war to rid the colonised of their oppressors.

As early as 1960, the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN) published its manifesto. It was to be a separatist party founded on the concept that Quebec was a colony of English Canada and had an imperative moral and political duty to emancipate itself.

"At the present time when, the world over, peoples emancipate themselves from the colonial yoke and nations demand their full independence, French Canada can no longer accept to remain under the economic and political trusteeship of the *étranger.*" In this perception, English-speaking Canadians, whether in Quebec or elsewhere, were no longer fellow citizens of one country: they were foreigner, exploiters, the enemy to be expelled and overcome.

The Liberal Party of Quebec took up some of the same rhetoric for its 1962 election campaign run on the nationalisation of the private hydro-electric companies. The slogan of the campaign was *Maîtres chez nous* - a worrisome concept that some

had to be masters over others in our home. The Liberal manifesto issued for the campaign also used repeatedly the loaded word: *libération.* “L’ère du colonialisme économique est finie dans le Québec. Maintenant ou jamais, maîtres chez nous.”

Liberation from whom? Liberation from what? The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism commissioned studies, and found that French-speaking Quebecers earned substantially less, on average, than did members of several other ethnic groups. But these findings were grossly exaggerated in the press to suggest that French Canadians were at the economic and social rank of the Indians. These reports were such as to whip up a sense of humiliation and resentment against the Anglos who were presumably those responsible for the outrage.

Here is how Lysiane Gagnon, today a columnist with La Presse and the Globe and Mail, began her report on the subject in the 1960s.

Carriers of water? Yes, still. And, since everything is relative, today more so than yesterday. In this part of the New World which is called Canada, in this appendix to the great North American industrial society of consumption, the underprivileged, the small earners, those who benefit the least from education, those who are most alienated from firms, those who are just about entirely banned from the great levers of the economy are the French Canadians.

The charge was unfair. In fact, the average French Canadian from Quebec earned 35.6 per cent more in 1961 than the average Newfoundlander. If the French Canadian was a carrier of water, what was the Newfoundlander? The average French Quebec earned 32.4 per cent more than the average resident of Prince Edward Island, and well above the average income of the people of New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. But the intellectual fashion at the time was to present French Canadians as colonised.

This was taught as scientific fact in the faculty of social sciences at the Université de Montréal. Here is what one of its eminent sociologists, the late Marcel Rioux wrote:

It is often said that the Québécois are the richest colonised people in the world. But perhaps it would be more pertinent to observe that they are also among the oldest colonised people in the world, if not the very oldest. These two dubious distinctions seem to establish that one does not get used to servitude.

One of the most prestigious enterprises of literary scholarship, the *Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec*, passed the following comment on the period of the Quiet Revolution in the introduction to Volume Five: “The period called the Quiet Revolution made it possible to spotlight the secular colonisation of Quebec by the dominant language, English.”

In 1963, following the first wave of FLQ bombs, a very influential intellectual magazine was founded, called *Parti pris* (the title means taking sides, or being prejudiced). Among its contributors were many who became the most prominent novelists, film-makers, poets, critics of Quebec. People like journalist and poet Gérald Godin, later a minister; film maker and novelist Jacques Godbout; poet and publisher Gaston Miron, who received a state funeral on his death a couple of years ago.

Miron specialised in his writings in crying out how he suffered, how he was deprived of his identity, how he was alienated from himself because of the powerful presence of English in Quebec. Here is a typical poem:

Longtemps je n'ai su mon nom, et qui j'étais, que de l'extérieur. Mon nom est "Pea Soup!" Mon nom est "Pepsi!" Mon nom est "Marmelade!" Mon nom est "Frog". Mon nom est "dam Canuck". Mon nom est "speak white". Mon nom est "dish washer". Mon nom est "cheap". Mon nom est "sheep".

One of the *Parti pris* contributors, the award-winning poet Paul Chamberland, wrestled in an article in *Parti pris* with the following dilemma: the theory of colonialism makes it a duty to rise up against the oppressor. To kill the oppressor is a noble act. But, in Quebec, people have said that it is racist to take this attitude towards les Anglais. What is one to think?

Chamberland went though a complex argument to show that it was not racist to be anti-English, if one's attack was motivated by the resistance to the true racism, that of the oppressor.

National revolution is not carried out in the name of an instinctual, messianic or racist mystique. We have seen that our present national sentiment reflects an objective situation determined by foreign (Anglo-Canadian) oppression and the internal contradictions in our society caused by this domination.... The hatred against the oppressor manifests our rejection of the more or less avowed xenophobia of the oppressor.

Another instance of this heinous and provocative literature in which the Anglo features as the source of all oppression is the great Félix Leclerc's popular song from the 1970s, *L'alouette en colère.* Félix took the folk song *Alouette* and adapted it into a litany of outrages perpetrated by English Canada against the Québécois, who become the plucked bird of the song known to every child.

I have a son crushed by the temples of finance which he cannot enter, and by those of words which he cannot leave. I have a son despoiled, as was his father, a drawer of water, hewer of wood, tenant, unemployed in his own land. He has nothing left but a beautiful view of the river and his mother tongue, which they will not recognise. I have a son in revolt, a son humiliated, a son who tomorrow will be an assassin.

So I took fright and called to the others, "Help, someone!" The big neighbour came running, armed, gross, a foreigner, to fell my son once and for all, and to crush his spine and his back and his head and his wings, ah... My son is in prison and I, I feel in the depths of me, for the first time, despite myself, between flesh and bone, a burning anger.

Before he died, Félix was working on an edition of his collected works. One day, as he reread his past writings, he was heard to exclaim: "So I really must have hated them, the Anglais!" And, of course, he communicated hatred to others.

In personal relations, all these outpourings probably had little perceptible effect. But they helped create the climate that led to the riots in St. Leonard in 1968 over preventing children of Italian origin from attending English schools. They led to the unfounded but widely shared view that French-speaking Quebecers almost all left their language at home when they picked up their lunch boxes to go to work: there, everything took place in English.

This view was expressed by many in 1969 when Jean-Jacques Bertrand's Union Nationale government passed Bill 63 to affirm the primacy of French but still allow parents to decide whether to send their children to French or English school. There were huge demonstrations involving many, many thousands of protesters, all maintaining that French must be imposed as the general language of schooling, especially for immigrants. Otherwise, it was argued, French would not be used in life outside the home, it would become a language of folklore and eventually disappear.

During the debate in the National Assembly, here is what the Liberal Jerôme Choquette told the legislature:

The French-Canadian people must not submit, so to speak, to a kind of linguistic domination in the business world. I mean that there is no reason that a nation organised as French Canada is should be systematically obliged, to earn its bread and its existence, to succeed in life, in enterprises...there is no reason that there should be by circumstances the imposition of English from 9 o'clock to 5 o'clock or even every day and at every moment."

In order to look for a way out of the language crisis, Premier Bertrand appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the Situation of the French Language, chaired by linguist Jean-Denis Gendron. During its public hearings, the Montreal Catholic School Commission presented a brief in which it argued the position that had now become conventional wisdom.

"The Québécois feels no interest in speaking a quality French because he is conscious that, on the one hand, with the bastard language that he speaks, the message will get across anyway; and besides, this proper language that he is urged to adopt is of little use to him in a work world where the influence of English predominates."

For the same hearings, the association representing teachers of French published what they called *The Black Paper. Of the impossibility (almost absolute) of teaching French in Quebec.* According to their lengthy analysis, French was a condemned language for the well-known reason.

"What can there remain of French life when one speaks English at work, when one reads in English on one's return from work? When one listens to English radio or English television at home at night? A language which is not a language of communication is condemned to disappear."

This perception that English had driven out French in the work world was widely shared. The Gendron Commission had people questioned in an opinion poll. The result? More than two out of three - 68 per cent - believed that the majority of French Canadians "must work in English."

And the reality? The researchers for the Gendron Commission questioned people closely on the language they used in different circumstances at work. They found that, in Montreal, francophones worked in French - not English - on average 19.1 days out of 20. Outside of Montreal, francophones worked in French 19.6 days out of 20.

So what about the myth that francophones nearly all work in English? It was proven to b directly contrary to reality. The intellectuals did not know what was happening in their own society. They misrepresented it radically. And they misled the mass of the people, creating nightmares and resentment against English and people who speak English, viewed as a threat to the survival of French.

But, instead of recognising their grievous error, the intellectual-political class simply ignored the information now available and carried on as before, clamouring for legislation to impose the use of French in order to save French from extinction at the hands of English.

The Gendron Commission, relying on its true picture of language reality in Quebec, had refrained from recommending coercive measures against English. But Premier Robert Bourassa soon ignored the Gendron Commission's recommendations to pass Bill 22 in 1974, the Official Language Act, making French supposedly the only official language of Quebec and imposing a range of restrictions on the use of English. Children of immigrants who wanted to be admitted to English school had to pass an English test demonstrating that English was the equivalent of their mother tongue.

The English-speaking community reacted strongly against the degradation of the status of English imposed by Bill 22. The community was not impressed when, in 1975, Bourassa boasted in the French weekly, *Le monde diplomatique,* that Quebec was now "a French state in a Canadian common market." Great numbers of English-speaking Quebecers withdrew their financial and political support from the Quebec Liberal Party. Many voted for the Union Nationale in the elections which followed in 1976. It leader, Rodrigue Biron, promised to abolish the language tests for children wanting to go to English school. It was understood that he favoured a return to free choice of the language of education. It was only some time after the election that he abandoned his party, joined the Parti Québécois as a minister, and supported the more stringent legislation that that party introduced once in government.

The accession to power of the PQ in 1976 was a shock to the English-speaking community. Relatively few had believed it could happen: Bourassa had taken ever seat but six in the elections of 1973. Moreover, the elections released such a wave of euphoria in parts of French Quebec, and so much rhetoric predicting a victory for secession in the promised referendum, that many English-speaking Quebecers lost confidence in the solidarity they had assumed existed between them and their French-speaking fellow citizens of Canada. A cleavage of trust was then created which has never fully healed. The message taken from the elections for many was that secession might be inevitable in the long run, or that, in the best of cases, the uncertainty and distress created by the threat of secession would be part of life in Quebec for a considerable time.

The introduction of the White Paper on the French language on April 1, 1977, and then of Bill 1 later that same month, further shook profoundly the confidence of the English-speaking community. The White Paper was so unrelentingly anti-English, the bill was so draconian in the restrictions it proposed on the use of English, that both went far beyond what anyone could have imagined in Quebec, with its long tradition of tolerance towards both French and English.

Titled *La politique québécoise de la langue française,* the White Paper presented what was supposedly a summary of existing research on the status of French, but in fact trotted out all the myths about the piteous status of French that had been discredited by the Gendron Commission's research just a few years before. Francophones supposedly had incomes at the level of aboriginals. They all had to speak English at work. The French language was in constant deterioration and in danger of disappearing. English-speaking Canadians all agreed that English was the only official language of Canada.

The White Paper was crafted to provoke and humiliate, to inflame francophones with existential anxiety about the survival of their language and with resolute opposition to English.

It was a revolution from the top that was proposed and was soon incorporated into a law that was adopted with unusual solemnity, Bill 101, and given the portentous title of Charter of the French Language. Many English-speaking Quebecers correctly interpreted the law as a rupture of the social contract that had been negotiated at Confederation between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. Many reading Bill 101 as the writing on the wall, chose to leave Quebec.

In the 10 years from 1976 to 1986, a total of 202,113 English-speaking Quebecers left for other provinces. That represented 25.4 per cent of the anglophones who were in Quebec in 1976. The English-speaking community was permanently weakened. A sense of being rejected by their French-speaking fellow citizens became quite generalised. And the English-speaking community has since lived its life under the yoke of a law which, polls have shown, only a small proportion accept as legitimate.

The great majority of English-speaking Quebecers believe that parents should be free to send their children to either French or English school. They accept that French should be mandatory on commercial signs, but they do not accept that French must "predominate" in the sense that it must be twice as large as all other languages combined: this is viewed as mere French supremacism rather than a legitimate protection of French.

The sense of alienation of English-speaking Quebecers was described by the Task Force on English Education presided by Gretta Chambers, which reported to the Minister of Education in January, 1992. It was composed of some of the most prominent members of the English-speaking community. They toured the province to hold meetings and receive brief. Their report is the most considered analysis of the situation of English-speaking Quebecers which has ever been compiled.

Here are some of the task force's considered conclusions:

"There is widespread conviction among English-speaking Quebecers that their community is considered expendable by Quebec's French-speaking majority."

And this: "Despite differences among regions, in their situations and aspirations, and despite differences among the perceptions of different groups to whom we listened - parents, students, teachers, administrators, school board members, community groups - some common themes emerged: 1. English-speaking Quebecers do not feel welcome or wanted in Quebec."

And, as a final quotation, final perhaps in every sense of the word:

Quebec's English-speaking community as a working part of the large Quebec society cannot function without the requisite human resources to make its collective contribution. If it is prevented from renewing itself, it will simply fade away. Continuing to shut it off from its traditional sources of replenishment can and will be construed as a delayed but deliberate death sentence.

It might be exaggerated to speak of a "death sentence." But it is no exaggeration to say that the English-speaking community lives in a state of anxiety about its future. It has seen its rights steadily reduced over the past three decades by governments led by both the Quebec Liberal Party and the Parti Québécois. And it sees no end in sight.

In January, the *Commission de la santé et de la sécurité du travail* published its language policy, and it involved new restrictions on English for this body that serves all the people employed in Quebec, whatever their language. Here are some of the new policies:

"The messages given out on answering machines and voice mail will be in French only."

"Pamphlets, flyers or other documents distributed widely are to be in French only."

"The documents made available in display stands will be in French only. A translation in another language may be available separately, if requested."

When a staff member replies to someone who has spoken to him in another language than French, he must first ascertain whether the person he is speaking to understands French. He may pursue the exchange in another language if the situation requires it."

The new policy says that the right to speak in English applies only to individuals who are not representing corporations, unions or associations. It seems that our language rights are like salami, shaved off a little at a time.

Meanwhile, outside of the island of Montreal, in all those communities which depended on a single major industry that was provided by English-speaking capital, the presence of English has diminished almost to the vanishing point. In Rouyn-Noranda, which is now a single amalgamated municipality, there is not one single English-speaking Quebecer on the municipal council, not one English-speaking Quebecer on the board of the Chambre de Commerce. At Noranda Mines, once the bastion of the English-speaking community, there is not one English-speaking Quebecer among the senior local management. The company once published a newsletter in English. It does so no longer.

And the signs in the community are exclusively in French. Even the signs designating historic locations in the community's history - even signs relating the history of the development of mine and smelter - are all in French. To see bilingual signs, one has to cross the boundary into Ontario and go to Kirkland Lake: there the signs in English and French are to be found in abundance. It's as though Rouyn-Noranda, like so much of Quebec, is ashamed to recognise the contribution of English-speaking fellow citizens to its fortunes.

When the author visited Rouyn-Noranda in February, 1999, he was told by an English-speaking person who owns an enterprise dealing with the public that he did not dare put any English on the signs announcing his shop. "Yes, of course I would be vandalised if I put up an English sign."

This summary historical background is presented because one cannot understand the human resources needs of our community simply by taking a cross-sectional view of it at the present moment. This is a living community, with a past and present, and its needs are related to the greater society in which it exists as part of a living whole. One cannot understand the present without understanding the evolution over the past five decades. One must understand that the English-speaking community exists in a context of law and social attitudes that is meant to treat English as alien, threatening, essentially undesirable unless its presence can be minimised and its influence diminished. Bilingual institutions are, in principle, to be eliminated in favour of French institutions. Those which survive because they serve heavily English-speaking clienteles are to be hobbled with obligations to operate also in French. As they lose their English clientele over time they will be eventually converted into French institutions. The few remaining English institutions are to be kept to the margin, their growth stifled.

What the English-speaking community faces is not an incidental problem here or there. It faces living under a "charter" meant to encompass almost all sectors of life outside the home and ensure that French will everywhere be supreme. That is the most significant context which affects the needs in human resource development of the English-speaking communities.

The community faces at the collective level residues of all the hostile perceptions of the past. The view of Anglos as colonisers did not die, despite the Charter of the French Language. It is kept alive by the films and books of Pierre Falardeau - including his projected film on the Rebellion of 1837-38. It is kept alive by such sentiments as this, expressed by Bloc Québécois member of Parliament Suzanne Tremblay on December 7, 1995, when she was speaking at the Commons' Committee on Canadian Heritage:

There are two founding peoples, one which is francophone and the other which is anglophone. We arrived here before you. You conquered us in 1760, you conquered us again in 1980 by the first referendum et you reconquered us in 1995 with the

second referendum, but we will conquer you with the third referendum.

To be considered a conqueror, or even an ex-conqueror, is to be deprived of equality and of humanity, to lose the solidarity which should exist among fellow citizens. The well-known commentator Josée Legault treated all Anglos as ex-British conquerors on the first page of her book:

"History has played a nasty trick on these descendants of the British, today surrounded by six million Francos-Québécois. Deprived of their prestigious status of "conquerors," those who are now called the Anglo-Québécois are reduced to lamenting in the pages of *The New Yorker."*

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Among politicians, the dominant attitude seems to be to let well enough alone, to avoid raising language questions for fear of provoking a backlash.

The most obvious recommendation on which to end this historic overview is that the English-speaking community needs, at last, an examination in-depth of its situation, its past and present, its problems and their possible solutions. There have been royal commissions on far less important subjects than the future of Quebec's English-speaking community. What is urgently needed is some forum in which all the major questions agitating the community can be examined in-depth, by people known for their wisdom, so that some kind of consensus about the way ahead could gradually emerge.

What is the solution? A royal commission? Estates General of English Quebec? A task force of sages appointed by the federal or provincial governments to hold hearings throughout the province and come up with a report?

There is no clear answer. But this joint study on the needs of the English speaking community undertaken by representatives of our community and representatives of the ministry of Human Resources Development Canada has provided a good start. The next phase of the study could provide the opportunity for deepening our understanding of our situation in Quebec and perhaps arriving, at last, to a much-needed consensus.

Meanwhile, the English-speaking community badly needs a signal, a message from the government and from the people of Quebec, that English is legitimate in this province, that English is part of Quebec's history, its constitution, its substance, its identity. We need some credible assurance that we are not aliens here, *des étrangers*. We need, at last, the assurance that the Voice of the Land of Quebec in *Maria Chapdelaine* no longer says of us:

"Autour de nous des étrangers sont venus qu'il nous plaît d'appeler les barbares. Ils ont pris presque tout le pouvoir, ils ont acquis presque tout l'argent. Mais au pays de Québec, rien n'a changé."

In fact, so much has changed in the land of Quebec.

ALLIANCE QUEBEC

Alliance Quebec is a province-wide volunteer-driven community-based organization. Its over 4,700 members represent regions of the province that stretch from the West Island of Montreal right up to Baie Comeau, which gives Alliance Quebec a very unique provincial perspective. Our membership comes from large metropolitan areas, small towns, rural areas and small isolated villages in remote regions. The membership is ethnically and racially diverse and counts both seniors and youth among its numbers and actively involves them all, at all levels of the organization. The structures we adhere to, and the issues Alliance Quebec pursues, both reflect that diversity and present it with some significant challenges.

The mission of Alliance Quebec is to preserve and promote the development of the English-speaking communities of Quebec and their institutions. Alliance Quebec serves as voice on public policy for the English-speaking communities. Our eleven (11) chapters and our Youth Commission cover the depth and breadth of the province. Our chapters are;

West Island East Island Montreal Region

Laval/N. Shore South Shore La Mauricie

Saguenay/Lac St. Jean Val d'Or Rouyn – Noranda

Lower Laurentians Upper Laurentians

Provincial Youth Commission

The population of the English-speaking community in Quebec is just over one million people, based on the designation "First Official Language Spoken" in the 1996 Canadian census data. Of that number, 78% are residents of the area called Greater Montreal, which includes the territories of the three Island of Montreal chapter, the Laval/North Shore and the South Shore chapters of Alliance Quebec. Adding the mainland chapters, Alliance Quebec represents about 85% of the English-speaking community of Quebec.

The chapters share many of the overall concerns and issues of Alliance Quebec, but also have concerns that are particular to their respective areas. They each have their own distinctive components shaped by their geographical location and demographic make-up. The following portraits of each of the chapters and the Youth Commission are intended to provide a portrait of the English-speaking communities concerned and a brief synopsis of the challenges they face in their respective regions.

METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

A.1 Introduction

The pressures of resources - both human and financial – impose limits on studies of this scope that are unavoidable. Furthermore needs are very subjective in nature and may depend upon who identifies them, who evaluates them and where they are placed among other so-called needs.

To assess the needs of any particular group as diverse as the community which Alliance Quebec serves is a daunting task. Alliance Quebec's unique provincial perspective clearly underscores that challenge facing all our communities, urban and rural, large and small, unilingual and multi-lingual. English-speaking Quebecers are increasingly ethnically diverse, ageing and in fear of the loss of our young to other parts of the country and the world. Obviously, given these circumstances, differences will surface as to what is a need and as to how the needs are to be determined. Even though we face common issues, there is nothing common about the way our communities face those issues.

A.2 Methods of Data Collection and Presentation of Results

A.2.1 Community Organizers

The first and simplest method employed in our study to gather information concerning the needs of our community, was to request our chapter community organizers to write up an overview of their chapters. We asked them to submit a thumbnail sketch of the communities they served, and focus on the following elements:

1) Community Profile - demographics, geography

2) Health & Social Services - problems and challenges

3) Education - problems and challenges

4) Cultural Life - is there one in English?

5) Economic activity - a true portrait

The thumb-nail sketches would provide preliminary information on the chapters and would provide Alliance Quebec with a rough picture of what the primary concerns are in the chapters, demographics, history and development of said communities and the manner in which the community concerned organises itself.

A.2.2 The Chapter Reports

The chapters themselves, through their Boards of Directors, were asked to consult with their members on the topics. We then compiled the information gathered and produced an outline of the chapter; the outline was then shared with the chapters and they were asked for feedback on the document produced by the researcher. Added information came through records, reports or information gathered from the institutional networks on Education and Health & Social Services. The chapters were then given final reading of their respective chapter reports for any last minute changes.

A.2.3 Surveys

We employed the use of questionnaires to capture snapshots of sectors of our community. For instance our Youth Commission organized a youth employment fair jointly with Youth Employment Services (YES) and we canvassed the young people who participated. The Survey was designed to solicit their opinions and sense of being a young anglophone in Quebec. The Youth Commission had also, on its own in 1998, done a more in-depth survey and produced a report that served as the base for the Youth Commission's contribution to our study.

The individual chapters also received questionnaires, which they used to gather information in their respective regions at community events. They served as a base for compiling the information necessary for the reports. In many cases the responses were given verbally at community meetings, church gatherings or other centres of activity within the regions.

A.2.4 Focus Groups

In some areas like culture or Health and Social Services, Focus Groups were organised to analyse more in-depth, the factors impacting the quality of life in English-speaking Quebecers. Leaders in the field and ordinary citizens met in groups to determine and prioritise needs specific to their field and respective communities. In some cases specific ethnic communities were consulted to better understand the issues related to racism, immigration and their role in the lives of visible and ethnic minority English-speaking Quebecers.

A.2.5 Meetings with Experts

Program Directors at Alliance Quebec responsible for specific dossiers, such as education, culture and Health and Social Services, met with the researcher on several occasions to relate the organization’s perspective on the main issues confronting all English-speaking Quebecers. As the resident experts on the issues, they were able to supply the researcher with an overview of their respective fields and their importance to the community. In many cases they were able to point out many of the reference documents used in this report as well as individuals with particular and important perspectives on several issues.

In addition, interviews were held with experts outside the Alliance Quebec family for their insights on issues like economic activity in Quebec. They were also instrumental in surfacing documentation and other reference material pertinent to the subject at hand.

A.2.6 Editorial Committee

Needless to say a lot of material and information was gathered and is far too much to be contained in this report. Decisions had to be made on what would be included and how it was to be presented. The Editorial Committee consisting of the researcher, the project leader and AQ President William Johnson formatted the outline and approved the content. The editorial committee throughout the duration of the study oversaw its production, from the decision to focus on certain elements to how the study would look as the final product.

As such, the committee decided to include the raw reporting from our chapters in annex so as to allow the different character of each region to be properly reflected. The only uniformity they exhibit is the overall format or look of the different reports. Thus their content in many cases is quite different and a true reporting of how the local community sees itself and its future.

The body of the report has been formatted to provide the reader with as precise an overview as possible. The historical background written by William Johnson (in Appendix), is a wonderful account of the development of the English and French communities in Quebec since their beginnings. The report then moves to the present context as it relates to Alliance Quebec's reality, not in a political sense, but in the reality that the English-speaking community faces daily in their respective regions throughout Quebec.

The profiles of the various chapters accurately reflect the understanding Alliance Quebec has of the everyday life of English-speaking Quebecers throughout the province. Our network of chapters, through their many members, affords us and, thus the report a unique ability to chronicle their true needs and present the challenges confronting their future and their aspirations for survival as viable communities.

The issues section reflects the ideological and political bent of the English-speaking community of Quebec and the raison d'être of Alliance Quebec. It is on these fronts that we continue our work to ensure the viability of English-speaking communities wherever they may be, or whatever their composition. The study in its portrayal of these issues links them to specific needs in the community that they have stated are necessary to improve their quality of life and sustain their existence as viable communities.

Finally, the material and information contained in this report reflect the methodology used to acquire it. It is at once both anecdotal and factual. The report gives both the actual voice of the communities involved and an intellectual reflection on the major challenges facing these communities today. The combination of methods, mechanisms, voices and reflections provides, however, a very powerful portrait of the dynamics, challenges, problems, hopes and aspirations and, above all, the real needs of the English-speaking communities throughout the Province of Quebec.

OVERVIEW OF THE

ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY OF QUEBEC

Alliance Quebec is a non-profit community-based organization serving the official-language English-speaking community in many areas of the Province of Quebec. During its 18 years of existence it has struggled to meet the challenges facing the English-speaking community during difficult periods. Sometimes by itself and sometimes in association with other community organizations, Alliance Quebec has exercised initiative, leadership and determination in pressing for change to the language laws, where they discriminate either directly or indirectly, against the English-speaking people we represent.

Since its inception, Alliance Quebec has championed the cause of the English-speaking minority in all sectors of life in Quebec before friend and foe alike. We have never wavered, however, in our mission to create a sense of community, protect and preserve the community and promote its continued development and full participation in Quebec and Canadian society. Our efforts in these areas have allowed us to garner the reputation of a defender of minority rights and the respect

of the vast majority of English-speaking Quebecers, serving the needs of a demographically-diverse and geographically-dispersed community.

The English-speaking community of Quebec has been an integral element of the province's social, political, cultural and economic history and development for more than two centuries. Although a minority our population of 1,005,000 is more than just significant; it is part of the identity, substance and character of Quebec. Quebec has long been defined by its two important linguistic communities. However, the English-speaking community's numbers have been in relative decline since 1871 and there has been an absolute decline in mother-tongue English since 1976. The community has not been able to replenish itself, either through migration of English-speaking Canadians from outside the province, or from the influx of immigrants (450,000) that has enabled the City of Montreal, for example, to maintain its population levels over the same period.

A youth exodus has had a devastating effect on the community. The *Task Force Report on Job Opportunities for English-speaking Youth* in 1992, had this to say concerning the exodus:

> "The most worrisome aspect of the trend is that it is most prevalent among young people. According to research on current trends and attitudes, Quebec will continue to suffer a major loss of young English-speaking Quebecers over the next decade. Over 60% of young English-speaking Quebecers expect to leave Quebec within five years and almost three-quarters within ten years. This is not the result of poor ability in French: two-thirds of young people with high French competency plan to leave".

We know this prediction has been realised in part but our challenge is to create a different reality and begin to fashion a different future for English-speaking youth. The ten-year period just referred to will carry us into the new millennium, so despite the fact it dates from 1992, it is still relevant today. Young people from our communities across the province continue to leave Quebec in significant numbers. They see little or no future for the community in general, and certainly no future for themselves in Quebec.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY TODAY

Although chiefly centred in Montreal, well over 260,000 people live in English-speaking communities outside the Greater Montreal Area. They are found throughout the Gaspé, in the 16 villages along the Côte-Nord, in the Outaouais and the Eastern Townships, in the Abitibi and the Saguenay as well as urban centres like Quebec City and Trois-Rivières. Throughout Quebec, we find significant pockets of the English-speaking population that survive despite the ever-increasing challenges to their continued existence and future development. Regional issues that face many, if not most, of these communities are common everywhere: decreasing populations, concern about a reduced presence of English, a lack of available services in their own language, a low youth retention rate and doubts about the long-term viability of their respective English-speaking communities.

The long-term viability of any community has always been tied to economic opportunity and access to employment. The English-speaking community is not faring well in many regions particularly by this standard. A recent study on Access to Employment in the Quebec Public Service, authored by the Commission des droits de la Personne et de la Jeunesse du Quebec, noted clearly that all minorities, whether ethnic, racial, cultural or linguistic, remain grossly underrepresented in Quebec public services. The English-speaking community represents only 0.76% of the Quebec Public Service and despite the myth "they do not apply for those jobs", the report clearly showed that less than five (5) English-speaking Quebecers are hired for every one hundred (100) who apply.

The English-speaking community here, as elsewhere, has made great efforts to adapt to the "French reality" of Quebec. The percentage of English-speaking Quebecers province-wide who are functionally bilingual has increased from 42.3% in 1976 to 65% according to the 1996 Canada census. They have chosen to prepare their children for the job market in Quebec by enrolling them in French immersion programs. Also telling is the statistic indicating that, as of 1996, 17% of students (close to 20,000), eligible for English language schooling are presently enrolled in French schools.

In health & social services, significant challenges face English-speaking Quebecers despite guarantees under the law to protect that access for the English-speaking community. We had been waiting since 1994, for the Access Plans on Health & Social Services in English to be updated and approved by the government. Those plans were updated only this year, after Alliance Quebec went to court to force the government to live up to its responsibilities and assure access to services for our community. We must now work with our community partners in the various regions of Quebec, to insure that the plans that were accepted by the government, respect our right to services under the law.

In education, the community finds itself approaching a crisis situation as the language laws erode the English educational system, especially outside the Greater Montreal Area, and the government refuses to address the problems. Enrolment in English schools is down significantly since Bill 101, and now English language school boards are struggling to justify holding on to half-filled buildings. Talks with government about relaxing restrictions on schooling in English have not resulted in any change. Although the *Chamber's* report on Education, was received in 1972 with general acclaim in both linguistic communities, it has done little to change the situation.

Despite a temporary respite our inability to increase access to English schools is strangling the English system because less enrolment means smaller budgets, and smaller budgets mean reduced services. Reduced services mean a net loss to the community in educational opportunities and training programs. It also means we will start to lose buildings (schools) which were a significant part of our communities. Thus our institutions and parts of our heritage have and will continue to disappear if this loss of potential growth is not reversed.

Alliance Quebec started *Youth Employment Service (YES)* for English-speaking youth almost nine years ago, to help stem the tide of the exodus of our youth and seek out and make known economic opportunities and access to employment. Other efforts on behalf of English-speaking youth include the YMCA's Job Generation, the Minority Apprenticeship Program (MAP) and other programs such as EPOC (Education Placement Opportunity and Communication) and Pro Montreal. However, English-speaking youth have not been the targets of any of the government's employment programs, until an effort to hire minorities was announced for the summer of 1999. Only about 5 per cent of the jobs then created went to English-speaking youth. In fact, it is felt that our community remains invisible to government agencies like *Emploi-Québec*.

The student associations at English CEGEP's and Universities in the City have told us these agencies are almost never on campus despite numerous invitations for Career Day activities. Many agencies appear to hold a preconceived notion we are all rich and we don't need jobs. In the Montreal Region Chapter, government resources, programs and services fail to reach English-speaking youth. The proportion of unemployed or under-employed youth of our minority community is much greater than it is among French-speaking youth in similar situations.

For example, of the 4218 students hired in the Quebec Civil Service on a specific initiative for hiring youth in the Summer of '99, an internship program sponsored by the Conseil du trésor and the Ministère de l'industrie et du Commerce, only 217 of those students were anglophones a staggering 0.051%. Only 1035 of those students were not francophones and anglophones and natives (only 31 hired) fared the worse. Unfortunately, these figures are entirely consistent with the figures for adults noted in the December1998 report of the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* on *Les programmes d'accès à l'égalité au Québec, Bilan et perspectives*. The report stated on page 39;

> "Finalement, le sort de deux autres groupes faisant l'objet de préoccupations mais n'ayant pas été désignés spécifiquement comme cibles de programmes, soit les autochtones et les Anglophones, est encore plus critique : le nombre des autochtones parmi les effectifs réguliers est en effet passé de 265 a 277 (de 1992 a 1996), une chute de 14,3%, celui des anglophones, de 465 a 411, soit une réduction de 11,6%".

Among adults of the English-speaking population, many feel that a non-francophone name is enough to bar one from job opportunities. They are convinced language testing at the professional level is nothing short of institutionalised discrimination. The *Emploi-Québec* offices are seen as part of the problem. There is strong sentiment in the community that *Emploi-Quebec* is openly biased against those of origins other than French. Even language-training programs, so vitally important to older English-speaking Quebecers, are not open to those born in Quebec or Canada. In some circumstances Quebecers whose mother tongue is English are the *only* persons who cannot receive the training. Little wonder the community feels the government has specifically targeted them and their language.

ALLIANCE QUEBEC CHAPTERS

As Quebec's leading city, Montreal is the heart of Quebec's economy as well. The Greater Montreal area, an area measuring about 5,000 square kilometres representing only a small proportion of Quebec's total territory, is home to nearly half of all Quebecers, namely 47% of the population. Today 11.5% of the population of Canada lives in this metropolitan region. Greater Montreal thus ranks second among Canada's major urban centres; its population larger than that of all of the Atlantic provinces combined and equivalent to British Columbia's. Greater Montreal also ranks fifteenth among major urban centres of North America.

The raw materials trade, long the cornerstone of Quebec's development, lost some of its importance. Technological progress reduced and even replaced the use of some raw materials. Developed economies, especially in metropolitan areas, are now relying increasingly on the production of goods and services with a high added value, a higher content of technical and scientific knowledge. **

Quebec's economy has changed dramatically since 1960. In such a context, older industries, especially those located in metropolitan areas, have shrunk and thousands of jobs evaporated. However the Montreal region has remained a major manufacturing centre, thanks to the dynamic forces generated by new activities, often more productive, which have centred their activities primarily in the suburbs. A new generation of business in aeronautics, transportation equipment and pharmaceuticals now set the pace for the entire manufacturing sector. More traditional industries such as textiles, pulp and paper, and food and beverages have improved manufacturing efficiency through automation in order to meet foreign competition. Service industries, propelled by the information technology revolution, have grown quickly and now represent 70% of our economy.

Economic restructuring and the last two recessions in 1982 & 1992 have caused greater deterioration in the Montreal economy and that of Quebec in general, but particularly in the labour market of the Montreal region. The city now has the highest rate of employment of any major North American city and accounts for 48% of Quebec's unemployed. The importance of the jobless in the region is accentuated by the lack of mobility of the work force. There is very little migration of jobless Montrealers to other regions of Quebec, where the job market is equally difficult. Moreover, for cultural and linguistic reasons, the local francophone workforce, contrary to that of anglophones and allophones, does not tend to move in large numbers to other cities in Canada or to the U. S.

Since the 1970's the linguistic position of the French-speaking majority in Greater Montreal, has been made dominant particularly due to sending immigrant children to French-language schools and to establishing French as the language of

work, commerce and public signs. But, Montreal society is increasingly heterogeneous in ethnic and cultural terms. As well, the francophone population is faced with both cultural and linguistic costs of economic integration with world trade, where the dominant language of business is English.

Several observers of economic trends believe that the francization of Quebec's economy and particularly that of Montreal's, is one of the factors that has caused the provinces overall economic slowdown. On the other hand, it has strengthened the role of the Greater Montreal region as the main urban service centre for the Quebec market. Still others maintain that the relative decline in the English-speaking community over the last 25 years has contributed to reducing the attractiveness of Montreal, and subsequently Quebec, for business people from other countries as language is one of the factors in choosing business locations. There is there fore a needed for adequate management of this unique asset represented by the linguistic duality of the Montreal region and in fact of its bilingual character.

Montreal's production has shifted toward higher value-added products as firms strive to improve their competitiveness in international markets. Montreal and Quebec by extension are being recognised as leaders in high-technology fields such as aircraft and telecommunications systems, which represent an important share of our exports. These two industries represent an estimated one third of the Montreal region's exports as well as 60% of Canada's aircraft and telecommunications exports.

In the past, Montreal was a magnet that allowed for Quebec and Canada to be built. In recent times, the city has given way to Toronto as the economic metropolis but it continues to play an important national role particularly as:

- The leading city of Canada's francophone community, with unique cultural influences;
- The milieu where the country's two main linguistic communities live side by side;
- The sight of many important consulates, confirming the presence of many representatives of foreign countries;
- The only Canadian city that is headquarters to a major specialised international organization affiliated with the United Nations, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO);
- The only city in the world chosen by Metropolis, an international association of urban centres of populations exceeding 1,000,000, to house their International Centre for Crime Prevention and the International Centre for Urban Planning and Management.

The greatest wealth of the Montreal region and therefore the greatest asset Quebec has to offer is the diversity of its people. Montreal has developed a unique basin of human resources that can be characterised by;

- A unique host community blending the old European traditions with ancient native ones;
- An important anglophone minority whose contribution to business, education and culture has always had a major impact on the character and development of the region and province;
- A population made even greater by the contributions of immigrants who, in overwhelming numbers (9 out of 10), choose to stay in the Montreal region versus other regions of Quebec.

The English-speaking community has done very well amidst the economic conditions historically in Quebec. On average we enjoy a higher rate of employment, have a better level of education and enjoy a slightly higher average income. Although francization of the workforce is ongoing anglophones can still work in English to a large degree. However, young people entering the workforce report it increasingly difficult to find employment that does not require French. In fact, according to our surveys of young people in the region and throughout the province, if one is not mother-tongue French it is difficult to find work of a career-oriented nature. There is always work available for the unskilled in dead-end jobs like telephone sales, dépanneurs or bars. Serious work is hard to come by.

The high-tech industries, because of their international flavour, and American technology, require English fluency. The banking industry, due to its national and international dealings, employs large numbers of the English-speaking community. The manufacturing sector, due to exporting, also requires knowledge of English and is thereforee open to our community. In fact, ethnic groups who have traditionally generated towards the English-speaking have driven the manufacturing sector in certain areas.

The economy though has suffered due to the exodus of close to one-half million over the last 23 years. The exodus has in large part been from the English-speaking community and Quebec has lost valuable assets, which would have allowed Montreal and Quebec to compete more ably in the global economy. The loss in terms of educated and professional people has to have impacted negatively on our ability to compete nationally as well. In fact, Quebec-trained individuals are contributing to the economic growth of other provinces and Quebec has not been able to keep pace. Recent studies of the provincial economies have demonstrated that Quebec's growth is behind that of other provinces although we rank second only to Ontario in the overall standings.

PROPOSAL: Bilingual Status for Montreal

For many years now Alliance Quebec and many others have proposed that the Montreal be given bilingual status as a region having a special character, one where an open bilingualism policy would enhance the economic, social, political and cultural life of Montreal and therefore the rest of Quebec. The proposal calls for the lessening of language restrictions in both the public and private sectors which would encourage the development of a more open and free-market society that would be more attractive to potential foreign investors, prevent the brain-drain that has plagued the region over the last twenty years and allow for a more tolerant policy on commercial signs, open access to schools and government services.

The proposal is not new and it has been echoed by a number groups who have proposed similar strategies over the years that have included such ideas as a tax-free status for Montreal or that it become a duty-free zone. The MUC has proposed that the region become an economic empowerment zone with a focus on creating intra-regional partnerships to enhance the economic, social and cultural development of the Island of Montreal. All the proposals however, either explicitly or implicitly acknowledged that the bilingual nature of the region was one of its greatest assets or need to be properly developed in order for their proposed concepts to work.

Alliance Quebec has been worried about this issue for some time. The Quebec governments recent talk of increasing the scope of its francization policy to include businesses with less than fifty employees is indeed troubling. The Parti Quebecois government is intent on eliminating the presence of English no matter the cost. Business leaders have constantly cautioned the government that further language restrictions will strangle small to medium sized business and further limit their ability to be competitive.

These businesses are the backbone of the region's economy and along with the present prohibitive tax structures; further language restrictions will severely limit employment opportunities. As a result, young people, particularly English-speaking youth will seek opportunities to pursue their careers elsewhere. Their bilingualism gives them the most mobility amongst Quebec's youth population and will leave the province if they perceive there are better opportunities in other parts of the country.

The Montreal region in particular for all the aforementioned reasons must be allowed to exploit its assets whether human, financial or material if it is survive as a major urban centre in North America. The present policies of the Parti Quebecois government are ignoring all the signs of the downward slide of the Montreal region and their self-serving linguistic policies

are the major contributing factor. The English-speaking community and the Montreal region are paying the price because of them.

A. The Greater Montreal Area Chapters

Profile:

The Montreal region is composed of five (5) different chapters representing distinct areas of the region. They divide the Island of Montreal into three (3) sections: the West Island, Montreal Centre and the East Island. A fourth chapter is located on the South-Shore or Montérégie area, which is found on the south side of the St. Lawrence River. To the north of the island is an Alliance Quebec chapter covering Laval and the suburban North Shore. The Montreal region is the centre of gravity of the English-speaking community of Quebec. It contains the first-and second-largest cities in the province, Montreal and Laval, and includes a majority of the institutions that mediate a public English-language life in Quebec.

Each chapter is different yet shares many of the same traits highlighted by multiple bedroom communities, developed industrial parks and a strong and long-time presence of the English-speaking community. Though the West Island has the strongest representation, the East Island of Montreal, which is east of St. Laurent Blvd., has an English-speaking community of 80,000, according to the 1996 census data.

Needless to say this has a large impact on the 736,776 English-speaking residents (approximately 37% of the population) of the region and makes the English-speaking population of this region distinctly different from the English-speaking population in the rest of Quebec.

Regional Issues:

1) The West Island Chapter

The West Island, comprising the 13 municipalities from Lachine in the east to Senneville at the very western end of the Island, has the strongest presence of English-speaking communities of any territory in the Montreal region, (22% Census Canada, 1991). As such, there exists a different sense of community in the West Island as opposed to other areas of the province. The community members here feel a strong sense of having built the municipalities that comprise the West Island. The community has been integrally involved in the planning, creation and organization its nstitutions, resources and services. The community is naturally concerned about their functioning, their maintenance and their future.

A case in point, is the Lakeshore General Hospital which was built in large part by the English-speaking community, which raised. English-speaking West the necessary funds and continued its involvement from the building phase through to service delivery Islanders look upon their community with a great deal of pride because they have made it what it is today. At the same, time, the community has been very welcoming to newcomers and the community has grown. On the social level, English and French-speaking people get along well and work together to improve the quality of life of the community.

However, as far as public institutions are concerned, this English-speaking community is angry and disappointed at the low level of availability of services in English. Public services at all levels of government are not accessible in English to the degree the community expects. Activities and programs are not directed at the English-speaking community and the municipal authorities don’t make an effort to reach them. Municipal communications are generally in French and there is

little effort to involve the grass-roots organizations serving the English-speaking community. Consequently many community members feel that they are being treated as second-class citizens and worry that the lack of visibility of the English language, signals the demise of their community.

Despite efforts to adapt and integrate, the community continues to feel ignored and unwanted. The young people of the community see an unpromising future for themselves. They believe they cannot get jobs despite their solid educational backgrounds and bilingual capacity. They still choose to leave Quebec to pursue what they perceive to be, better opportunities elsewhere. The rest of the community fears that it cannot guarantee a future in Quebec for their young people as generations before had done. The community is disheartened and indignant that the community's future takes Highway 401 to Ontario and other parts of the country.

Representation in municipal service jobs is indicative of the problem. Despite the English-speaking majority in many of the municipalities, few municipal jobs are held by English-speaking employees. Alliance Quebec's West Island Chapter recently polled the 13 municipalities of the West Island about the percentage of English-speaking employees and received no satisfactory answers. Some did not reply; some insisted they did not keep such statistics and added they do not discriminate against any community, but rather hire the best qualified person, whether English, French or otherwise. However, under-representation of English-speaking municipal workers is so outrageous it demands a credible explanation and corrective action.

2). The Montreal Region Chapter

The Montreal Region Chapter stretches from the eastern limits of Lachine to the western boundary of the East Island Chapter (St. Laurent Blvd.). The community has very strong roots in many of the municipalities which comprise the chapter such as Point St. Charles, Westmount, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Verdun, Snowdon, Town of Mount Royal, Côte St-Luc, Hampstead, Montreal West and parts of Montreal. The population is far from homogenous: it is replete with ethnic diversity.

The City of Montreal proper has been the traditional locus of economic activity for the province and the English-speaking community's role in its development has a long history. Montreal and the Montreal Urban Community remains the economic centre of the province, yet they are increasingly less open to the participation of English-speaking Quebecers. The lack of representation in the Quebec Public Service, even though fully one-third (1/3) of all Quebec Public Service jobs are within the Montreal area, is scandalous. In fact, the over 502,425 English-speakers on the Island of Montreal (Quebec Demographic Study, J. Warnke, 1999) are grossly underrepresented in all public service jobs whether federal, provincial or municipal.

3) The East Island Chapter

The East Island Chapter of Montreal covers the territory more commonly known as the "East End". Over the years the region has fallen on hard times and suffers from an economic depression that persists today. The East Island sits to the east of the "great divide" - St. Laurent Blvd. and is predominantly French. The perception is that no English-speaking people are to be found within its borders but they are present in large numbers especially since the end of the Second World War.

At one time an English-speaking community thrived in the East End. Largely immigrant in nature, mostly from Eastern Europe, they were a vibrant and essential force. The Polish, Ukrainians and Hungarians who settled here were merchants, tradesmen and factory workers. If they were not Catholic or French-speaking their children were sent to English Protestant

or private English Catholic schools, because of the confessional and linguistic educational system which prevailed at the time. As a result, they were fully integrated into the English-speaking community where they grew and participated fully in what Quebec and Canada had to offer in terms of economic prosperity and a new life for their families.

The English-speaking community grew as soldiers returned from WWII and Montreal got its first look at the women who were then called the "war brides". Principally from all the regions comprising Great Britain, they settled here and began to raise families and build communities, schools, churches and recreational centres. The military's offer of affordable housing for veterans and access to a college education created an ideal situation for the community's growth. It continued right up to the late 1960's and early 1970's when social and economic changes began to have a large impact on the area.

The largely English-speaking Italian community who emigrated here in the late 50's and early 60's is the only community to have continued to grow and thrive in the area. The area became known for its poor and disadvantaged and very little was done to change the image. In the 1970's, the development of the CLSC's started here. The CLSC's represented the first state health institution built into the social infrastructure. However, the effort was largely directed at the French-speaking community, which was perceived to have the greatest need.

The offspring of the English-speaking post-war generation moved westward in search of communities that responded better to their needs. They left an ageing population behind. The institutions, schools, community organizations and the like began to disappear as well. Today, the 80,000 English-speaking residents who remain are largely of Italian origin or ageing English stock. Services in English are virtually non-existent in the East Island. The area's health and social services system has very few institutions mandated to deliver services in English. The CLSC's are the most pervasive institutions in the area yet ***none*** were designated under the law to serve the English-speaking population. However, the most recent Access Plans approved by the Régie Régionale du Montréal-Centre, are supposed to provide at least basic services in English. The only hospital in the area serving the community in English is the Santa Cabrini in St. Leonard.

4) The Laval-North Shore Chapter

Situated to the north of Montreal is the City of Laval, the second largest city in Quebec. The city of Laval, like Montreal, is also on an island surrounded by the St. Lawrence River in what is known as the "Back River". The island has seen vast development since the 1950's. Before that it was mainly farmland, summer cottages and small villages. Laval has grown in every sense of the word and has transformed itself from a mainly rural orientation to the vast urban centre it is today.

Laval has an extensive industrial and commercial base. The commercial centres serve the bedroom communities like Chomedy, Vimont and Fabreville found on the island. Many of the residents commute to Montreal to work, but the job sector in Laval is growing.

The English-speaking community has always been a part of this city and has contributed to its development and progress, socially, economically and culturally. At present, the community no longer has the numbers it once had but our community in Laval has always demonstrated more ethnic diversity than other more traditional English-speaking communities.

However, the English-speaking community still numbers approximately 47,000 persons or 15% of Laval's population. They are traditionally located in the western half of the island, centred in the Chomedy area, but also on the North Shore in communities like Lake of Two Mountains and Rosemère. In fact, Rosemère became the first Quebec municipality to have its bilingual status challenged. The attempt was unsuccessful and now under Bill 86, the bilingual status of a municipality or institution may not be changed unless the municipality or institution requests the change.

The Laval region has particular concerns about its social and cultural life which has become increasingly French over the last 20 years. Whereas previously the English-speaking community felt it was a vibrant part of society, residents now feel isolated, ignored and alienated. Services are not organized with them in mind. Community or municipal projects are organised without the community being consulted and regional authorities don't seem to be concerned.

Of particular concern is the health and social services system. Health care in Laval is in turmoil as far as creating access to services in English, and the community is extremely concerned about the future. Citizens believe their rights under the law guaranteeing access to services in English are being ignored and residents feel powerless to influence regional authorities to correct the situation. Furthermore, there is no Regional Co-ordinator for Access to Services in English in the region, despite a $70,000 annual budget for that purpose. In addition, the new 'Plan Triennial', which will focus on ambulatory services in the region from major institutions in the system does not and will not provide for services in English. The community now charges discrimination and regional authorities offer no explanation for the lack of services for the English-speaking community of the territory.

5) The South Shore Chapter

The South Shore or Montérégie region is a vast territory comprising both rural and urban communities. Geographically it stretches from the Chateauguay Valley south to the town of Granby then east to Mont St. Hillaire. The area's English-speaking population of 137,000, although large, is spread-out and represents just over 11.5% of the region's total population. The region has includes communities which have traditionally been identified as English-speaking, such as Greenfield Park, St. Lambert, St. Bruno and Otterburn Park but numbers are now declining as young people move away. The threat of forced amalgamation also looms large in this region as the Quebec government plans to move towards fewer municipalities in an effort to reduce costs.

The Montérégie is a blend of rural and urban environments with large tracts of commercial enterprises. There is a blend of industrial and agricultural enterprises in the rural areas and some commercial/cultural entities thrown in for good measure. High Tech industries are starting to appear on the industrial landscape as larger tracts of land are available and easy access to the American border make the South Shore economically viable for export and transport oriented businesses.

Unfortunately, this economic and commercial diversity does little for the English-speaking community. Young people are leaving their communities in large numbers because they believe jobs remains closed to them. The perception is that if you are not French or *"pure laine"* on the South Shore you will not get a job. The English-speaking community has fears of raising language concerns in this region. A delicate balance has seemingly been achieved here and the communities are loath to upset what is perceived as the social equilibrium because of potential negative consequences for the community. For example, Alliance Quebec's recent court battle with the government for approval of the 16 regional plans has, according to some community members, damaged the goodwill which has been established between the English-speaking community and their health and social service network.

Regional Issues:

Health & Social Services:

On a positive note, the Samuel-de-Champlain CLSC is servicing the English population well. The general consensus is that there have been no problems or complaints. This sentiment applies to some of the other CLSC's that have limited mandates to speak English or offer such services. St. Hubert and Longueuil-ouest are two such CLSC's .

To date, the Charles-Lemoyne Hospital has been more than co-operative in their English services. There have been first hand accounts of the excellent care, attention and efforts made on behalf of the nursing staff and administration towards the English-speaking community. Because the CLH (Charles-Lemoyne Hospital) is a teaching hospital associated with the University of Sherbrooke, a recent regional meeting has proposed a plan to upgrade the image of the hospital with the community. This image would transcend provincial politics and instead focus on what a hospital should represent to the community it serves - a centre for care, medicine, prevention and healing ministering to all who seek help.

Currently, this image is being applied on the ground level by the medical staff, nurses and doctors. This seems to be particular to the Charles Lemoyne Hospital where the English community is well represented on its boards. Time and time again, Lorraine Torpy (Alliance Quebec's H & SS Provincial Co-chair) and John Britton (Montérégie Regional Coordinator for English Services), have encouraged tEnglish-speaking residents to join User Committees and Boards of Directors of local hospitals, CSLC's and other care giving organizations where there is some opportunity for visibility and input to decision making. This has been undertaken by a few brave souls, but there is not at present enough representation to make any large-scale significant policy differences.

These efforts shown by both the English and French-speaking residents and professionals should not be taken lightly. Acting in good faith is the beginning of true change. There are some very good plans in the making with respect to the Charles Lemoyne Hospital that should not be derailed or overlooked in any overall strategy to force the Government of Quebec to improve its services.

Historically, there has been no service for speech therapy on the South Shore for the English community. Very recently, the Anna Laberge Hospital has rectified this lack by providing excellent services in this area. Also, the Centre de Réadaptation de la Montérégie, a newly formed organization, has undertaken to offer its services in English where required throughout the Montérégie.

Sadly, this is the good news. There are some other particular areas that are being sorely affected by the cutting of funds and the lack of co-operation by the province.

Psychiatric Services

The area of mental health access addresses two important areas: (1) the school system and (2) those individuals with special needs. On a positive note, the Pedo-psychiatric service at the Charles-Lemoyne Hospital has been highly praised especially by the Riverside School Board. This service, so sorely needed, has been a boon to the educational system. However, there are still gaps between psychiatric assessment and treatment given at the hospital and the external psychological follow-up needed to attain a complete intervention program. And where the assessment is there, there are few separate intermediate steps such as psychiatric programs or day treatment centres to provide an environment where the children will be attended specific to their needs.

There is also another problem associated with the hospitalization of children in the pedo-psychiatric program. The equivalent of one bed has been slotted for English patients. The problem lies in the environment and the language spoken

while in the hospital. The nursing staff is not mandated to speak English in this department. That and the fact that the environment is French becomes an additional environmental stressor for a patient who is already in psychological crisis.

Adult psychiatric services are in an even more serious state than the fledgling pedo-psychiatry. A regional report (The "Plan de consolidation - Régie Régionale") has shown that in the Montérégie area psychiatric services are the second lowest regional average in terms of spending as compared to the provincial norm, the lowest average being alcohol and substance abuse. Per capita, the Montérégie spends $52.73 on mental health services as compared to the provincial average of $102.35. In order to bring up the standards, an infusion of $65.4 million would have to be made. With respect to alcohol abuse and substance abuse services, the Montérégie average is $3.22 per capita as compared to the provincial pay out of $6.56.

Professionally, it is not even the case of English versus French. Rather, the service is so poor there seems to be an embarrassment at offering this service to the community at large! Also, among the professionals of the field, there seems to be a consensus that the psychiatric model used is outdated and inefficient. The needed restructuring of the whole field is staggering both in dollar terms and in the upgrading of the quality itself.

The Riverside School Board

(i) 5-6 year olds

As mentioned above, although there is an excellent program at the Charles-Lemoyne Hospital in pedo-psychiatry, there is a gap between assessment and follow-up between the hospital and the schools. Furthermore, funding is another essential element lacking. The Riverside School Board has been picking up both the slack and the financial burden of mental health problems related to two age groups which have different needs: the age group of 5-6 year olds and adolescents. Specifically lacking are intervention programs, placement (for treatment) and psycho-social supports. For example, the Board has spent $2 million more on special needs children than they generate in funds. This work is done by the 90 technicians and *préposés* already in place. Their work-load is staggering and given the extra responsibilities which should rightfully go to the health care system, the quality has been severely compromised. Furthermore, with a present budget of $1.4 million for educational purposes, the Board has been told that it must cut another $300,000 next year. This most probably will mean cutting the psychologists in place.

Those children whose behavioral problems are too severe to allow them into the normal school population are put on a waiting list or have to seek professionals in private practice. Given the economic conditions of many families, private clinics are out of reach. Consequently, these behaviour problem children between the ages of 5-6 are either staying at home or go to the Montreal Children's Hospital only to fall out of the programs without finishing. Staying at home, the problems and behaviour of these children get worse for lack of funding to ensure that parents can have "on the job training". The representative of the school board with a 19 year work record in the field has stated that she fears the consequences of 5-6 year olds with unattended behavioural problems being fed into the educational system two or three years from now. The numbers are increasing and the severity of the problems is "staggering". She attributes this to the erosion of the safety nets for families in the form of support and services -- family support, church support, community support, scholastic support -- and the lack of mental health facilities in general.

(ii) Adolescents

With respect to adolescents, there is very little collaboration with Youth Protection Services. Furthermore, no agreement is in place with Batshaw Youth Services to fund intervention or a treatment centre in English for the Montérégie. Many of the same problems facing the adolescent population apply as well to the adult population. However, with respect to in-patient treatment centres, one facility in Chambly of 84 beds held 24 beds for English-speaking youths. This potential service centre was never opened to the community. There is another program planned called "Toute Jeunesse." However,

the amount of funding has not been revealed as yet by the Samuel-de-Champlain CLSC nor have authorities established the parameters for the project. This program of the Public Health Department of the Regional Board is to subsidize local initiatives. English community representatives should be encouraged to participate.

Should a young person be mandated by the courts to seek family counselling, there is no follow up by the courts. Needless to say, the mandate is not carried out and any intervention program fails. No home observation is done since there are no such services offered in the Montérégie area in English.The Youth Protection workers seem to be the only ones who have teeth, but they also are unavailable in the necessary numbers. Finally, a major problem is rehabilitation services and centres for the young. They simply do not exist.

Mental Health Support Systems

The following CLSC's have had very good reviews with respect to services to the English community: Richelieu, Longueuil, Samuel de Champlain and St. Hubert. CLSC St. Jean has had very negative reviews especially considering that there is one English school of 600 English students in the area.

With respect to the island hospitals reaching out to the mainland, a "Community Link" service being run out of the Montreal General Hospital has a program involving about 65 psychiatric patients being integrated back into the population. These are patients who do not have any family or support systems in place. Of these 65 patients, only 5 reside in the Montérégie area. There are no similar programs running independently in the Montérégie.

On a more positive note, English-speaking residents sitting on the Board of certain institutions can and do have an effect on the implementation of policy. A day care centre, Centre Gens located in Brossard, has been slated for mentally ill English patients. However, it was noted that the population and the structure of the Centre was becoming predominantly French. An English-speaking Board member of Centre Gens brought this to the Centre Gens Board's attention and with the aid of a member of the Regional Health Board, this case is being investigated in order to re-establish the policy and mandate of the Centre.

Another problem area deals with the expertise of those social workers dealing with psychiatric problems. Essentially, there is such a shortage of staff that social workers and nurses are being asked to deal in areas in which they have had little training or exposure. A case in point is a resident of the Montérégie who just lost her son to suicide. It was not picked up by either a social worker or the GP that he may have had suicidal tendencies and was at risk. The consequence was tragic and irreversible.

The elderly suffer greatly from isolation in that information about services for the English-speaking community is not being transmitted sufficiently nor efficiently. This also applies more so to our English-speaking ethnic communities. There are those elderly who will not go the Charles Lemoyne Hospital because they think that there are no English services available. In that there is no English-speaking newspaper in the Montérégie area that spans our population, naiveté, feelings of isolation and being cut off lend to an already dispersed population. The Charles Lemoyne Hospital's program to attain a higher community profile will do much to rectify this problem. However, the presence of an English newspaper would also lend to feelings of belongingness and awareness of events that would break the feeling of isolation.

The Montérégie area is comprised of families and long-term residents unlike Montreal that has a more transient population. Individuals who suffer from psychiatric problems are often taken in by the parents who then become their

primary caregivers. One invisible problem arises when the parents or caregivers, because of the constant attention and vigilance necessary for these patients, suffer from severe burnout. The concept and implementation of "Respite Care" has been suggested where some type of organization or the CLSC provides regular visits so that the caregivers can get out of the house to re-charge.

There is an excellent French transition facility that provides bilingual services to the Montérégie - L'Espoir. However, there is no English equivalent. This service, L'Espoir, has received funding to provide communities for the youth. There are no clubs, nor gathering places where the youths can pass their time constructively. The bottom line is that there is no structured and organized Mentor System in place for the English-speaking youths of our community.

B. The La Mauricie Region

Profile:

The region centering on Trois-Rivières but including areas like Shawinigan and Drummondville, Grand-Mère and Nicolet, has a long-standing and viable community numbering some 5,600 English-speaking persons. The area has a large industrial base and boasts the University of Quebec at Trois-Rivières (UQTR) where both play an important role in the economic and cultural life of the region. Most of the English-speaking are located in Trois-Rivières but there are important pockets of the English-speaking community in the other towns as well as in the rural environs in between.

Integration of the English into the French-speaking community in this region is a predominant fact of life. Many English speakers marry or associate with French-speaking neighbours, allowing for a genuine acceptance into the larger society but much less of a distinct community of English-speakers. Once there was a significant number of new arrivals to join and support the English-speaking institutions of the region. Those days ended with the general industrial decline. The English-speaking population as a result is not replenishing itself and is thereforee ageing, as the youth of the community go off to school and careers elsewhere.

The community of English-speaking people has been reduced as the major industries have been reduced in size and importance. Logging, pulp and paper, chemical and textile plants, mining, steel all were important employers once but are much less important now. The service industries now centred on Trois-Rivières and Drummondville are less open to English employment. Even the country music festival held annually in Trois-Rivières and drawing an audience from across North America offers scant work for those from the English-speaking community. Bilingual jobs are rare, but even where they exist there is not much of a workforce to supply the need. A trucking company recently announced that its trucks are idled because of a lack of English-speaking drivers.

One constant concern is to find any of the critical services for community members in their own language. A guide to English services is produced regularly by the Alliance Quebec chapter and is well received by the community it serves. So difficult is it for the community to sustain itself, however, that even this modest publication has lost its local funding and must now look for outside assistance.

In areas such as La Mauricie, the Alliance Quebec chapter is the centre of a series of important services. There are health information sessions, cultural and social events and speakers' nights, which provide the community with some of the only English-language gatherings in the region. That special place in the community is not lost on the French majority either. The Régie Régionale de la santé et des services sociaux has decided to support Alliance Quebec, as the official provider of English services information meetings throughout the region.

Regional Issues:

The 04 Regional Health Board region covers central Quebec. The AQ La Mauricie Chapter includes the area north of the St. Lawrence River (Trois-Rivières, Shawinigan, Grand-Mère) to La Tuque. Townshippers' Association covers the area south of the river (Nicolet, Drummondville). A representative of AQ (Charlotte Doucette) and a Townshippers' representative sit on the Standing Committee on Access to Health & Social Services in English of the Regional Health Board. There is no full-time Coordinator of English services. These duties are handled by a RRSSS employee as part of his other duties.

- Population: according to Statistics Canada, there are approximately 5,600 people who identify English as their mother tongue. The population is widely dispersed, though there are pockets of concentration in the larger cities - Trois-Rivières, Shawinigan, Grand-Mère, La Tuque.

- Definitely, an ageing population with many unilingual seniors. This poses a problem for the health system. Most of these seniors have seen their children leave the region. There is one Seniors Association active in Trois-Rivières with approximately 75 members.

- There are enough children to fill four small schools (200-300 students in each school - 2 schools in Trois-Rivières, one each in Shawinigan and La Tuque). Frequently, children have the right to go to English schools, based on the right of one parent or the grandfather clause. There is a great deal of intermarriage and French is often spoken in the home. School nurses are usually unilingual French - Health & Social Services programs for the children must be organised by the school or community organizations. The schools are heavily dependent on volunteers. (Schools belong to the Central Quebec Regional School Board based in Quebec City).

- There is no English CEGEP, no English university, no vocational education available in English. Upon graduating from high school, young, English speaking people leave and very rarely come back, in part because of the very high rate of unemployment in the region.

- There are three English churches - Roman Catholic, Anglican and United - again, with small elderly congregations, but they are surprisingly active in the community. There are extremely small Jewish and Muslim populations.

- RRSSS originally voted not to have an Access Plan, but has endorsed a voluntary 'policy' for all health institutions - there is no formal guarantee of health services where we need it most, in our schools, home care for the elderly, emergency services.

- After many years of co-operation, receiving funding from the RRSSS and implementing Health & Social Services projects in the community - AQ was refused two 1999 grant applications under the Quebec/Canada entente - both vital updates of former projects - CRISIS CARDS in English (we were told people could look up the info in the unilingual phone book and a Directory of Services). Perhaps the bureaucrats at the RRSSS do not seem to understand the reality of minority communities vis-à-vis Health and Social Services. They are very ignorant about our community. The president of the RRSSS Board is apparently angry and somewhat baffled by the AQ lawsuit.

C. The Abitibi Region

Profile:

The Abitibi region contains the Rouyn-Noranda and Val d'Or Chapters of Alliance Quebec. This region's principal industries are mining and forestry. As market prices for minerals declined the region lost more 2,000 jobs over the last two years. The present unemployment rate is officially at 16% but is more realistically close to 20%. The English-speaking community is just over 10% of the general population and has been hit hard by the economic conditions, especially those members whose command of French is insufficient to write resumes or reports. The scarcity of job training available in English in the region does nothing to improve their prospects.

Val d'Or is the port of entry into Abitibi and James Bay and is an economic centre with a large industrial park. The population of Val d'Or is approximately 35,000, which traditionally had been very diverse culturally, but since the early seventies has undergone a transformation. Now all but 10% are Francophone.

The City of Rouyn-Noranda and its environs, have a population of approximately 40,000 people of which 4.1% are English-speaking. The city has grown into the regional capital of Abitibi-Témiscamingue with its main economic activity in the service industries. Mining used to be the principal economic activity but there is now only one mine left in the region and it no longer produces. The company that now owns the mine now only does smelting.

As Rouyn-Noranda is close to Ontario, most of the English-speaking and French-speaking community members who have left, go to Ontario rather than Montreal. Most of the English-speaking community have roots in Ontario because their families came here looking for work in the mines. As a result, most anglophones have more in common with Ontario than Montreal and would rather go there for Health and Social Services, unlike those in the Saguenay or St Maurice regions who tend to go to Montreal for treatment. In fact, many anglophones in this region have no ties to the large English-speaking community of Montreal.

Regional Issues:

Val d'Or

- There are no employment training programs available in Val d'Or in English
- Qualified teachers are not teaching special needs children because school budgets in the English school system have been cut due to smaller populations.
- No post secondary education is available in English in the region, and the French CEGEP and the UQAR*[give full name] favour those graduates from the French sector for admittance to their institutions.
- Large bursaries are available to those who stay in the region and go to French CEGEP's but those who go to Montreal, or Sherbrooke or Hull for post-secondary studies(as do 95% of the English-speaking) do not get the same amounts.
- Few part-time or full-time jobs are available for non-Francophones regardless of their qualifications.
- There is a tremendous youth exodus amongst anglophones for education and jobs - they invariably never return.
- Ageing population is left to pay higher taxes for fewer services.
- No bilingual signs are to be seen either in the public or commercial sector of the region.
- English-speaking welfare recipients are forced to take job training (line cutting, bush cutting, tree planting), that require them to live away from their families, and buy tools and safety equipment because no other courses are available in English.

- It's difficult to retain Doctors and specialists, especially those who speak English, in the region.
- Most patients are obliged to travel to Montreal for treatments and medical testing. This is extremely costly and disrupts family life.
- Patients who require psychiatric care in English must go to Montreal for service, which isolates them from their families and friends.
- All young offenders are also in the same position as psychiatric patients who can only get the specialised care they need in Montreal.

Rouyn-Noranda

- Secondary education needs better funding because there are very few text books or educational materials available in English.
- There is a need for some type of post-secondary educational facility in the region because the youth are leaving to go to Ontario for school and they never come back.
- There is a need for an English cultural influence in the lives of the English-speaking youth of the region.
- There are many activities for youth in the region but they are ALL are in FRENCH.
- Population is ageing and the seniors tend to be isolated because their families have left.
- Seniors cannot get services like home-care in English in the region
- Neither government services or services provided in the private and commercial sectors are available in English.

D. The Saguenay/Lac St. Jean Region

Profile:

The Saguenay is a large geographical area, which extends from La Baie at its southern extreme to Chibougamau to the north, and includes other major centres in between such as Jonquière, Alma, Roberval and Chicoutimi. According to the 1996 Census the English-speaking community that dates back to the 1840's makes up less than 1% of the 295,313 inhabitants of the territory. The region has two major industries, aluminium and pulp & paper and an important agricultural industry base as well. The English-speaking community, once numerous due to the role of Alcan in the region's development, has diminished considerably over the years and is continuing to do so at a steady rate of decline. The area is considered to be the most nationalist in Quebec, and there are enormous pressures exerted politically, socially and culturally to ensure that the French language dominates in all areas.

Regional Issues:

The need for the protection of English institutions and services has become of primary concern for the community in the Saguenay. Over the last twenty years the community has lost 5 English schools and 5 English churches and now only has a combined student body of 500 from the two schools remaining, and its lone English church can only count 25 people as its regular congregation. The community feels threatened as English language services have become virtually non-existent in the public sector in areas like Health & Social Services and Employment services. No jobs are available for anyone who is unilingual English, which in some areas of the region may be the majority of the community.

The community is ageing as the young people continue to leave the region and services for seniors in English are an increasing concern. EnglishYouth protection services are also a concern as are Young Offenders Services which are non-existent in English in the region and young people are sent to Montreal. The only services available are open to military personnel only, on the Bagotville Military Base.

E. The Upper and Lower Laurentians

Profile:

Situated just north of the Montreal Region in an area noted for its ski hills and known as “cottage country” for countless Montrealers, lies the Laurentians, which for organizational purposes and geographical distance, have been divided into two separate chapters. The areas are largely rural with some towns that have long-established English-speaking communities. Some 37,000 English-speaking persons inhabit the region.

There is a significant industrial base centred on Ste-Thérèse and the General Motors plant, one of the primary employers in the region. A second centre, St-Jérôme, has a longer history but a less important economic profile. Of course, the Mirabel Airport has provided a series of potential economic improvements to the region but they have yet to be fully realised. The most recent and important economic activity in the region has been the development of the Mont-Tremblant region in the upper reaches of the Montreal-Laurentian ski belt. Its net effect on the surrounding area has been substantial and there is further development planned.

One district of particular concern to the English-speaking community is the Lachute-Brownsburg region where a number of English-speaking families have been settlers for generations. There was considerable economic activity centred around the presence of an explosives factory originally built by *Canadian Industries Limited*, which had its peak productivity in the years during and immediately following World War II. Today the plant is abandoned and its work force dispersed.

Regional Issues:

Many in areas of the Lower Laurentians, near the Ottawa River, such as in Lachute, look to institutions in neighbouring Ontario towns for services of all kinds in English, including health and social services. Media coverage of the region in English is spotty at best, particularly in terms of national news broadcasts and newspapers. Government services vary greatly from area to area as to English content, however there is an overall lack of over-the-counter assistance or documentation available in the English language from municipal, provincial or federal authorities. This applies especially to employment and job training programs for those who would otherwise qualify.

The effect on youth is dramatic to say the least. Youth retention is very low in the region and this represents a direct threat to the future of these English-speaking communities. Young English-speaking Quebecers from the region do not come back after going away to school elsewhere in Quebec or other provinces because there are no jobs. They find that their skills are wanted and needed elsewhere and the fact they speak French makes them very attractive to provinces like Ontario and New Brunswick. They therefore look to other provinces for economic opportunity because Quebec does not seem to need or want them. They find it very difficult to break into the job market in Quebec. They cite discrimination on the basis of language as the primary reason English-speaking youth are denied access to economic opportunity in the province. For them, opportunity is anywhere other than Quebec. They also believe political uncertainty has diminished their economic opportunity.

The Provincial Youth Commission

The Provincial Youth Commission has recently been preparing for the upcoming (February, 2000) Youth Summit in Quebec and has been speaking with its members, students and other young people outside the Commission, in an effort to determine the essential needs of English-speaking youth of Quebec. They have graciously allowed us to reprint here, the early fruits of their discussions.

Theme #1: Responding to the Challenge of Employment

- There is a significant lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas of Quebec. This is particularly acute in non-urban centres. The government of Quebec should create incentives and programs to encourage rural industries and businesses to form partnerships and links with local communities, specifically with the local schools. Lack of employment in rural areas may also mean lack of experience and understanding of the entrepreneurial possibilities in some locations. This specialised training is particularly relevant where the old-style hiring and layoff cycle of the industrial age has been replaced by no-job creation unless it's locally initiated.

- French proficiency is a job skill. Whether or not people learn sufficient French in their formal education to come to the job market, they should be allowed the opportunity to perfect that job skill, **with full government assistance**. More French-language training needs to be implemented in English institutions at the high school, CEGEP and university levels. Free French language training through Human Resources Development is urgently required and specific areas of the province can be targeted immediately.

- There is a system called technical vocational training that has been seriously reduced because of budget-cutting and some political-linguistic infighting. These courses should be re-examined with the purpose of restoring them to full capacity in needy regions and offering them across regional and linguistic barriers (i.e. one board should offer the courses to all students of that region, not just to its Board's students). In other words offer the training regionally in both languages under the auspices of one of the school boards in the region.

- There is a need to create more career counselling departments and services in the high schools, CEGEPs, and universities. Strong links need to be created between such career counselling offices and local businesses and industries. In addition, bilingual career fairs, career information events should be further developed and offered during the school year in urban and rural centres. Classes specifically geared towards employment skills need to be created and made mandatory as early as high school.

- The level of computer literacy should be increased in all educational institutions to help English-speaking youth obtain jobs. Programs of computer study, with strong instruction on the use of the internet, should be mandatory and should be introduced at an early age so that youth are sufficiently computer literate before pursuing higher education. The Quebec Loans and Bursary Program should allow for this.

- Seven (7) years ago a study entitled *Task Force on Job Opportunities for English-speaking Youth in Quebec* found that, given the right career encouragement, most students thinking of leaving Quebec would remain. That can only be a more relevant fact today. The enlargement of career opportunities is the basis for successful youth retention schemes.

- Student debt can overwhelm even the best educated and rob youth of career opportunities. Youth must survive and study and ought not to have to choose between the two. When students are forced because of economic necessity to undertake two, even three jobs while studying, disillusionment, cynicism and hopelessness set in. Failure rates mount as a result.

ıeme #2: Attaining Opportunity and Training

- Internships should provide both the starting on-the-job knowledge and the start to further work. Too many internships are terminal band-aids, keeping young people temporarily off the jobless and welfare roles, but not giving them sufficient scope to advance. The private and public sectors need to create creative strategic plans not just for bringing young people into the work force, but keeping them there as well.

- Educational programs should include more bilingual internships. Co-op programs should be created at all levels of education, including high school.

- The provincial government needs to hire more minority youth in the Quebec Civil Service, as there is gross under representation.

- The government needs to create the right incentives to encourage all its youth to remain in the province. English-speaking youth are frustrated with the constant political uncertainty in the province.

- More summer employment programs need to be set up for youth to get experience. Such jobs should better reflect the student's field of study.

ıeme #3: Promoting an Equitable Society

- The government needs to address the "clauses orphelins".

- The government must address the ramifications of Bill 101 on minority, non-francophones communities.

- The government needs to address discrimination in the hiring practices of employers, in the public service, crown corporations, and in the private sector. A thorough examination should take place to investigate such cases. Such a report should be made public.

- The government needs to convince and show through action, not just words, that the minority communities of Quebec are a welcome and integral part of the province. That the term *Quebecer* and *Québécois* belong to **all Quebec youth**

and not just to those youth who share the national aspirations of the Parti Québécois. All people residing in Quebec should be made to feel welcome and a valuable part of society. The government must eliminate restrictive language legislation that makes minority youth feel like second-class citizens.

- The government and Quebec society should not tolerate anti-English, anti-racial sentiments targeted to the minority communities of Quebec.

- English education should be open to all French-speaking students and not just to those who can afford private schools.

- Municipalities with a significant prcentage of English speaking population are entitled to receive bilingual services as are French-speaking youth from Ontario.

- The government needs to create and ensure equal access to **all services** offered by the government of Quebec to **all young Quebecers** (including health and social services, employment information etc.)

- The government should abolish all discriminatory policies. With respect to youth and education, the following discriminatory education related policies must be repealed

) Differential Tuition Fees:

- Canadian non-Quebecers are paying up to an increase of 80% in tuition while fees for Quebec students remain unchanged. Prior to 1997, there was one fee for Canadian citizens and permanent residents and another level of fees for international students. The present three-category system must be eliminated. This exists while the Quebec government subsidises Francophone students to study here. The government should also cease all reciprocity agreements with other countries until it stops treating Canadian, non-Quebecers like foreigners.

- For example, presently the Quebec government has signed agreements with *selected countries* whose respective students pay the same level of tuition as Quebec students. These international students are in fact paying lower tuition fees than Canadians from outside Quebec. French nationals, defined as those persons with a French nationality, and Quebec nationals, defined as those persons with a Canadian nationality residing in Quebec, are put in the same category in the government's assessment of tuition fees. This is clearly unfair. Hence, Canadian non-Quebecers are treated, not only as foreigners in their own country, but worse than foreign Francophone students studying in Quebec.

- Current proof of Quebec residency is too restrictive. A health card or a driver's license should suffice as an acceptable requirement. The fact that these are not acceptable criteria serves as a great obstacle in receiving permanent residence in Quebec. This is discrimination by the provincial government on the basis of provincial origin. This is also limiting a Canadians right to mobility in the country.

b) Discriminatory Loans Policy

The provincial government must eliminate restrictive measures such as the government's refusal to subsidize programs of study that a Quebec student wishes to pursue in another Canadian province if that program is offered in Quebec; Quebec students intending to study at English universities outside of Quebec are ineligible for Quebec student loans while students intending to study at French universities outside Quebec are.

- Quebec's English educational institutions are receiving less funding from the provincial government than are French language educational institutions in the same province. This needs to change.

- Recognition by the provincial government of graduates of D.E.C programs as being officially recognized as bilingual, should they have completed their studies in French, and exempt them from the provincial French language test for professionals. At present that designation is only accorded if you have completed secondary schooling in Quebec.

ıeme #4: Access to the World

- Because of the popularity of Quebec universities to foreign students, some international contacts should be encouraged to help more gifted Quebec students gain access to the operations of international organizations. Students can gain significant public and private benefits from the early exposure to international exchanges at all levels. This contribution by foreign governments in association with Canada could be used to offset Quebec's demands for higher fees from foreign students.

- The Quebec government should expand its student exchange programs. Currently the best benefits exist for student-exchange programs with France. Comparable benefits should exist for all student-exchange programs including English-speaking countries.

:her concerns:

- Generally, the future of Quebec, and the rights of minorities in Quebec

- The need to stop the *brain drain*, or Youth Exodus. Calls for the government to create an economic and political environment that offers stability and reassurance to youth and eradicate the employment discrimination against non-francophones

- Improving access to information on youth programs in the English language.

- Developing a provincial youth policy based on input and action plans developed by youth representing different organizations of ethno-cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and creating an open, consultative and participative approach to such policy-making.

ALLIANCE QUEBEC'S GENERAL ISSUES OF CONCERN ON THE STATE OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY OF QUEBEC AND ITS NEEDS

A) Health Services & Social Affairs

I. The Context

The Quebec government decided years ago to rationalise health services along regional lines. The 16 regions that cover the territory of southern Quebec (excluding the two northernmost regions which are subject to treaty with the Cree and Inuit bands) have learned to find treatment for their own residents in their own institutions.

Access to health care and social services in English is protected by law in the Health and Social Services Act. These institutions are also called upon to offer services to all those in the region who need care or service in English. The promise of the services in English are registered in the Access Plans that have been prepared in each region, and are to be adopted by decree by the government These explain what institutions are responsible for which services in English.

Access Plans were delayed by government foot dragging. Then in 1994, the Régie Régionales of Quebec were informed the Access Plans for Services in English had to be revised for two main reasons; a) to take into account the changes wrought on the system due to the Reform of 1991, and b) the law required the Access Plans to be revised every three years, to reflect the normal ebb and flow of services within a region over time. The Régies were given until December of 1995 to comply. It is worth noting that the Ministry was not exactly vigilante in requiring the Régies to honour the deadlines.

The last plan was submitted to the Ministry in December of 1996 at which time they were reviewed by the Ministry before government approval. The Minister having received the Access Plans proceeded to submit them to Cabinet, and following an outcry by the Parti Quebecois, and some emergency resolutions in the PQ's *Conseil National*, they were submitted to the *Office de la langue française*. The PQ ostensibly was concerned that the Access Plans threatened the right to work in French and the *Office* was asked to evaluate the plans on that basis.

II. The Access Plans

Following the evaluation the Minister submitted a report to the Cabinet in July of 1997 and was ordered to revise all the Access Plans. The government erroneously considered the plans as submitted, represented a bilingualization of the health and social services system. However there was a darker political objective to reduce the level of access of services in the English language throughout the provincial network, in accordance with the policy set forth in the PQ's official *Programme*, which repudiates the law guaranteeing access to health and social services in English.

The Ministry has on numerous occasions put tremendous pressure on the regional boards who, to their credit, have generally, with some exceptions resisted this political interference. The Access Plans were studied by a team of researchers from the *École nationale d'administration publique*. Their mandate was to do an overall evaluation of the Access Plans as

well as the original Ministry guidelines for the Access Plans. The Access Plans for Montreal-Centre, Laval and the Montérégie for example were submitted to the *Ministère de la Métropole* a ministry which has neither the competence nor the administrative responsibility to evaluate the Access Plans.

The PQ government's policy of considering the right to health and social services in English as contrary to the right of Quebecers to work in French was given a severe setback on Nov. 18, 1999, when Superior Court Justice Irving Halperin overturned the decision of the Office de la language française to refuse the Montreal Chinese Hospital the right to insist that two head nurses be required to be fluent in a Chinese dialect. The judge found that the panel of the OLF that sat in judgment on the issue did not have the necessary impartiality. He also ruled that the OLF, rather than worrying about the hospital's setting too high a standard by demanding a fluency in Chinese, should have been asking itself: "What are the language requirements needed for the hospital and its employees to be able to provide the best possible services to which the patients and their families have a right?" In other words, he gave no comfort to the view that the right to work in French in a recognized multilingual hospital should be on a par with the right of the patients to be cared for in their language.

Health & Social Services have always been of vital importance to the English-speaking community of Quebec. Specifically, the control and preservation of our institutions has always been linked to the preservation and continued existence of our community. Since 1994, and until 1999, access to English language services throughout the province was threatened by the Quebec government's refusal to approve the Regional Access Plans, which specify in each region, what, where and how services are to be made available in English. The delays in the Cabinet's approval of the Access Plans, resulted in the loss of specific services, loss of access to funds for translation or the loss of the Regional Co-ordinator's position - or a in some cases, a drastic reduction in the Co-ordinator's hours.

Access to Health & Social Services have always been an integral and primary part of the social contract between the two linguistic communities. The French-speaking majority have always considered Health and Social Services as an inalienable right and as something not to be played with as an issue in the political arena. This has always been considered to be inviolable by both communities. Recent editorials and articles in the French-speaking media acknowledged our right. Public opinion polls have also indicated that seventy percent (70%) of the majority community support the right to service in English. Clearly there is a consensus on the part of most Quebecers, that we should all as taxpayers enjoy the same access to the Provincial Health network, and not be subject to language tests during medical emergencies and times of social needs.

The government believed the Access Plans threatened the right of French-speaking people to work in French. Obviously Alliance Quebec did not agree and contended the government's inordinate administrative delays imperilled the rights of the English-speaking community. The Access Plans only describe where and how services in English are organised in a specific region. In 1999, the government finally approved the 16 Regional Access Plans, but only after being taken to court by Alliance Quebec. There are some regions though, that still cause us great concern as to the quality of the access plans and the protection of the right to services in English, notably the Saguenay/Lac St. Jean and the Trois-Rivières regions. We will continue to work with our chapters and local community organizations to evaluate these plans.

III. The Other Problem Areas

i) Regional Co-ordinators

There are a number of sub-issues in this dossier, related to the Access Plans and the generally poor state of certain services available in English. For instance, the Access Plans originally called for Regional Co-ordinators in each region to oversee the everyday functioning of the plans. The co-ordinator positions were funded by the federal government. Their role was intended to be that of a liaison between each Régie Régionale and its community. These positions are starting to disappear. At least four (4) regions (Laval, Mauricie, Lanaudiere, Gaspé) have done away with them entirely and another six (6) regions (Abitibi, Quebec, Montérégie, Côte-Nord, Outaouais, Estrie) have reduced the number of days they work. Some co-ordinators have been co-opted by other services and given additional responsibilities unrelated to the dossier, which has effectively reduced the amount of time a co-ordinator works on access issues.

This has caused great concern, because in many of these cases an already overwhelmed Francophone civil servant has been entrusted with the dossier and access issues are an afterthought. These public servants almost assuredly do not know the

English-speaking community and therefore are unaware of the needs of the English-speaking communities they are paid to serve. In one region the co-ordinator is actually a unilingual Francophone (Saguenay/Lac St. Jean). The purpose of having a Regional Co-ordinator in the first place, is to have someone as liaison that knows and understands the community and its needs and by extension provides insight and sensitivity for a system unused to responding to the needs of our communities. The Regional Co-ordinators also provide valuable information to the community, act as ombudsmen in certain cases and increase awareness of the community among the professionals within the systems.

ii) Canada- Québec Entente

The Canada/Québec Entente is an agreement between the federal and provincial governments that provides funds for assuring the access of the English-speaking community to health and social services. The funds of the Entente provided for the mechanisms to be used to implement the legal guarantees for services in English. Amongst said mechanisms are the provisions for the Regional Co-ordinators, funding for special projects, translation services, English Second Language Training (ESLT) for workers in the system and various administrative services attendant to the program.

A number of problems have arisen with the Entente over the years not the least of which has been the dwindling contribution of the federal government. The federal government's portion has become less and less and by 1999 was nowhere near the $500,000 per year it committed in the first term of the agreement. Quebec has increased its share during that time but with the federal contribution decreasing year by year, the available funds have fallen. Many of the mechanisms have also disappeared like translation services (notably the English Documentation Centre at the Fédération des CLSCs) and the English Second Language Training (ESLT) component for Francophone workers in the system.

In Dec. 1999, Health Minister Pauline Marois announced publicly that the federal-provincial agreement would not be renewed. She said that Quebec would maintain the co-ordinators until the end of March 2000 (the federal-provincial agreement actually ran out at the end of March 1999). She seemed to promise that Quebec alone would maintain the program of the co-ordinators, even without $2.5 million over five years from the federal government. The English-speaking community saw in this repudiation of federal money for English health services as another threat to the community, another reason for a sense of insecurity.

iii) Access to Information

Another issue is the lack of public information available in English. Under the previous Canada/Québec Ententes monies for the translation of public information were provided in the annual budgets. Those monies have completely dried up and there is a dearth of information available in English. Our community has suffered because of it, as institutions no longer provide information on their services in English. How is the community supposed to know the who, what, where and when of the services provided by a particular institution and whether they are available in English, if no information is provided in that language.

In fact, translation is increasingly problematic for the health and social services system and the English-speaking community. Material needed to inform clients of government programs and public health measures are not readily available in English anywhere in Quebec. Even in the Montreal region translated material is scarce. Professionals in the system who recognise they can better serve their English-speaking clientele with supplemental material in English, are complaining they cannot serve their clients in a manner comparable to their Francophone clients.

Some of the Régie Régionales, who no longer have co-ordinators or have reduced their hours, stated they were using the extra money to translate material. However that is simply not true as in the case of the Laval region who stated they use the $60,000 they receive for a co-ordinator (they have none), to translate their public documents. By all accounts from users, associations and care givers alike in the region, very, very little public information is available in English and certainly not

enough to represent $60,000 worth. These communities are clearly not getting a service which is comparable to their Francophone counterparts and both the federal and provincial governments must share the responsibility for failing to assure equitable access to health and social services in English to our community

iv) Seniors

English-speaking seniors, particularly those living outside Montreal, can face special difficulties in participating fully in community life and obtaining services adapted to their needs. This results from a variety of factors, including an inability to speak the majority language, the lack of an institutional or organizational network associated with the English-speaking community and, in some cases, the small and isolated English-speaking population base.

Contrary to some popular conceptions, the majority of seniors do not reside in retirement homes and have not lost their independence. Most live at home and have long-standing roots in their communities. Yet, seniors, English and French-speaking, have special needs. Many live below the poverty line, their consumption of health services is greater than for the population as a whole, and they can experience a sense of isolation from no longer enjoying the social contacts of the work-place. For English-speaking seniors, especially those living outside the Montreal region, full participation in the wider community can represent a challenge that does not exist for their French-speaking neighbours. There are several reasons why this is the case:

- Many English-speaking seniors do not speak French
- Community support has weakened
- The English-speaking population is ageing
- There is a lack of a critical mass of English-speaking Quebecers in some regions
- In some regions few public long-term care facilities are equipped to offer services in English

The English-speaking population is ageing at a faster rate than that of the French-speaking population. There is need for increased access to services for the seniors in the English-speaking community and more immediate responses to address their issues as the population ages.

B) Education

A community's education of its young is one of the building blocks on which its future is founded. If it leaves the education of its young people to others, others will eventually define its cultural values and choose its social priorities.

Task Force on English Education - 1992

Few can doubt the importance of minority language schools to the vitality of their communities. Without minority language schools, the very conditions necessary for the preservation of Canada's linguistic duality would be markedly diminished.

School Governance:

The Report of the Commissioner

of Official Languages - 1998

Preamble

Alliance Quebec has long assumed a leading role in the movement for the creation of language-based school boards in Quebec subscribing to the view of the (Chambers) Task Force on English Education in 1992:

If the English-speaking community of Quebec is to continue to exist as a contributing component of Quebec's social, cultural and economic make-up its schools must reflect the distinct character of its aspirations, traditions and potentials.

To carry that message further, on October 20, 1997, Alliance Quebec presented a brief to the Special Joint Committee of Parliament mandated to advise on amendments to Section 93 of the *Constitution Act*, 1867. At the hearing, Alliance Quebec made a strong plea for equality in the application of the Charter and urged the committee to ensure equal application of minority-language education rights throughout the country, including the province of Quebec. At present, section 23(1)(a), which would allow access to English schools to all children of English-speaking citizens, is not promulgated here.

The implementation of the linguistic school boards in lieu of confessional school boards effective July 1, 1998, has historical significance. Indeed, it is an affirmation of the co-existence of the two linguistic communities and recognition that their institutions are fundamentally vital for the survival and promotion of their respective cultures. However, English is treated as an exception under the system set up to replace the equal confessional boards..

The current political climate in Quebec has a negative impact on the quality of English education. Alliance Quebec, therefore, must alert Quebecers to the needs and aspirations of the English-speaking community on issues specific to education.

I. The Needs

In its brief presented to the hearings of the Estates General on Education in August 1995, Alliance Quebec identified five priority needs. None of these needs has been satisfactorily resolved and each will require unrelenting attention over the coming 12 months.

1. The English-speaking community must manage and control its educational resources institutions.

The Alliance will continue to pursue this priority. It must work towards having the government of Quebec confirm the legitimacy of the English-speaking community's right to a system of educational institutions specifically planned and operated by the English-speaking community.

Although the Quebec school board system has now moved from one which was confessionally based to one linguistically based, there is much left to be done before the English-speaking community fully controls its institutions.

- First, the net effect of merging the two systems on the English side has meant the two perspectives, Catholic and Protestant, must now learn to live and work together. Historically they functioned independently so working together is not and will not be easy. Different traditions, different cultures and different methods of functioning will take some time to modify and adapt to a new reality.

- Second, the English school system is faced with a reality the French system is not, that is the whole aspect of applications for permission to enter English language schooling. This calls for a whole administrative structure within the 9 English school boards throughout the province. Until such a time that the English system receives the financial resources to deal with this situation administratively, they will not control their institutions.

- Third, the English system is beginning to lose its property; many schools, which are a part of the community's heritage, are being transferred to the French system. The English system is having difficulty filling its schools due to low enrolment. The low enrolment is a direct result of the language laws, which have restricted access to English language schooling for new arrivals to the province. Obviously until the present situation is modified the community will not be in a position to control its human and material resources.

2. The need to widen access to English schools in order to provide a means for community renewal and ensure further enrolment stability.

We are all aware of the impact current language legislation has had on student enrolment in the English-language school system. In a continued effort to secure the future of English in school Alliance Quebec will draw primarily from four sources:

- The *Education Act* states, "The parents of a student or any student of full age shall have the right to choose, every year, the school best suited to their preference or having the education projects best suited to their personal values". This article recognises the parent as the primary agent for a child's education. It would seem logical and pedagogically desirable that all parents should have the right to choose the language of schooling of their children

- Article 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* includes Minority Language Education Rights. These rights are not fully confirmed for Quebec's English-language minority. Alliance Quebec will seek to have *Article 23(1)(a)* through legal action, brought into force in respect to Quebec, the only province where it is not in force. This article states that Canadian citizens whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary instruction in that language in that province.

Also we will ask the courts to declare that Article 23 (2) of the *Charte*r confers a right on all children who have studied in English elsewhere in Canada to be schooled in English in Quebec. At present, the Charter of the French Language does not fully recognize this constitutional right, for it requires that the greater part of the schooling must have been in English before it confers a right to English schooling in Quebec.

- The report of the *Task Force on English Education (1992)* recommended that the government of Quebec widen access to education in English, at least to include any child who was being educated in English or who has a parent from an English-speaking part of the world.

- Alliance Quebec's own policy calls for open access to all schools for all Canadian citizens in Quebec, notably the children of French-speaking parents. Alliance Quebec is presently asking the courts to declare such a right, based both on Quebec law and on obligations incurred under international instruments such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

3. The need to improve the availability of vocational programs in English.

The Ministry of Education has invested heavily in the development of vocational education based on projected market needs. The decision to implement a provincial education plan based on regional maps is, overall, a sound one. Serious difficulties arise, however, because the plan views the whole province as one region for the purpose of vocational programs in English.

- First, there is a great need to have vocational training in English for English-speaking students made more accessible throughout the province. Many regions in Quebec have none at all available in English (Baie Comeau, Saguenay/Lac St. Jean) and some areas don't have enough courses available even in areas such as the South Shore and Laval.
- Second, those criteria for entry into vocational education programs need to take into account work experience.
- Third, an information program in English on vocational education needs to be developed in order to give access to the courses available in English outside their region and,
- Fourth, a network of English-speaking organizations needs to be used to ensure the information's wide distribution.

4. The need to improve the availability of French second-language programs

for English-speaking Quebecers.

Newly landed immigrants can benefit from free provincial government-sponsored courses funded by the federal government in the **COFIs*[give full name]** to provide them with the French communication skills needed to function in our French society. No such free program is available to English-speaking Quebecers. Those who did not have the opportunity to develop French communication skills within the Quebec education system are left to fall through the cracks unless they have the means to pay for the needed programs. We proposeill pursue two priorities in this regard.

- One, to have the government make available free French communication skills programs to all English-speaking Quebecers.
- Two, to call on the Ministry of Education to ensure those students in English CEGEPs and universities have the opportunity to follow some of their courses in French.

5. The need to establish system-wide comprehensive initiatives designed to reduce the alarming high-school dropout rate.

A study by the Conference Board of Canada said that a single year's crop of high-school dropouts would cost Canada more than $4 billion over the working lifetime of those students. In a study commissioned by the Montreal Island School Council Foundation, researchers found that the teen-age dropout rate reaches as high as 60% in some high schools on the Island of Montreal. Keeping our young people in school must be a shared responsibility of the home, the school system, the business world and the community.

In its brief to The Estates General on Education, Alliance Quebec recommended that the government of Quebec establish an independent body of persons representing the four (4) components of the shared responsibility*[what is this about?] with a mandate to develop, in a 12-month period, a strategic plan to reduce the dropout rate in the high schools of Quebec. Alliance Quebec will seek to co-operate with the government in finding realistic means to address the dropout rate.

6. The need to establish a comprehensive strategy to address the problems of small schools in the English-speaking communities

The English-speaking community unfortunately lives a reality in education that follows its minority situation in Quebec. Off the Island of Montreal, the English school system is mainly a network of small schools isolated amongst the much larger French system and much larger French schools. Whether, in the Gaspé, or the Saguenay, the Abitibi region or in Trois-Rivières, dwindling populations and small English-speaking schools are the norm. There are needs that are particular to the experience of the English-speaking community and their efforts to educate their young people and maintain and preserve its institutions while maintaining a sense of community.

The concerns the English-speaking communities have expressed over the years are the reflections of the students, their parents and the educators in many small schools. Some of them are not exclusively the concern of isolated regions but are found in the Montreal region as well; there are small schools struggling to stay viable institutions in their communities. However, the majority of concerns principally reflect the experience of the more isolated regions, challenged by geographic location and distances that students, parents and educators must travel to go to school, to meet parents and teachers and do planning to maintain the quality of education offered.

The advent of linguistic school boards does not lessen the concern. There is great uncertainty over whether the English boards will be given adequate resources in general and for small schools in particular. The English-speaking community lists the following as its chief concerns on education in small schools:

- The English Linguistic School Boards in the outlying regions must be able to bring together the elected school commissioners and parent commissioners for monthly executive and school board meetings. Parent representatives for parent committee meetings must be given adequate special transportation budgets allocated by the MEQ, given the great distances most commissioners and parents must travel.

- The English-speaking community will be hard pressed to find individuals of quality to stand for office as school commissioners, parent commissioners, or parent representatives to parent committees, when the great geographic distances involved for many of these Boards and schools require absenteeism from work that many companies may find impossible to bear.

- The English school boards need funds to provide adequate student services in areas of great English concentration, services such as special education teachers, remedial and free-flow; school nurses, educational psychologists, child psychiatrists, audiologists, speech therapists, social workers, guidance counsellors, drug and crisis intervention educators and supervisors of students.

- French Linguistic School Boards should be required to share services and facilities with the smaller English Linguistic School Boards.

- Small schools in the English sector that are totally dependent on “bussing” because of geographic distribution of the population in the regions, will not be able to cope with another round of cost-cutting measures and still be able to offer secure transportation for our children.

- The discretionary funds allocated in the past to small schools, to enable extra teacher-student parameter monies, must continue to be given so as to allow the complete Kindergarten to Secondary V *régime pédagogique* to be offered.

- The aforementioned discretionary funds need to be allocated as in the past to allow small schools to cope with the “flipping over” of bilingual students to the French sector in search of quality education. The following chart illustrates the dilemma facing the community. Fully 17% of English-speaking students (approximately 20,000) are attending French-language schools even though they are eligible for English-language schooling. 14.3% of all students, francophones, allophone and anglophones eligible for schooling in English attend French-language schools.

Nombre et pourcentage d'élèves francophones, anglophones et allophones admissibles à l'enseignement en anglais à l'éducation préscolaire et à l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, au secteur des jeunes, ensemble du Québec et région de Montréal, de 1984-1985 à 1997-1998

ÉLÈVES ADMISSIBLES À L'ENSEIGNEMENT EN ANGLAIS QUI ÉTUDIENT EN FRANÇAIS

Année scolaire	Élèves francophones		Élèves anglophones		Élèves allophones		Total	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Ensemble du Québec								
1984-1985	4214	30,8	7538	8,1	1145	3,8	12897	9,5
1985-1986	3872	30,3	7375	8,2	1428	5,2	12675	9,8

1986-1987	3842	30,4	7510	8,5	1371	5,3	12723	10,0
1987-1988	3786	30,0	7596	8,7	1584	6,6	12966	10,5
1988-1989	3830	30,0	7604	8,9	1579	7,1	13013	10,8
1989-1990	4009	30,9	7715	9,1	1657	8,0	13381	11,3
1990-1991	4295	31,2	7817	9,3	1750	8,7	13862	11,8
1991-1992	4315	30,5	5466	6,6	1289	6,7	11070	9,5
1992-1993	4621	30,8	5433	6,6	1314	7,0	11368	9,8
1993-1994	4992	31,4	5327	6,5	1343	7,4	11662	10,0
1994-1995	4944	29,9	5311	6,4	1326	7,3	11581	9,9
1995-1996	5138	29,5	5267	6,3	1322	7,3	11727	9,9
1996-1997	5534	29,4	5349	6,5	1312	7,2	12195	10,2
1997-1998	5936	29,4	5366	6,5	1363	7,2	12665	10,5
Montréal								
1984-1985	1373	31,7	5085	9,9	900	3,6	7358	9,1
1985-1986	1327	32,9	4973	9,9	1147	5.1	7447	9,7
1986-1987	1303	33,2	5080	10,2	1131	5,3	7514	10,0
1987-1988	1243	33,3	5053	10,4	1355	6,9	7651	10,6
1988-1989	1209	33,0	4978	10,5	1320	7,2	7507	10,8
1989-1990	1264	34,5	5051	10,8	1395	8,2	7710	11,5
1990-1991	1362	35,3	5035	11,0	1467	9,0	7864	12,0
1991-1992	1227	31,5	2656	5,9	1017	6,5	4990	7,6
1992-1993	1203	29,9	2616	5,9	1024	6,7	4843	7,6
1993-1994	1365	32,7	2594	5,8	1028	7,0	4987	7,8
1994-1995	1261	30,2	2560	5,7	1026	7,1	4847	7,7
1995-1996	1337	30,7	2542	5,7	1020	7,0	4899	7,7
1996-1997	1349	30,2	2556	5,8	1007	6,9	4912	7,8
1997-1998	1463	31,3	2515	5,7	1052	7,0	5030	7,9

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, Fichiers élèves-standard

Notes: Les groupes linguistiques sont définis par la langue maternelle des élèves. Les élèves allophones sont ceux qui ont déclaré une langue maternelle autre que le français, l'anglais ou une langue amérindienne. Les élèves admis à l'enseignement en anglais en vertu de la clause de séjour temporaire sont exclus de ces statistiques. Les pourcentages sont calculés par rapport au total des élèves admissibles à l'enseignement en anglais dans chaque groupe linguistique.

Finally, video-conferencing is a solution to the geographic distance problem mentioned above, but the capital expenditures necessary for setting up such a system must be provided by a special communications budget allocated by MEQ.

OUTLOOK

In essence, the entire system of English language education in Quebec is seized by crisis. The following chart describing the enrolment levels of pre-school, primary and secondary schools of the nine (9) English linguistic school boards, clearly underscores the concerns of the English-speaking communities and their collective futures. The enrolment figures do not auger well for the future of English schools as the amount of pre-schoolers going into the system are insufficient to maintain the system as it is presently configured

The following chart illustrates the challenges concerning the prospect for future enrolment at the nine (9) English school boards in the Province of Quebec.

STUDENTS REGISTERED IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SCHOOL BOARDS 1998-1999

	Pre-school	Primary	Secondary	Total
Central Quebec	369	2,248	1,371	3,988
Eastern Shore	204	759	677	1,640
Eastern Townships	603	3,268	2,547	6,418
Riverside	896	5,504	3,930	10,330
Sir Wilfrid Laurier		1,018	5,924	4,476	11,418
Western Quebec	**746**	**4,199**	**3,340**	**8,285**
English Montreal		2,738	13,488	9,208	25,434
Lester B. Pearson		2,407	14,173	10,424	27,004
New Frontier	417	2,630	1,792	4,839
TOTAL:	**9,398**	**52,193**	**37,765**	**99,356**

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The change to linguistic school boards has not benefited the English system of schools as much as the experts had once hoped. Great distances between schools and smaller budgets for those schools that remain have obliged parents, principals and teachers to consider very serious changes in the structures of education to meet student needs. Once again the Official languages Commission reported these discrepancies in its 1998 Annual Report, when it noted the following special challenges of the English sector of the Quebec school system.

- Several English-language school board districts were so large as to be difficult to manage. For instance, the Eastern Shores School Board in the Gaspé also administers schools on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River hundreds of miles away.

- Unlike most Francophone school boards the English-language boards do not administer territories that correspond neatly to municipal or regional administrative groupings; this renders co-ordination on matters of employment, transportation, property administration and taxes more difficult for the English-language school commissioners.

- The problems experienced by the English-speaking communities of Quebec in education have clearly not been resolved merely by establishing linguistic school boards. Obviously the problems are more complex and involve outside administrative jurisdictions (i.e. federal government) as much as the Quebec Ministry of Education.

- It is time for the government to sit down with the English-speaking communities and discuss the idea of a federal-provincial agreement on school governance, such as we have seen for Francophones outside of Quebec, to ensure the English-speaking community will have control over its schools, can develop initiatives that will enhance the

community's ability to look after the system's long term survival and to bring about more equitable funding of the English-language education sector to address its specific and special needs.

We need to address situations like that of the recent case of Avonelle Titus a young Black English-speaking girl, who was kept in a "welcome class" in the French school system for 4 years. This despite clear directives in the law that no child shall be forced to stay behind in such classes for more than two years, if they are not able to progress with their peers due to language difficulty. The law requires the school officials, the school boards concerned and the Ministry of Education, to look after the best interests of the child and provide them with access to English language schooling. Avonelle Titus did not receive that consideration and has languished in the French system well behind her peers. Alliance Quebec championed her cause and she is now being provided catch-up tutoring in English and will go to an English-language school in the fall of 199.

Isolated cases and individual problems are bad enough and kids should not have to suffer under such conditions. The problem is these cases are not isolated and there are hundreds of young people in similar situations. Clearly the education system is not acting in the best interests of the child as it is duty bound to do under the Education Act. There is little incentive for French schools to provide for access to English schools, because they lose money for every student transferred. The government isn't motivated because they are so intent on their mission of forcing people (particularly those without English-language school eligibility) to speak French, that they put their political aspirations above the developmental needs of children.

This situation cannot be allowed to continue and Alliance Quebec intends to go to court on behalf of the youth and their parents who are suffering this abuse at the hands of Quebec's educational system. We have called upon the government to review all the similar cases they presently have on file and to do the right thing for these children and their families. We have asked them to publicly reveal the extent of the problem and address it forthwith. To date we have had no public acknowledgement by the government that they intend to do anything about it. Obviously, they care more about their political objectives than the future of these young people who are undereducated and ill equipped in either language to compete equitably with their peers. The future of these young people is sacrificed on the altar of politics.

C) Cultural Issues

The Quebec government take-over of the human resources training system has meant some significant changes in the system of delivering services such as job training, adult educational and career counseling. Three separate segments of the public service have been amalgamated into one entity, Emploi Québec, to deliver those services. Federal employees, along with $500 million a year, were transferred to provincial jurisdiction.

The new entity, created in mid 1988, encountered technical hurdles of immense proportions. The key information processing software used previously was not compatible with the system that has been designed for providing services now. As a result, an entirely new system is being developed, with the attendant delays, snafus and headaches associated with any such initiative.

As part of the study in the Alliance Quebec territory, a focus group was held for one sector of HRD users who have a vested interest in seeing the new system succeed.

The operators of small drama companies across Quebec provide case studies in financial brinkmanship. Each creates a theatrical production with very little money or institutional security. They own no buildings, have no grants or well-established benefactors, no grants from foundations to ensure financial security. They succeed only to the extent of being able to set up the staging of a drama or performance with seven weeks of lead time and five or ten shows. Two weeks after that, the artists and the crafts experts perform the same high-wire act again. No success ensures the next show can go on: no amount of critical acclaim will provide one extra costume a month later.

Because of their near-destitute status, the theatre producers use the resources of the human resources development system on a daily basis. They look to HRD to provide off-stage workers whose talents and capacity for work can mean the difference between continuing operations or closing down.

In a discussion with Alliance Quebec in February 1999, producers from eight theatrical companies provided insight on their concerns about the system that is being created to serve human resource needs. Their concerns are not specific to the English-speaking community although they are producing English plays in Montreal. What is significant about the group that met is their familiarity with the system that existed and their desire to help governments design a system that meets their needs. Here is a point by point description of their concerns:

Dialogue in focus group session:

- No firm criteria exist for hiring programs at Emploi Québec. The level of the competence of the workforce, an essential ingredient for us, is not even considered when criteria for candidates' applications are considered.

- Since August 1998, agents who have handled theatre concerns have not been able to offer specific terms of agreements for hiring people on a part-time basis. The people they offer are not competent for the work in some cases. Other times, government conditions demand that a part time worker automatically become full time after a certain internship period. In some cases, the officials threaten to cut funds for those companies who don't keep permanent employees. This is unrealistic.

- Computer system integration has reduced the efficacy of the information system. In-depth information on the Internet has been replaced by superficial text, which does not explain what to do; whom to write and what are the limits of a program. Also, such material is available almost uniformly only in French.

- According to these terms, we would have to be profit-making enterprises to hire anyone through the Emploi Québec system. We are defined as non-profit and, in many cases, operate companies where profit was secondary to artistic effort. We see unnecessary emphasis on profitability.

- An employment program with a six-month duration is best for us. We put people to work temporarily and offer them the chance to learn skills but we don't take permanent responsibility for their employment.

- The new programs allow no choice of who works. The government establishes who can be given grants. Often, these are hard-core welfare cases, some of whom have limited life skills, let alone work capacity.

- Work programs should be as they were under the old article 58 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, and should provide the following:

    1. At least one-year duration to allow predictability.
    2. Define work as internships
    3. Scheduled so that, eventually, the money paid for support of the workers would become an annual allocation. The money we receive now is terminal: after six weeks or six months it dries up. We need money that is certain and continuous once we are accepted recipients.
    4. An assured payment schedule mean our bills could be regularly paid.
    5. The positions which theatre groups would wish to see funded are:

- General administration -- including the office management and accounts.
- PR which includes advertising, promotion and sponsorship search. (see more on that below)

Some New Problems

- Under older programs those companies which qualified for funding could put their directors or producers as program recipients, whether UIC or welfare. The new system does not allow those highly-motivated and qualified people to be accepted as recipients; only the least-able are eligible.
- There has been a philosophical change since HRDC gave over the programs to Quebec. One participant said: "I feel like I've hit a brick wall. We are now used as a school, even a sheltered workplace. We know what we need and most often we know whom we could use but rarely can we get these people. We need people knowledgeable about a theatre environment and skilled in the business side."
- In part, because of lower unemployment, fewer bright people need work.
- Some called it cluster management and those who have experienced it don't think it would work. There are great differences in approach, in audience, in culture for each company.
- One large problem is that public relations are now a specialized area -- with technology actually making the job harder than it used to be.

There was a follow-up to this focus group session. A meeting was arranged through the auspices of Alliance Quebec with officials of the Emploi Québec provincial co-operation system. The meeting produced no workable solutions, no undertakings for improvement and no opportunity to continue a dialogue on this important issue. At most, Emploi Québec was prepared to give out the list of centres where local services for placement are being offered, together with the names of the administrators of each region. The theatrical people were greatly disappointed in the lack of opportunity for real change.

CONCLUSION

By William Johnson
President
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Alliance Quebec conducted a qualitative study in 1999 of the development needs of the English-speaking communities encompassed by the 11 territorial chapters of Alliance Quebec. These territories include all of the Greater Montreal metropolitan region, which contains a constantly increasing proportion of all English-speaking Quebecers, as most areas outside of Greater Montreal increasingly lose part of their population to Montreal, to other provinces and foreign lands. Greater Montreal currently shelters about 78 per cent of English-speaking Quebecers.

Also included are the territories where Alliance Quebec has chapters in the rest of the province: the Upper Laurentians and Lower Laurentians, Abitibi East and Abitibi West, the Saguenay and Lake St. John region, and the Mauricie-Bois-Francs region. These territories include about 40 per cent of all the English-speaking Quebecers who live outside the Greater

Montreal region. In sum, the territories covered by the 11 chapters include about 85 per cent of all English-speaking Quebecers.

This study was carried out in accordance with a Memorandum of Agreement signed in May, 1998, between the federal Department of Human Resources Development and the regional associations recognized by the Department of Canadian Heritage to defend and promote the English-speaking communities of Quebec.

The following *summary has three sections. The first sets the general legal and political context that strongly affects all English-speaking communities and impacts negatively on their human development, that is, the Charter of the French Language, and the chronic threat of secession.

The second section expands on the social and political context that affects all Quebec's English-speaking communities, namely the commonly shared perception in Quebec's French-speaking community that *les Anglais* inflicted historic humiliations on French Quebec and today threaten Quebec's French culture. Two proposals are made to counter and dissipate these negative stereotypes, namely a royal commission of enquiry on the minority language communities, and Estates-General of English-speaking Quebec.

The third section, then, looks at some specific problems and needs experienced at the local level by the different communities.

PART 1: THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The English linguistic minority is an ethnically and racially diverse group, of all ages, that lives in the whole range of living environments found in Quebec: a large metropolitan area, small towns, rural enclaves, fishing villages, mining towns and communities in remote regions economically depend on the forestry industry. Alliance Quebec's chapters encompass almost the full range of this diversity.

Addressing the development needs of the English-speaking minority requires a variety of interventions at all three levels of political organization – federal, provincial and municipal – as well as the efforts locally of people at the grass roots. Many of the needs identified in this Needs Assessment report reflect important regional differences in the conditions under which the English-speaking minority lives and works.

The greatest difference, of course, is that between all the rest of the province on the one hand, and the Greater Montreal Metropolitan area, where English-speaking people are numbered in the hundreds of thousands and where most of the major institutional structures are located. In the Montreal region are found bilingual municipalities with an English-speaking population in the majority, two of the province's three English language universities, several radio stations broadcasting in English, the sole large metropolitan English daily, *The Gazette* (the much smaller *Record*, based in Sherbrooke, offers a regional alternative); the studios for English-language television and film production, the large bilingual hospitals, many national head offices and smaller companies with a majority English-speaking work force.

Outside the Greater Montreal region, with few exceptions, the English-speaking population is in sharp decline. The institutional power once exercised in English by textile companies, mining companies, pulp and paper companies and other dominant enterprises with head offices outside Quebec has waned with the ascendance of the provincial government that characterized the Quiet Revolution and the *modèle québécois.* The power centers and the industrial profiles in what were once single enterprise communities have diversified. Moreover, the management in large companies, once almost

exclusively English-speaking, has been replaced by French-speaking management. The language of work is now French. English-speaking Quebecers now have to adapt to an environment that is overwhelmingly French outside the home.

Because the institutional completeness of English Montreal is so much greater, while life outside of Montreal is in most cases one where English-language institutions are residual or non-existent except for ever smaller English schools, there has developed a polarization in the province characterized by resentment of Montreal by many residents living elsewhere, and lack of awareness on the part of Montrealers of the rest of the province.

Because of all these differences, the solutions to many local problems can be found only at the local and regional level, and it is on these local and regional needs that the Needs Assessment Study was focused. It is also on the local and regional levels that follow-up actions to meet the identified needs will be concentrated. It is not that the local problems are more important than the province-wide problems. It is just that the local problems are probably more amenable to change and to solutions than are the province-wide problems. And, in any case, this study undertaken jointly with the federal department of human resources was conceived to lead to local economic and social development projects, not for political action. The analysis of the needs, however, does not exclude situating those needs in their total context, where many of the problems are political in origin.

The English-speaking communities of Quebec share a common fate in this fin de siècle: that is their state of insecurity. Though their living conditions vary vastly from region to region, all are ruled by a language law – the Charter of the French Language – that is deliberately aimed at removing English as an official and a common language of Quebec. « *Il ne sera plus question d'un Québec bilingue*, » stated the white paper on the French Language, published on April 1, 1977, which announced the language legislation to follow.

That legislation has been applied with increasing rigor, especially since the Parti Québécois returned to power in 1994, and there seems to be no relenting in prospect. In 1999, the Quebec government launched a campaign of francization for firms with between 10 and 50 employees – these smaller firms were exempted under Bill 101 as it was passed in 1977. It prepared to pressure franchises to francize their trade names. Over the past three years, as well, the government has been applying a policy of restricting the use of English in the Quebec public service and even in such bodies which deal closely with the public as the *Commission de la Santé et de la Sécurité au Travail*.

The legally enforced restrictions on English are accompanied by what very many English-speaking Quebecers see as a systematic job discrimination in favour of those who speak French as a mother tongue. When one considers the very small proportion of English-speaking Quebecers serving in the Quebec public service (about three-quarters of one percent), in the Quebec crown corporations, in the federal public service within Quebec, in the municipalities, it is hard to find a credible explanation other than some form of discrimination. Even in the private sector, anecdotal evidence suggests, employers with head offices in Toronto find it safer to hire francophone managers for their Quebec operations. Favoritism on one side, fear of offending nationalists on the other, seems to work to limit job opportunities for English-speaking Quebecers.

Such is the general perception. A large-scale study is required to establish credibly and definitively why English-speaking Quebecers are so under-represented in the work force, especially in government service and crown corporations. Such a study was recommended for Quebec's public service by the *Commission des Droits de la Personne* in its 1999 report.

In addition to the insecurity over language, our communities share an insecurity about their country's future. All Canadians would be sorely affected by the secession of Quebec, but English-speaking Quebecers would be faced with an especially cruel dilemma : whether to surrender Canada, their « home and native land, » or to abandon Quebec where they have their roots. Meanwhile, whatever the outcome of the secessionist movement, the ever-present threat of secession, especially since the closely run 1995 referendum, casts a shadow over the future. It affects career plans: young people wonder

whether they have a secure future in Quebec, given the combination of the threat of secession and the perceived discrimination against those who are not francophones. Many of the young, among the most educated and the most bilingual, choose to leave Quebec. The sword of Damocles even affects such decisions as whether to invest in a business or to own a house.

For these reasons, English-speaking Quebecers have a special concern that the issue of secession be laid to rest. It can be, if the Aug. 29, 1998, Supreme Court of Canada's answer to the reference on unilateral secession is fully supported by the federal government and by federalists in Quebec. The secessionist movement has thrived on myths, misinformation and wishful thinking. For decades, Quebecers were misled about the legality of secession and its attendant dangers. Secessionists were successful in presenting unilateral secession as a right, and in suggesting that a seceding Quebec could beyond question keep its present territory and all the advantages it presently enjoys in Canada without significant drawbacks.

The Supreme Court has laid down in the abstract the guidelines which must be followed for secession to be legitimate. The federal government must now give concrete reality to those guidelines by making clear its firm intentions with respect to recognizing a « clear question, » a « clear answer, » the acceptable democratic rules for conducting a referendum campaign on secession, and the rules for negotiating an acceptable agreement on the terms of secession, as a prelude to amending Canada's constitution to allow a new geographical entity to become an independent state.

As part of outlining its policy on secession, the federal government owes it to all Quebecers who are attached to Canada, notably English-speaking Quebecers, to make absolutely clear that it would negotiate the boundaries of the secessionist ex-Quebec so as to preserve the rights of the Crees, the Montagnais, the Inuit and other aboriginal populations to remain within Canada along with their lands, which are held in trust by the federal government. A similar guarantee must be extended to those non-native populations, sufficiently concentrated geographically in a continuous stretch contiguous to native lands and/or provincial and international boundaries.

Such a clear and firm declaration of intentions is owed to all Canadian citizens, but particularly to those who live in Quebec and who will be called on to vote in a referendum. There must be no ambiguity as to what the vote will mean, if ever another referendum is held on secession. Such a clear statement would probably end the realistic threat of secession. It would lift a great burden of insecurity over all Quebec federalists, and especially English-speaking Quebecers. It would help staunch the exodus of young people and older people – people of all ages. It would encourage all Quebecers to search for a permanent solution to the terms of coexistence of different language groups within Quebec. It could help lift the oppressive strictures against English contained in the Charter of the French Language, which was elaborated by a separatist government in the perspective of Quebec's eventual separation, rather than in the assumption of a long-term partnership on the basis of two official languages within Canada.

PART 2: A SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEM: THE IMAGE OF THE ANGLO

English-speaking Quebecers carry the weight of history. Though only a small proportion are of British origin, they know that they are often portrayed – by a Pierre Falardeau, a Josée Legault or a Gaston Miron, for example – as the heirs of the

victors of the Plain of Abraham. A substantial segment of Quebec's intelligentsia depicts them as colonizers or the heirs of the colonizers.

A second burden of history that they carry is the fact that the industrial revolution was brought to Canada, and Quebec in particular, by English-speaking people from Scotland, England, the United States and Ireland. Until 1945 or even, in part, until 1960, the dominant ideology in French Quebec was anti-industrial, anti-urban, anti-capitalist. The institutions operating in English produced more education, more social mobility and more wealth than the institutions operating in French. The flagrant inequalities that resulted – and the lower prestige of the French language – have left a legacy of resentment towards English in much of Quebec's French-speaking population.

This resentment rarely takes the form of personal antagonism towards English-speaking people. On the contrary, what is notable in Quebec is the juxtaposition of personal cordiality between the two major language groups along with a pervasive and legally sanctioned bias against the English language and English institutions. Few English institutions have survived the Charter of the French Language. Most have been transformed into bilingual institutions, and the prospect for the future is that bilingual institutions are threatened in the long run with losing their right to a bilingual status if the proportion of their English clientele falls below 50 per cent.

The mediating myth which allows this coexistence of personal cordiality with official repression is the postulate that the French language is « vulnerable, » « threatened, » condemned to « disappear » unless stringent action is taken to restrict English and affirm French as the only official language and « langue commune » of Quebec. We saw in the historical introduction that 78 per cent of Montrealers polled for the Gendron Commission believed that a majority of French-speaking Quebecers were compelled to work in English. The Gendron Commission's own research proved exactly the opposite : that French-speaking Montrealers worked overwhelmingly in French, and francophones in the rest of the province even more so. But this careful research was travestied by the 1977 white paper on the French language to reaffirm all the old provocative myths. These presumably justified repudiating the past, disestablishing English as an official language of Quebec and imposing a great range of restrictions in almost all areas of life, including banishing English from commercial signs, in whole or in part, from businesses with more than four employees. In October, 1998, Premier Lucien Bouchard used intimidation and public pressure to prevent major store owners in Montreal – Eaton, The Bay, Wal-Mart – from putting English on commercial signs within the terms of the law.

In a documentary of the late 1980s, *Disparaître…?* which was broadcast in prime time by Radio-Canada television, it was asserted that, beyond the year 2000, French would no longer be spoken in Quebec except as folklore. The supposed expert Gary Caldwell envisaged a catastrophe in which one-third of all French-speaking Quebecers would be driven out (but not English-speaking Quebecers!), leaving French in a minority position. Poet Gilles Vigneault maintained for the cameras that French in Quebec would be like French in Louisianna after the year 2000.

Given these pervasive myths (one is tempted to call them tribal myths), English-speaking Quebecers have little to hope for from the two major political parties. This was the main argument of Reed Scowen's 1991 book, *A Different Vision*. The author, who had spent nine years as a Liberal member of the National Assembly and a minister, argued that the Quebec Liberal Party could no longer pursue an « English agenda » because to grant rights to the Anglos would lose the party votes among soft nationalists. Given the electoral equilibrium, the party had to compete with the Parti Québécois for the soft nationalist vote, which indicated a *virage* towards increasing nationalism. This, Scowen said, was the conclusion reached by both Claude Ryan and Robert Bourassa after the Liberal defeat of 1981.

More recently, before the 1998 Quebec elections, Jean Charest declared there was now a consensus on language. He offered no significant relief to the English-speaking community. He also declared, during the televised debate of the three leaders during the election campaign that Quebec alone had the right to decide its future – thus implicitly repudiating the careful judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada on the question of unilateral secession.

In consequence, any realistic and effective approach to meet the human development needs of English-speaking Quebecers must act simultaneously on several dimensions. It is not enough to consider statically the needs of each individual community in isolation. Despite all the local variations, and especially the vast differences between life in the Greater Montreal region and in most other parts of the province, there are common denominators to be addressed, as well as local particularities.

In the first place, all English-speaking Quebecers are affected negatively by the myths of the Anglos as conquerors and the French language as threatened with disappearance because of English. These myths have been the cover to justify policies of French predominance and the repression of English. They must be countered if Quebec is to achieve a true reconciliation of its French- and English-speaking fellow citizens. But to overcome these myths would require an immense effort of scholarship and communications.

Two possible approaches come to mind : a Royal Commission on the Official Language Minority Communities, and/or an Estates-General of English-speaking Quebec.

A ROYAL COMMISSION FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM

The advantage of a Royal Commission is that it would be country-wide. It would have almost unlimited means. It would be a follow-up to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, appointed in 1963. It could survey all the progress – and shortfalls – made in the past 35 years and trace a path for future progress in the next millennium. This could be Canada's most important millennium project.

The studies which informed and guided the recommendations of the Bi and Bi Commission were largely based on data from before the Quiet Revolution, notably the census of Canada conducted in 1961. It described a Quebec which has largely disappeared: one in which English-speaking Quebecers earned considerably more than French-speaking Quebecers, in which economic power was concentrated in foreign or Canadian-owned firms operating in English. In 1961, only the French-speaking official language minorities seemed in dire need. So many important government and court decisions – for instance, the Supreme Court of Canada judgment in the Ford case on language of signs – were and are still based on this very old and obsolete information. We need a new exploration to base future judgments and future decisions on the real Canada of today.

Only such a royal commission could mobilize the resources and command the attention to study, for instance, the anti-English and anti-Canadian bias in the history texts that are taught in the schools and which are further expressed in the annual provincial exams for the course on Histoire du Québec et du Canada. The Bi and Bi Commission had precisely such a study of the history books used in schools in the 1960s,, and it was most effective. An update is needed.

The commission could examine and dramatize all the contributions made by the Government of Canada and other provinces to French culture, especially in Quebec, through such instruments as the National Film Board, the Canada Council for the Arts, Radio-Canada, Telefilm-Canada, the National Museums. Because English-speaking Quebecers identify with Canada and are identified with Canada, their image in Quebec tends to be affected by the common image held of Canada. It is important for Quebecers to know, for example, that they have received a net benefit from Canada of some $168-billion from 1960-61 to 1990-91, according to a study by two economists of the University of Calgary. Quebecers believe the opposite, as polls have shown : that Canada milks Quebec's taxes but gives back less in return. Authoritative studies are needed to overcome misinformation.

Such a royal commission could bring out the linkage between the fate of English-speakers in Quebec and French-speakers in the rest of Canada. It becomes more difficult to gain political support for promoting French outside Quebec, or for making Ontario officially bilingual, if it is widely thought that English is being repressed in Quebec. Quebecers can become more generous in their acceptance of English if they see such generosity rewarded in the promotion of French, both in Quebec and in the rest of Canada. And, of course, if they come to see that their language and culture is secure within Canada, they will be more ready to relax the controls limiting English in Quebec.

ESTATES GENERAL OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBEC

Estates-General of English Quebec could also focus attention on some of these issues, such as the demographic composition of English-speaking Quebecers (not an ethnic group with past sins to account for, but purely a community of language constantly created and recreated, with the British component in constant decline). The image and the reality of English Quebec needs to be projected strongly to counter the myth of the Anglo as conqueror, oppressor and threat to the French language.

But such Estates-General would be most effective if they were held as part of a submission to the Royal Commission. That way, the Estates-General would be taken most seriously, be ensured of careful and credible work, and its work could be complementary to the entire work of the Royal Commission, leading to an integrated, coherent national whole, with maximum impact on public perceptions, especially in Quebec.

In recent years, the federal government has been constantly on the defensive in response to Quebec nationalism. One way of regaining the offensive and taking up again strongly the task of nation-building would be to appoint such a royal commission on the minority official language communities.

Part 3: REVIVING THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

This study has shown repeatedly that the English language, and awareness of the major contribution of English-speaking people to the economic development of the several communities, has been practically erased in so many parts of the province, notably in Rouyn-Noranda, in Val d'Or, in the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region, in the Mauricie and the Lower Laurentians.

There is a great need, in consequence, to write the history of English-speaking Quebec, to rediscover and publicize the heritage which is forgotten, lost or ignored. It is important that there be a province-wide survey of the contributions of English-speaking Quebecers. But, equally important, there must be heritage testimonies researched and published for each of our major communities.

At a meeting in Val d'Or called to reflect on these issues, municipal councilor Yvon Belisle commented : « You have no identity. » He meant that the English-speaking presence was not felt in the community, unlike the strong presence of the natives expressed through Val d'Or's Native Friendship Center and Cree institutions.

English-speaking Quebecer need to affirm their identity locally as well as provincially. They can do this by asking to meet periodically with their local municipal council to discuss common concerns – the natives already do this in Val d'Or. They need to make their own community aware of their presence, their contributions, and their needs and aspirations. One way of doing so is to produce an historical compendium of the English heritage in that community. Presenting it formally to the local library, schools, tourist bureau, municipal council can publicize it. A day could be fixed for an annual celebration of English heritage in the community – the mayor and council might take part. Proposals could be made to put up historical plaques in French and English commemorating major events which established the community, and in which English-speaking people played a leading role. This could be proposed, in addition, as a contribution to the tourist attractions of the community.

It is at the level of smaller local communities that recognition of English can most easily be gained, if the right approach is taken in the spirit of community solidarity and neighborliness. It is important that English regain « visibility » in the community, in order to re-establish that English is a legitimate dimension of Quebec's identity rather than an alien and threatening presence. This can best be done at the local level where people know and trust each other.

A window of opportunity now presents itself : in much of mainland Quebec, the local job market has been devastated by the drop in the price of commodities, notably gold, by the crisis in the fisheries, and by the closing of local industries which have become non-competitive. People, there, are desperate for solutions. If English-speaking Quebecers can demonstrate that they are partners in finding solutions for economic development, their local community will be more ready to accept a *quid pro quo* : a much greater recognition of English.

The tourist industry is one obvious mode of bringing in jobs and dollars. Our chapters of Alliance Quebec, working in partnerships with other local interests and with the backing of AQ's provincial leadership, must discover new ways to enhance the local and regional tourist attractions, to publicize and market them, and to bring in a new and larger clientele. AQ must find ways to bring together the great numbers in the Montreal region (especially of English-speaking people, who are more accessible to AQ's influence), with the tourist attractions that each of our mainland regions offer, to the benefit of both.

The promotion of tourism on the local, regional and provincial levels, offers a clear opportunity simultaneously to stimulate economic development and to promote the public use of the English language, to increase the number of jobs requiring command of English as well as French (for instance, for guides), and to establish working relationships where English-speaking people, as such, contribute to the common good. Most of the effective work on tourism in Quebec has brought in French-speaking tourists, whether from France, Belgium, Switzerland or Quebec. But the English-speaking market of Quebec, Ontario, the United States, has been inadequately addressed. This offers a challenge for the English-speaking communities to mediate an appeal to English-speaking tourists.

Such an approach could begin by arranging for tourist packages to be publicized among the different chapters of Alliance Quebec.

In the same line of thinking, it is a fact that most native communities in Quebec speak English, and that natives have a powerful potential for attracting tourists. It should be a priority for our communities to seek alliances with native communities to promote together cultural tourism – tourism which explores not only the mining and pulp and paper and aluminum and electrical power history of Quebec, but also the traditional mode of life of native communities. Such partnerships could benefit the local economies generally, but particularly English-speaking and native people.

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A recurrent theme, heard repeatedly in many communities, was that of the need for more and better language training. Youths claimed that the school system did not provide them with a quality of French adequate to obtain and hold down most desirable jobs. Mature people seeking employment, especially outside of Montreal, complained that jobs where a possession of English once was sufficient were disappearing, replaced by jobs which required a possession of French. Older people, who had come to mainland communities when big companies from Ontario or the United States had implanted an industrial structure and operated in English, lamented that most English-speaking people had now left, replaced by francophones, and that they felt isolated.

Immigrants can obtain free French lessons in a COFI. This is not available to long-established citizens. The French taught in adult education programs is typically academic, not adapted to the daily needs of those who are past school age.

Training in the official languages, except for immigrants, is defined as the responsibility of the school boards. Sometimes it is possible to obtain French training as part of Emploi-Québec's programs for preparing people for the work force. But clearly, there is no generally available solution to a general problem : the need of English-speaking people to acquire rapidly and at low cost a proficiency in French.

The federal government has recognized a national responsibility to invest in the two official languages. But this has taken almost exclusively the form of contribution money on the basis of a formula for French instruction as a first or second language in nine provinces and three territories, and English instruction in Quebec. The instruction is delivered through the public school systems.

But there is clearly a need for a much more flexible system of language instruction for English-speaking adults (and others) to learn French – French at different levels and different forms. Some need to acquire the comfort of conversational French so they can speak to their neighbors. Others need to learn how to write a job application in correct French. Others need work on their accent in speaking French. Others still need remedial courses in French grammar, written and spoken.

It is a matter of national interest for the federal government to ensure that such language training in French is commonly available to Quebec's English-speaking community. Such training would respond to the federal government's responsibility to see that people are prepared for the work force. Just as literacy is a prerequisite for most jobs, so is practical French for English-speaking Quebecers. It would also respond to a nation-building responsibility of the federal government, in answer to some distortions brought on by Quebec's Quiet Revolution. Such training could help stem the exodus of the non-French which is a problem with national consequences : it weakens Quebec's attachment to Canada.

There is no single obvious vehicle for delivering practical French instruction, especially now that the federal government has so transferred to Emploi-Québec its responsibility for retraining for the labor force. But, with federal will and federal funds, a solution could be found – perhaps varying from community to community.

The national dimension of language training does not only apply to the two official languages. The federal government has constitutional responsibility for aboriginals, and hence for their ability to acquire a working ability in French and English in Quebec. There is, surely, an accompanying responsibility for fostering native languages, especially where they are still widely spoken across the country, as is Cree and Inuktitut. There is a need to make these languages available, not only to

aboriginals, but also to others who have a professional or academic interest in acquiring the ability to work in the native language. The James Bay Agreement in Quebec, the founding of the new territory of Nunavut, mean that there is a national interest in enhancing the capacity for learning, translating, interpreting at least two native languages, and linking them to French and English as well as each other.

One specific project to meet these needs would be to create a federally sponsored language center in northern Quebec. It could bring together experts in the four languages to dispense training in French, English, Cree and Inuktitut. Perhaps other languages, such as Algonquian, could be added. The center, beginning with language training, could in time develop into an institute for aboriginal studies, dealing in aboriginal histories and cultures as well as language. English-speaking Quebecers could be partners in the development of such a center.

Like the English language, English schools are a major concern. Nearly half – 40% - of all English schools in Quebec have fewer than 200 students. The small schools are found especially outside the Greater Montreal region. In some of these schools – one in Chibougamau is an example – a majority of the students are actually francophone. Other English schools could not continue in existence without regular infusions of francophone students.

The declining number of children whose mother tongue is English, and the restrictions on attending English school that bar all except those who have a hereditary certificate of eligibility, produce a circular effect. There are fewer schools, the small schools have fewer facilities or options offered, in a great number of schools the teachers have to teach at several grade levels. In addition, there are few post-secondary institutions that offer courses in English. And so youths leave their home communities right after secondary school or even earlier, to study elsewhere, usually never to return. So goes the cycle of decline, as families often follow their children out of the community.

The inferior conditions offered in English schools – often including busing long distances for small children – induce many English-speaking parents to send their children to French school. But the English school is prevented by law from receiving a corresponding number of French-speaking or immigrant children.

The solution is for the widest possible opening of English schools to all children. Freedom for parents to choose the official language of instruction of their children coincides with the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child and with UNESCO's Recommendations Against Discrimination in Education. However, in recent years, the PQ government has tightened restrictions on access to English school and lengthened the process of appeal which must be endured by those who are persistent in their claim. There seems little inclination in either major provincial political party to liberalize access to English school.

And yet, opinion polls suggest that parents would prefer to have the right to send their children to English schools. A report published in The Gazette in August, 1999, indicated that parents of francophone children with eligibility certificates for English schools actually chose to send their children to English school in seven out of ten cases.

Strategically, it would seem logical for the English-speaking communities to press for the right of all Canadian citizens to choose English schools for their children. This would likely gain the support of many French-speaking Quebecers. Their support is necessary if the law is to be changed. Unfortunately, the nine English-language school boards hesitate to endorse such a demand.

Meanwhile, it is urgent to use all the avenues available under the law to ensure that children, currently eligible for English school, are informed of their right and encouraged to exercise it. Alliance Quebec launched a campaign in 1999 to identify

English-speaking children who have fallen two or more years behind in French school : they are entitled to be evaluated by a psychologist and transferred to English school, but most parents were not informed of this right.

A second 1999 campaign succeeded in getting the Quebec government to back down on its previous refusal to allow into English school the children of those who studied « illegally » in English in the 1970s and 1980s, following the passage of Bill 22 (1974) and Bill 101 (1977). Those who were amnestied in 1986 now have a recognized right to send their children to English school.

The Charter of the French Language is narrower and more restrictive in its language defining those eligible for English schooling than is the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Alliance Quebec is presently attempting to challenge in court the exclusion of those who should be admitted under the Canadian Charter. It is hoped that the Commissioner of Official Languages will intervene in these cases.

Ultimately, the English-speaking community must test in the Canadian courts, all the way to the Supreme Court and to the United Nations if necessary, the present system of segregated schooling which restricts access to English school to those who have a hereditary certificate of eligibility. It is an important obligation, both for the enhancement of the English-speaking communities, and for the rule of law and justice in Quebec society.

The Greater Montreal Metropolitan Area is where, in 1996, some three-quarters of all English-speaking Quebecers lived. It is a multilingual, multi-racial, cosmopolitan area. And yet, the Quebec government persists in treating the Montreal region as though it were, somehow, merely a larger equivalent of Trois-Pistoles.

According to the 1996 census, the Island of Montreal contained a total population of 1,749,503, of whom 55.1% (by mother tongue) were francophone, 25.3% were anglophone and 22.9% were allophone. The francophone proportion had diminished from 60% in 1981, the anglophone from 27.0%, while allophones had increased from 13.1%. It was projected that, within a decade or two, the Mother Tongue French proportion would have fallen below 50%.

And yet, the Quebec government refuses to recognize that there are two common languages spoken across the length and breadth of Montreal Island : French and English. It allows only the 14 municipalities which have a majority non-French population to post bilingual municipal signs. It enforces the same *francization* requirements for the workforce as in heartland Quebec. It recognizes a right for institutions to operate bilingually only if they have at least 50 per cent of their clientele who are non-francophones.

It is in the interest of all Quebecers that Montreal be recognized as the special case it is and be given a special status with a more liberal language regime, such as that of bilingual Brussels within Belgium. In Finland, municipalities with an 8 per cent Swedish minority are allowed to operate bilingually. The current language regime in Montreal is irrational, a violation of historic language rights, and it hinders economic development, discourages investment, giving Montreal the record for the proportion of the poor in its territory, of all major cities north of Mexico.

One perverse effect of the straitjacket language law is that small municipalities with bilingual status refuse to amalgamate with neighboring municipalities for fear of losing their bilingual status. A more liberal language regime would make it possible to judge amalgamations on their merit, rather than on the loss of language rights. Meantime, non-French suburban

Montrealers largely live in dread of amalgamations that would be enforced by the Quebec government against the will of the population.

This needs assessment study does not claim to be exhaustive. It needs to be supplemented by sectoral studies dealing with the situation, prospects, problems and solutions for such institutional foundations of the English-speaking community as English colleges and universities, English publications, English community newspapers, English adult education, English theatre, English film-making, English performing arts, English religious institutions, English farming.

Such evaluations could, perhaps, be best carried out by each sector in the context of preparing for the Estates-General of English-Speaking Quebec. The several studies could be gathered together in the form o a book – a compendium and family portrait of the community.

This study will be followed by the adoption of several projects for economic and human development in our several communities. But if any fundamental change is to be brought about, it will require more than remedial action to deal with disparate problems encountered here and there across the province. Action at all levels of the society is required. At the root of most problems is a law – the Charter of the French Language – which, in effect, rejects the full legitimacy of the English language in Quebec's institutional life and strives to marginalize it so that French alone can emerge as the single common language.

To bring about the full development of the English-speaking communities will require English-speaking Quebecers to raise their consciousness, develop their convictions, form a consensus on strategic objectives and then convince their French-speaking fellow citizens of the rightness of their cause. In many respects, it is time to revise « le modèle Québécois, » which uses the power of the provincial government to promote French by restricting English

For too long, English-speaking Quebecers have been confused, divided, irresolute and defensive. Now is the time for English Quebec to regain its confidence and to act. It has nothing to lose but its infirmities.