

Global Development Planning for the English-Language Minority Communities of Quebec

DISCUSSION PAPER
February 2002

*Prepared for the Global Development Plan Working Group
For discussion purposes*

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The following discussion paper is a resource document created for the Global Development Plan (GDP) Working Group, which is based on highlights of various readings. The intention of this document is to generate discussion concerning the Quebec English-speaking community in terms of: How has the community evolved? Where are we now? Who are we?

A series of excerpts from various publications pertaining to the Quebec English-speaking community are presented in a separate electronic document.

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Estimating the size of the English-speaking population:

Pre- 1871	Census held intermittently/inconsistent data
1871-1921 censuses:	Ethnic origin classification used. Prior to 20 th century, vast majority of non-French population was British origin – 90% in 1901. Relatively few of the ethnic groups arriving in the first decades of the 20 th century had adopted English as mother tongue by 1931. (<u>The Forgotten Quebecers</u>)
1931 census:	Mother tongue classification introduced: First language learned at home in childhood and still understood at the time of the census.
1971 census:	Home language classification introduced: This includes the population who came to adopt English as a primary language of communication in the home, but who did not have English as a mother tongue.
Current practice:	First official language spoken (FOLS)*

*FOLS takes into account first the knowledge of the two official languages, second the mother tongue and third the home language. People who can conduct a conversation in French only are assigned French as their first official language spoken. People who can carry on a conversation in English only are assigned English as their first official language spoken. The responses to mother tongue and home language are subsequently used to establish the first official language spoken by people who speak both French and English, or who cannot speak either of the two official languages. The population is thus divided into two principal categories of French or English. Two residual categories are added for people who cannot be classified: English and French and neither English nor French.

A more accurate estimate of the English-speaking population is calculated based on the FOLS-Eng plus 50% of the FOLS-Eng & French multiple response.

Discussion paper (continued)

Pre-Confederation to 1996

Year	Criterion	English Speakers	
		% of Quebec Population (Numbers)	
1851	non-French origin	25	(220,733)
1861	non-French origin	24	(263,344)
1871	British origin	20	(243,041)
1881	British origin	19	(260,538)
1891	n/a	n/a	
1901	British origin	18	(289,680)
1911	British origin	16	(318,799)
1921	British origin	15	(356,943)
1931	English mother tongue	15	(429,613)
1941	English mother tongue	14	(468,996)
1951	English mother tongue	14	(558,256)
1961	English mother tongue	13	(697,402)
1971	English mother tongue	12	(789,175)
1981	English mother tongue	11	(706,115)
1991*	FOLS-Eng	12.2	(831,910)
1996*	FOLS-Eng	11.9	(842,060)

* English mother tongue includes 50% of the multiple response (English & French) and was reported as 666,923 in 1991 and 621,862 in 1996.

Source: The Forgotten Quebecers (Ronald Rudin), Quebec Demographic Study 1996 (Jan Warnke), Canadian Linguistic Facts & Figures (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages), Community Besieged (Garth Stevenson)

- **Growth:** In the 100 years leading up to Confederation, the English-speaking population grew from a negligible population to nearly a quarter million.
- **Share declines after 1851:** The English-speaking population continually grew as a percentage of the total Quebec population to a peak of 25% in 1851, thereafter declining.

Discussion paper (continued)

- **Diverse community:** In 1867 the English-speaking population was overwhelming British origin, yet the population was diverse in terms of:
 - Ethnic streams (Irish 60%, English 29%, Scottish 11%)
 - Religion (Catholic, various Protestant denominations)
 - Regions (dispersed across the province with the single largest concentration in the Eastern Townships)
 - Income & class identities* (international trade, majority involved in farming, fishing or simply survival)

* By the 1980's, the census shows that income disparities between French and English linguistic populations are caused almost entirely by a small number of people at the very top of the economic ladder. Below this elite, there is essentially no difference between the French and English wage earners (Forgotten Quebecers).

- **Decline of the English mother tongue population, however...** There was a steady increase in the number of persons in Quebec with English as a mother tongue until 1976. Between 1976 and 1996, this population declined from 797,000 to 622,000. However, in 1976 closer to 1 million used English as a *main language of communication* reflecting new arrivals from other provinces and assimilation of members of ethnic groups, more than compensating numbers lost through out-migration (The English Fact).

Discussion paper (continued)

Current situation (1996 census) – Highlights:

Source: Quebec Demographic Study 1996 (Jan Warnke), Perspectives: Needs Assessment Report of the Diverse English Linguistic Minority Communities Across Quebec May 2000 (HRDC Community Table) and Canadian Linguistic Facts & Figures (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages), William Floch

Overall

- In 1996 approximately 586,000* persons in Quebec reported English as their mother tongue (8.3% of total Quebec population) while 842,000 identified English as their first official language spoken - FOLS. (*excluding multiple response)
- Approximately 707,000 (10.1%) have a mother tongue other than French or English.
- The FOLS-Eng population represented 11.9% of the total Quebec population, down from a 12.2% share in 1991.
- A more accurate calculation of the English-speaking population is closer to 926,000, based on FOLS-English plus 50% of the multiple response of French and English. This estimate represents a 13.1% share of the total Quebec population, down slightly from 13.3% in 1991.
- The FOLS-English population increased by 1.2% between 1991 and 1996. Growth occurred in nine Administrative Regions. Highest growth regions include Outaouais (5,185), Laval (3,430), Nord-du-Quebec (1,975), and Laurentides (1,830). Montérégie and Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean had a considerable population loss (- 2,870 and -510).
- The FOLS-French population increased by 3.3% between 1991 and 1996, more than twice the proportional increase in the FOLS-English population.

Bilingualism

- The level of bilingualism of the English-speaking population is high, relative to the French-speaking population. Of the FOLS-Eng population, 57% can have a conversation in both official languages, compared to 34% of the FOLS-French.

Discussion paper (continued)

Regional issues

- The proportion of the English-speaking population relative to the total population varies substantially from region to region. In 1996 it represented 30% of Montreal Administrative region and between 9% and 17% in the Estrie, Gaspésie-Iles-de-la-Madelaine, Laval, Outaouais and Montérégie regions.
- The FOLS-English tendency to be more urban continued from 1991 census. In 1996, 86% lived in a census metropolitan area or CMA (vs. 62% of FOLS-French)
- In 1996 the Montreal CMA accounts for 78% of the FOLS-English in Quebec. The Montreal Urban Community (CUM) contains 60% of the FOLS-English (same as in 1991)

Age

- The FOLS-English is ageing slightly more than the FOLS-French population. In 1996 the FOLS-Eng, "65 years and over" proportion was 2.5% greater than the FOLS-French proportion.
- The FOLS-English population is showing signs of becoming younger when compared to FOLS-French. Between 1991 and 1996 the FOLS-English 0-14 age group proportion increased by 2.8%, vs. FOLS-French 1-14 age group which decreased slightly by -1.6%.

Discussion paper (continued)

Mobility

- Since the net inflow of FOLS-English decreased between 1991-1996 (-8,730) and the FOLS-English population increased (+10,060), it can be inferred that the population is increasing due to fewer people leaving Quebec and/or due to a higher than normal birth rate.
- Among those who changed residences between census, the rates of interprovincial and external migration are much higher for FOLS-English (20% and 26%) than for FOLS-French (3.5% and 7%).
- From 1986 to 1991, migrants from outside Quebec contributed 9.7% to the total Quebec FOLS-English population. This contribution was lower at 8.5% from 1991 to 1996. Six regions had a proportion of migrants from outside Quebec moving into their region that was above the Quebec average (Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, Outaouais, Bas-Saint-Laurent, Quebec, Chaudière-Appalaches and Montreal).
- The immigrant population among English speakers (27%) is high in comparison with that among French speakers (4.9%).
- Montreal and Laval represent the highest concentration of immigrants within the English-speaking population (36.7% and 37.1%).

Education, income, unemployment

- The proportion of English speakers with some university education (31%) is high relative to the proportion for French speakers (18%).
- The average income for citizens whose first official language spoken is English is higher than for French speakers (\$25,525 versus \$23,087).
- Unemployment is relatively higher for the English linguistic minority in every region except Centre-du-Quebec and la Mauricie. Highest levels of unemployment relative to the French majority are in the Lower North Shore, the Chaudière-Appalaches regions and Northern Quebec.

Discussion paper (continued)

Historical perspectives:

The Forgotten Quebecers

Ronald Rudin, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985

(refer to Excerpts)

Mobility and exodus

- There is a pattern of mobility within the English-speaking Quebec population, based on economic opportunity and the ease of moving to other parts of North America. “ *English speakers made a habit of moving on when better economic prospects existed elsewhere.*” Is there an unwillingness to recognize the economic basis behind this trend?
- The first significant exodus occurred in 1850’s, following a slow down in British immigration. In the Post-Confederation years, all regions experienced population declines at various times given economic conditions.
 - Quebec/Eastern Townships: began in 1860’s
 - Ottawa Valley: began in early 1900’s
 - Gaspé: began in 1930’s
 - Montreal: absolute declines by the 1970’s

Diversity and leadership

- Given the diversity of English-speaking Quebecers in terms of ethnic stream (Irish, English, Scottish), religion and region, this population was rarely of one mind concerning political issues. With rising ethnic diversity following Confederation, the English Speaking population had even less to hold it together.
- The English population never systematically organized itself to lobby outside parliamentary institutions. When lobbying was done, it was by the business elite who did not speak for a population divided by ethnic, religious, class and regional differences.
- The English Liberal vote excluded them from representation when the Liberals were out of power.

Discussion paper (continued)

The English Fact in Quebec

Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos, Dominique Clift, 1982

(refer to Excerpts)

Language conflict and reform

- Before 1960, the difference between the French and English groups was social and economic rather than linguistic. Only after 1960, when French absorbed values of industrial urban society did language become the main characteristic distinguishing the two groups and a central point of conflict.
- After the Conquest, the language question was least controversial. James Murray governed in comfortable cooperation with seigneurs, clergy and habitants.
- After 1780, ethnic tension rose with arrivals from the American Revolution and United Empire Loyalists. Quebec became a more ethnocentric community. Colonial administration shifted their support from the French seigneurs to the English merchants and Loyalists.
- In the 1960's the optimism of the Quiet Revolution waned as it became clear that the conquest of the economy would be long and difficult and demographic reports suggested an eventual decline in the French population.
- The evolution of American society towards pluralism (Black nationalism and introduction of laws guaranteeing collective rights) stimulated linguistic nationalism in Quebec. But the internal organizations of Quebec were still influenced by English Canadian ethnocentric attitudes to language and culture. Bill 101, with no legal protection for minorities, imitates the assimilation strategy of the old English elite rather than new American pluralism. The pluralistic model makes room for minorities.
- The English defense of individual rights rests on historic idea that Canada is English and rights should be exercised within an English cultural framework.
- In the 1960's the French reformers wanted sweeping social and political change for the whole of society. The English were as active, but opted for local and incremental reform (similar to American movements). The English were not involved in unionism and provincial politics.

Discussion paper (continued)

Rise of bureaucracy and leadership

- Up to 1960, the two language groups ran their respective affairs in parallel and separate ways. Administration and financing of English institutions was largely autonomous.
- Expansion of the public sector in Quebec (control and services) led to a higher reliance on public funding and spending.
- English institutions became obliged to submit policies and budgets. This marked the end of informal decision-making of the business elite. The growing power of the bureaucracy undermined what loyalty business had felt towards their community.
- English speaking businessmen became increasingly inclined towards economic decisions with a loss of social concern. This accelerated the eventual move of corporate headquarters.

Community Besieged

Garth Stevenson 1999

(refer to Excerpts)

- *Consociationalism* or *intercultural elite accommodation* describes the type of regime in Quebec, whereby the English elite used its economic strength to negotiate accommodation for its population. This is traced back to the British Conquest when the French officers/officials/merchants returned to France leaving the clergy to fill the vacuum of leadership. The British made arrangements with the clerical elite creating an indirect rule, leaving local institutions in place to manage the indigenous population, while the British devoted attention to business and military defense.
- The Quebec Act of 1774 guaranteed the continuation of French civil law and special privileges of the Catholic Church. The clergy, in return, preached submission to British rule.

Discussion paper (continued)

- The Act of Union in 1840 reunited Upper and Lower Canada as Canada West and Canada East with equal representation in parliament. As a result, the status of French Canadians was reduced to a minority and the Canada East Anglophones had the best of both worlds. They could prevent the West from acting as a majority on sectional issues. On ethnic issues, they and Canada West could outvote the French Canadians. (These English speakers shared the conservatism of the French Canadians and the language of the reform-minded farmers in the West.)
- The pattern of elite accommodation and government was solidified in 1850's when the united province reached a high point of economic and political success.
- With Confederation, responsible government was given to a province overwhelming French and Catholic. (Nowhere else in the British empire before the 20th century was responsible government conceded to an electorate that was pre-dominantly of non-British ancestry). The English-speaking Quebecers became a small minority at both levels of government. Moreover, their share of the population, after two stable decades, had begun to decline in the years prior to Confederation.
- A number of safeguards were written into the Constitution Act of 1867 (i.e. Section 93 provided educational guarantees based on religion rather than language). Note that the prominence of religion in the political discourse of the late 19th century inhibited any sense of solidarity among English Quebec.
- The abolition of the ministry of public instruction in 1875 delegated all responsibility for education to private and religious bodies and this would not be reversed for 90 years.
- Between Confederation and the middle of the 20th century, the pattern of consociational politics survived despite dramatic changes in Quebec society. Anglo population continued to grow in absolute terms, but less rapidly than Quebec as a whole. The province industrialized rapidly led by English-speaking entrepreneurs. The surplus of the French parishes were drawn to industrialized areas in search of jobs, and the English, seeking better economic opportunity, left the rural areas for Montreal and beyond.

Discussion paper (continued)

- Montreal was already an economic centre in 1867. The National Policy and Canadian Pacific railway strengthened this position. The mainly Protestant elite who lived in the Square Mile financed the many institutions of English Quebec. These developments reinforced social, cultural and economic segregation with no government opposition.
- In the decades leading up to the Quiet Revolution, the English and French operated complete networks of parallel institutions
- Between 1944 and 1959 Quebec politics were dominated by Union National and Duplessis. There was minimum Anglo influence in provincial politics, but the government allowed Anglos to run own affairs (consociational regime survived).
- The Quiet Revolution followed a period of industrialization, urbanization, post-war prosperity and an increasing incongruity between the material circumstances in which most French Canadians lived and the vision espoused by the elite. At the same time, the Church became increasingly unable to carry the burden of responsibility for health, education and social welfare. (Note that the Church had protected the separateness of the non-Catholic civil society)
- After 1960, the public service became more significant and remained largely French.
- Quebec Anglo economic power was in decline by 1960 with increasing direct U.S. investment, decline of the railway and shipping industries, and growing mining and branch plant manufacturing in Ontario. Consequently, out-migration of English-Montreal occurred based on economic reasons. By 1965 St. James Street had become a regional satellite of Bay Street. Those remaining in the business elite were less involved in community leadership.
- Towards the end of the 1960's both sides were unhappy. The stage was set for confrontation.
- With the PQ elected in 1976, there was no Anglo representation in cabinet. English Quebec was not organized to defend its interest. English Quebec was not accustomed to thinking of themselves as a minority and had little experience with mobilization, particularly at the provincial level. (Anglo political spokesmen had traditionally emerged from the elite and not due to grassroots mobilization.)

Discussion paper (continued)

- In 1977 two groups arose from informal meetings to discuss the implications of the PQ victory, Participation Quebec and the Positive Action Committee. In the same year the Secretary of State, John Roberts, announced funding for Quebec Anglo groups.
- Regional Anglo groups began to form. In 1978 the Council of Quebec Minorities became an umbrella group, but lacked influence over many of its member organizations.
- With the introduction of Bill 101, the Anglo community was still not organized or prepared to defend its interest.
- In 1981 the Council of Quebec Minorities (Task Force) recommended forming another group with mass membership to speak for the community as a whole. Alliance Quebec was formed in 1982 and became the only channel of communication with the PQ government during the PQ rule. With the Liberals in power in 1986 and strong Anglo representation in the cabinet and caucus, the AQ lost membership and became more dependent on federal subsidies.
- With the return of the PQ government, the Anglo minority was still divided, confused, distrustful of government and without effective leadership. AQ had not regained its influence and the Montreal economy showed no signs of growth.

Discussion paper (continued)

The Incomplete Metamorphosis of Anglophones in Quebec: Conjoints or Co-Vivants

John Trent, University of Ottawa Sept/Oct 1999

- The Anglophone society has been subjected to the stress of harsh and rapid change. Their identity is still in a situation of incomplete social and psychological metamorphosis. It is suggested that:
 - Anglophones in Quebec are less a community than they are a fragmented collectivity of individuals and groups. (fissures related to generation, region, ethnicity and even language)
 - As an official language minority, they are in much worse shape than people think.
 - They have adapted better to Quebec's change to a Francophone society than they are given credit for.
 - Their contentious behaviour is that of any minority.
- Globalization has had a beneficial impact on the English minority. Yet, Quebec's francophone culture is under pressure from the massive English-speaking population of North America.
- Prior to the PQ election in 1976, the English in Quebec identified with the North American English-speaking majority - a minority with majority perceptions. This had the following repercussions:
 - The shift from majority to minority status meant a shift in perceptions. This new attitude proved difficult to digest and is still a source of discord between the *integrators* and the *traditionalists*.
 - The English in Quebec were unprepared to react as a community - *Nationalism was for others*.

Discussion paper (continued)

- Historically, the English in Quebec, recognizing they would never have their own government, created their own social institutions and became a community apart with individualistic orientations. Today, after two decades on the political barricade, most Anglophones have abandoned their community associations to return to their primary preoccupations in corporations and social institutions, those that have not been taken away from them by the State.
- Being English-speaking is only one factor among many in the current identity of Anglophone Quebecers. They are blending into a French Quebec:
 - French-English inter-marriages now out number two Anglophone parent households. (and account for the rise in school enrollments).
 - A majority in every generation is bilingual (except seniors).
 - In 1996, 65% of Anglophones were bilingual (up from 40% in 1971).
 - In 1997, 50% of the Anglophone youth were enrolled in French schools or in French immersion (up from 23% in 1981).

Discussion paper (continued)

Quebec's English-speaking communities in the year 2000: A preliminary report on the omnibus survey of the attitudes and experiences of English-speaking Quebecers The Missisquoi Institute, 2001

Two separate studies were conducted over 17 administrative regions (not restricted to regions with a large English-speaking community. In all, 3,126 interviews were completed with English-speaking Quebecers over 18 years of age and 1,264 interviews were completed with French-speaking Quebecers over 18 years of age.

- **Context:** The issue of relations between the linguistic communities has an impact on the identity of English-speaking Quebecers. (Yet, prior to this study, there has been little research on the extent to which increased knowledge of French and increased social contact with Francophones has on the bearing of attitudes of Anglos around social and political questions.)
- **Key finding:** “ Based on detailed analysis of the findings of the CROP-Missisquoi survey there is little support for the idea that there are important divisions amongst Anglophones on socio-political issues based on either age, employment status, ability to speak French, education or gender. Rather, there is what might be described as a reasonable degree of convergence insofar as the dominant political issues are concerned and how they should get prioritized. (not to say there are no political debates within the Anglo community).