

alliance québec

ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES
OF QUEBEC
NEEDS IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENT

November 21, 1981

ALLIANCE QUEBEC

Formerly

THE COUNCIL OF QUEBEC MINORITIES

ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES
OF QUEBEC
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CHAPTER I - THE COMMUNITIES

"If Quebec's Anglophones - or better, non-Francophones - feel isolated and insecure, it is precisely because they are not the monolithic and plutocratic leviathan of popular character. And if they do not avail themselves much of the Official Languages Act, it is not because the federal performance in Quebec is impeccable, but because the relevance of the law to their situation has been very slow to get through." (1979 Annual Report of the Federal Commissioner of Official Languages, page 24).

"The English language and culture, as well as those of the many ethnic groups, constitute a wealth of cultural diversity for Quebec society that in no way conflicts with its essentially French character." ("Quebecers Each and Every One", the Quebec government's Action Plan for minorities, March 4, 1981, page 12).

While there can be no question as to the accuracy of these statements, from two different orders of government, there remains a good deal of uncertainty abroad as to the future of the English-speaking minority in Quebec, its institutions, and its capacity to continue to contribute to the richness and diversity of Quebec society.

In terms of sheer numbers, the situation of that minority would seem to be an impressive one. With slightly under 900,000 people, according to Quebec government figures, it has about as many people as do the French-speaking minorities combined in the other nine provinces. It is strong in

traditions, in institutions and in past contributions to Quebec, in economic, political, social and cultural terms. Indeed, it is precisely because of its perceived economic strength and the power which that engendered that some of its traditional rights and privileges, recognized for over two centuries, have recently come under attack.

However, while that economic power has been, and remains, considerable, it is just as much a mistake to ascribe it to the English-speaking population as a whole as it is to speak of some sort of monolithic, close-knit English-speaking community on a provincial scale. The truth is, as the following pages will show, that the English-speaking population of Quebec - including Montreal, where almost three-quarters of it is concentrated - shows wide variations in terms of economic status, historical roots, institutional presence, development and specific needs and aspirations. It is united by language, and by a common anxiety for the future. This insecurity extends to every part of the province where English-speaking communities exist; and that covers, broadly, every single geographic region of Quebec, from east to west and north to south. Beyond language and this feeling of uncertainty, there is no common denominator uniting Quebec English-speaking people. There are, to be sure, some English-speaking associations which represent a large segment of the Quebec community: such as the Quebec Farmers Association (QFA) with a paid membership of over 1,500 rural families which, through its provincial communication network, draws together over 20,000 members of the Quebec Englishspeaking rural community; the Association of Quebec Regional English Media (AQREM) bringing together 16 off island weekly, bi-weekly and monthly and 1 daily

daily newspapers with an approximate readership of over 260,000 people; the Quebec Young Farmers' Federation bringing together rural youth scattered throughout Quebec in 14 active branches, into an active communication network; as well as the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards and the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations. The United Church - Presbyterian Conference Structure and the Diocese of Quebec of the Anglican Church have been two of the strongest forces for contact between the various English-speaking counties. But there has traditionally been no general grouping to bring Anglophones together as such. The Council of Quebec Minorities, which was set up in 1978, is now working, in conjunction with several other groups throughout the province, to fill that gap.

The sense of anxiety already noted is based on two phenomena which have recently become intertwined. One is the long-term decline, in both absolute and relative terms, of the English-speaking communities throughout the province. The other involves the more recent restrictions on the use of English for provincial government purposes and the consequent pressures on traditionally English-speaking institutions to become steadily less so in character.

That sense of anxiety is real and is similar in quality, if not yet in degree, to that of many Francophones living outside Quebec. But its existence must not obscure another reality. By and large, English-speaking Quebecers accept the predominant place of French in Quebec life, and they fully accept their own integration into Quebec society. They want that integration to take place, however, on the understanding that their own exist-

tence, including that of their institutions, and their own sense of dignity as part of the historical traditions of Quebec, be recognized and respected.

As a general tendency, it can be said that the English-speaking population of Quebec, and more particularly in the rural areas, is an aging population - as is the case with many Francophone communities outside Quebec. But in neither case, we would suggest, does this mean that these communities are doomed. What is needed in both cases is a new awareness, a new commitment, and an effective leadership both within and transcending local communities. The example set by the Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec has been a stirring one, and English-speaking Quebec is now beginning, slowly, to move in the same direction. But there is still a long way to go if its needs are to be met, and if the survival of a viable Anglophone minority in Quebec is to be assured. The fact that this is the publicly announced objective of both the federal and the Quebec governments is an encouraging sign.

One thing is certain. While English-speaking Quebec may, from the outside, give the impression of being in good health, internally it is showing signs of possible decay; it will continue to do so in the absence of concerted action both by its own members and by the government with which it is involved. It must organize itself and it must adapt to new realities. But, in so doing, if it is to maintain its own integrity, it will depend on the help and good will of others as well.

The following pages attempt to give a brief, and necessarily impressionistic overview of some of the many aspects of the complex reality of English-speaking Quebec. The definitive description of that reality has yet to be undertaken.

THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

Up until the American Revolution, the Eastern Townships was an unbroken wilderness, the traditional hunting grounds of the Abenakis Indians. After the revolution a small group of bona fide loyalists settled near Philipsburg in 1783. With the opening of the region to settlement in 1792 there was an influx of settlers from the United States, few of whom were loyalists, most being settlers who sought a more promising life and cheaper land than was available to them in America. Shortly after the turn of the century and into the 1830's, waves of United Kingdom immigrants arrived and settled the northern townships, eventually moving into the more settled areas further south. By 1840, French Canadian settlers were also being encouraged to settle in the Townships, augmenting the very small French population already established there. Today, the descendants of the English speaking settlers, although no longer the majority in any of the eight counties that make up the historic Townships, still constitute the largest number of English-speaking Quebecers outside the region of greater Montreal.

There are about 50,000 of them, scattered through four provincial administrative districts, with the heaviest concentrations in the counties of Brome, Missisquoi, Stanstead, Compton and Sherbrooke. They farm the countryside, and they work in business, industry and the professions in many villages and towns as well as in the city of Sherbrooke, which is also the home of The Record, the only English-language daily remaining off the island of Montreal. The city is also the site of the CBC FM repeater station, with some local English-language production.

Just to the west of Sherbrooke is the English-speaking village of Lennoxville, home of Bishop's University, as well as of a private school, a high school and a campus of Champlain College. the English language CEGEP network that serves the English-speaking population off the island of Montreal. Until this year, Lennoxville has also been the site of an annual Festival of Arts. The event was discontinued last year but it is being revived in 1982. Also located in the village are the offices of the Townships Sun, a monthly newspaper. A second regional paper, the weekly Stanstead Journal, is published in the village of Rock Island, in Stanstead County. Richmond and Cowansville are also important educational and health and social service centres for the Township community.

Also helping to bring the English-speaking townshippers together are a number of social, cultural and historical societies and half-a-dozen county fairs and book exhibitions with a tradition going back more than a century. The Quebec Farmers' Association Provincial Office, through its regional fieldmen structure and volunteer network, promotes in cooperation with regional institutions a regular program of social and educational activities.

The Quebec Provincial Plowman's Association (QPPA) which promotes regular plowing matches on a local, regional and provincial basis, brings English and French producers together annually for a 4 day social and championship event.

It was not until 1979, however, that steps were taken to form a more general organization to group people from all over the region in the face of the new situation arising from Quebec's language legislation and other perceived threats to survival of the minority communities. The result was the creation of the English-speaking Townshippers' Association, which now has a membership of more than 6,000 people covering every part of the region.

Since its inception, the Association has worked to identify the major problems facing English-speaking Townshippers and to bring them to the attention both of its own members and of governmental authorities. At present it has five committees, dealing with the areas of health and social services, heritage and cultural affairs, education, job opportunities and participation in Quebec Society.

The major problems that have been pinpointed so far are, first, that of the availability, in English, of health and social services, especially for youth, the elderly and the handicapped; second, educational opportunities, with special reference to the decline of school enrolment and the teaching of French as a second language; and, third, the access to information about government services, which is judged as quite inadequate for the English-speaking population.

There is no doubt that the English-speaking community of the Eastern Townships is a vital one, rich in traditions and in collective awareness. But there is no doubt that it is shrinking in size and in relative

importance as the area becomes more and more Francophone in nature. And, while the leaders of the English-speaking community continue to stress their desire to form an integral part of a predominantly Francophone Quebec society, that community is certainly feeling increasingly vulnerable because of the socio-linguistic development of the broader society, hence the effort to draw together through the Townshippers' Association. As in other parts of Quebec, the question of survival has been raised, although it has not yet been answered.

G A S P E

"English-speaking people of the Gaspé have the cultural heritage of their ancestors who came here from Great Britain, Ireland, the Channel Islands and the 13 American Colonies. We are proud of this heritage and wish to maintain those institutions our forefathers have given us. Furthermore, we do not perceive our presence or growth as a threat to the language or culture of Francophones."

Those words, taken from a 'Memorandum' of two years ago, compiling the views of English-speaking Gaspésians, eloquently express the concern of some 13,000 English-speaking Quebecers, scattered in farms, villages and towns through the counties of Gaspé East and Bonaventure. Most of them are spread along a thin coastal line extending some 450 kilometers around the tip of the Gaspé Peninsula in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but there is one concentration in the interior in and around the town of Murdochville. In total, they now constitute about 15 percent of the total population of the two counties.

There are, to be sure, many problems that are shared by the English and French-speaking inhabitants of this beautiful but economically depressed area, where unemployment is a chronic problem and the rate of growth painfully slow. But the Anglo-Gaspésians have special problems of their own that cannot be ignored. Despite a proud tradition that spans two centuries of life and labour as a distinct community, they are today seriously worried about their collective future, to the point of beginning to

wonder whether they in fact have one.

Beyond basic questions as to the economic future of the region and all its inhabitants, the English-speaking people find their main concerns revolving around their increasing sense of isolation and their problems of communication - communication among themselves, with their French-speaking neighbours and with the world outside, whatever language it speaks.

In a sense, it could be argued that the very geographic isolation of the community, combined with a tradition of cooperation - at least at the local level - should help it to draw together. And in fact to some extent this has happened. The Gaspé region was the first in Quebec to create its own umbrella organization, the Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA), which was formed in 1974 with the objective of defining and defending the interests of the Anglo-Gaspésians. Thanks largely to CASA's support, a bi-weekly newspaper, SPEC, continues to serve the English-speaking of the two counties.

The paper is all the more essential because it is the only English information medium in the area capable of reaching everyone, something the signal of the CBC radio station and the privately owned station CFGW in the town of Gaspé are unable to do. Inhabitants of Bonaventure county are, of course, able to receive radio and TV programs in English from neighbouring New Brunswick; but these are of little use to them in giving information either about their own community or about events of specific interest to them as Quebecers.

There is, in short, a real sense of isolation among Anglo-Gaspesians; and, regardless of its special virtue in spurring a spirit of cooperation, isolation is generally seen in negative terms, resulting in a feeling of deprivation and marginalization with regard to the Quebec society as a whole.

There is another, more internal isolation as well. Beyond the presence of a number of teachers in the small primary and secondary school system and in the 40-student unit within the CEGEP of Gaspé, there is virtually no professional infrastructure to serve the English-speaking community as such. There are almost no doctors, lawyers or dentists whose first language is English. And, insofar as provincially funded health and social services are concerned, there is a steady trend, reinforced by the provisions of Law 101, towards their being provided on a unilingual French basis.

Accompanying the restriction of services in English is a growing dearth of English-language information about these services from government departments. The regional headquarters for most of them are in Rimouski, a Lower St. Lawrence city with no English-speaking presence at all, and located well outside the regions where the Anglo-Gaspesians live and work.

Hardest hit by the situation are pensioners and other older people who cannot cope in French, and who are therefore unable to take full advantage of the services theoretically available to them.

In the educational sphere, the Regional School Board of Gaspesia runs eleven elementary and three high schools and is, outside of CASA itself, the only English-speaking institution that serves the whole region. Despite all efforts, however, the Board has been forced to close down some English schools, with two more scheduled to shut their doors next year. Inevitably, such closings affect the communities concerned, reducing activities and intensifying their own sense of isolation.

The main focus of dissatisfaction in the field of education, however, is on the inadequacy of French teaching to English-speaking students resulting from lack of funds to hire some teachers and, more directly, from government directives limiting the time allotted to second-language education. The effect is to force the English-speaking youths, unable to get jobs because of lack of French, to leave the region in growing numbers.

The net result of all these factors is still considerable, but especially to an aging and dwindling anglophone population concerned about the future and wondering about how they can and should fit into Quebec society. Whether it be as members of their own small communities, as Gaspesians, as Quebecers or as Canadians, the Anglo-Gaspesians are living through a period of uncertainty that is all the more difficult because it is unexpected by a group that have lived, psychologically at least, in a climate of security for so long a time. The sense of belonging to a certain space is still there; but it is no longer secure. Given both its still considerable size and its desire to remain where its roots are, the Anglo-Gaspesian community can almost certainly be revitalized and many of its members are working hard to that end: but they need help.

QUEBEC CITY

The history of the English-speaking community in the Quebec City area is a long and distinguished one, going back to the mid-18th century. With more than a quarter of the city's population in the middle of the 19th century, the community was numerous, prosperous and active in the economic and political life of the region. Today, the English-speaking population numbers some 16,000 persons - about 3 percent of the total; and, while it has not become totally invisible, its visibility in the Quebec City of today is strictly limited.

Over the past few decades, the story has been one of the gradual but steady erosion of English-speaking institutions, including churches, schools and social and cultural associations. And yet, thanks to the efforts of a few people, some areas of activity remain. The Quebec Literary and Historical Society remains in existence, with an active library of English-language publications. Singing and drama groups, though no longer meeting on a regular basis, still promote occasional activities. Currently the Eastern Quebec Regional School Board is running an active adult education program.

In the greater Quebec region there remain half-a-dozen English-language elementary schools, four of them in Quebec City. One Catholic and one Protestant high school also continue to operate, as does St. Lawrence

College in suburban Ste. Foy, one of three campuses of Champlain Regional CEGEP. The churches in the central area are in a precarious situation with small and shrinking congregations. The Anglican Cathedral, with its magnificent view of the city, is largely dependent on tourism for its continued existence. There is still a Jewish synagogue, but its future is in serious doubt.

In terms of media, the English-speaking population has traditionally been quite well served, but here too the situation is precarious. The Quebec Chronicle Telegraph, reputed to be the oldest still-publishing newspaper in North America was a proud daily paper owned by the Thomson organization. That chain fêted the paper's two-hundredth anniversary in the early 1960's, and sold it as unprofitable a few years later. It is now being kept going as a weekly by a handful of dedicated people reluctant to see the English-speaking population deprived of one of its few connecting links.

The future of the English-language television station, privately owned and affiliated to the CBC, is at present uncertain. The local radio station is basically a CBC repeater; however, in recent years, a small but hard-working news team has been trying to cover the Quebec City scene in a morning radio show, which also covers activities of the English-speaking communities in other parts of the province.

Despite these activities, however, it is still hard to speak of an English-speaking community as such. Traditionally, it has tended to be rather rigidly divided along religious lines, with Protestants, Catholics

and the few remaining Jewish families limiting their English-language activities to their own groups, with these falling off as numbers declined.

There are at least two other factors involved in the general lack of cohesion. First, outside of the Valcartier military base, the Irish village of Shannon and the village of Stoneham, all north of Quebec City, there are no longer any neighbourhoods with significant concentrations of English-speaking people. Secondly, in individual and professional terms, the English-speaking Quebecers tend to be extremely well integrated into the Francophone Quebec community - to the point with some of the younger people of virtual assimilation. This latter trend is strengthened by the absence of any continuing base of cultural support. Formerly English institutions have either disappeared or, like the YMCA, themselves been assimilated by the Francophone majority. Although it still has English-speaking board members, Jeffrey Hale's Hospital is now an almost entirely French-speaking institution.

Among younger English-speaking, no matter how fluent in both languages, there have been complaints of discrimination in the employment field by businesses anxious to stress their own French character. Whether or not this perception is accurate, the result has been an increasing tendency on the part of English-speaking youth to leave the area to find jobs elsewhere.

The general attitude of local English-speaking people, faced with the disappearance of their institutions and the assimilation or out-migration of younger people, has been one of quiet resignation before a process that has appeared to be unstoppable. However, very recently, a start has been made to try to bring English-speaking Quebecers together regardless of religious or other divisions. An association has been formed called the Voice of English Quebec, with the purpose of renewing - perhaps creating would be a better word - the English-speaking community in the region. Its leaders clearly do not think it is yet too late.

CHATEAUGUAY VALLEY

Adjoining the Eastern Townships region of Quebec is the Chateauguay Valley, covering a triangular area of about 1600 square kilometers at the southwest tip of the province. Scattered through this mainly rural area are about 11,000 English-speaking Quebecers whose ancestors settled the area about 200 years ago; until recently a majority, the English-speaking population now accounts for about 40 percent of the area total. Their needs and problems have characteristics similar to those of groups in other areas; but, as always, there are also geographic and administrative particularities to be taken into account.

Outside of agriculture, which as elsewhere is undergoing a process of consolidation, the only significant source of employment in the area is the fragile textile industry. There is a considerable jobless rate among English and French-speaking residents alike, and a growing tendency, especially on the part of the youth, to leave for different, if not greener pastures. This trend is all the more pronounced among the English-speaking who are feeling more and more frustrated by recent developments.

These developments include a steady decline in English-language services, with ever greater emphasis, even in areas of minority concentration, on unilingual French operations. Other inter-connected factors are an aging population, a decline in school enrollment that has resulted in school closures and a diminution in special programs available at the secondary level of education. The position of the minority is made more dif-

ficult by the fact that the English-speaking population is scattered in pockets throughout the region. And even where there are relatively large concentrations, in towns such as Huntingdon and Ormstown, there are no longer any municipalities in which English-speaking people are in the majority, and no real focal point for community activities.

In the realm of government services, the problems of English-speaking residents are compounded by a complex administrative organization that takes little or no account of the historical patterns of use of such services by people in the area. In education, the region is attached to the town of Chateaugay which, despite its name, is outside the region and part of suburban Montreal. For federal services the links are with Longueuil, also a South Shore suburb, well to the east of the town of Chateaugay. And for health and social services the Valley is attached to the unilingual French city of Valleyfield, inevitably making it more difficult to procure these services in the language of the minority.

In general terms, residents complain of lack of information and lack of response from government departments to the needs of English-speaking people. Communications between government agencies and the population are almost invariably in French, and increasing pressure is reported on municipalities and other local bodies to operate unilingually. Whether it be a matter of cause or effect, English-speaking participation of members of the English-speaking community is already at a low level and still, if anything, declining.

From a more strictly cultural standpoint, there is little support from

regional or provincial cultural agencies to help preserve the heritage of the English-speaking community or to help it with cultural projects, as a result of which these are few and far between. In the meantime, on governmental instructions, the teaching of French as a second language has been cut back at the regional high school in Ormstown - a special source of frustration to the English-speaking community.

The result has been a growing spirit of apathy and resignation. But it is not yet all-pervasive. The Chateauguay Valley Historical Society continues to function, increasingly in French, but with a large English component still remaining. A weekly newspaper, the Huntingdon Gleaner, continues to inform the community on local matters.

And last spring saw the formation of the Chateauguay Minority Association, with the goal both of focusing attention on community needs and providing a representative body for an English-speaking population that is not yet resigned to collective extinction.

THE OUTAOUAIS

To the north and west of the city of Ottawa, just across the river, lie three quite distinct communities, joined together for administrative purposes and united by a common proximity to the Ontario border. The three are Pontiac County, Gatineau Valley-Buckingham and Hull-Aylmer. The English-speaking population of the whole area is about 40,000 which represents about 20 percent of the total. During the past decade, this is the only part of Quebec where the number of English-speaking people has recently increased in absolute terms and remained stable relative to the total population.

With slightly more than half of the Pontiac's 20,000 people, the Anglophone community of that county is solidly established and has been so for almost two centuries. Active in agriculture, small business and the professions, Pontiac English-speaking residents have developed their own educational and health institutions, with the focal point being the overwhelmingly English-speaking town of Shawville, about 100 kilometers west of Hull, also the longtime home of the weekly Equity newspaper.

Perhaps as a result of a certain historical feeling of security, there arose in Pontiac, to a much larger degree than elsewhere in the province, a tradition within the English-speaking community to engage in institutional cooperation across language lines in social, cultural and historical associations. The most recent example has been the creation of a cooperative, bilingual operation called Radio Pontiac, to provide a range of local programming that had previously been unavailable to local residents.

Despite - and in a sense precisely because of - its relative importance, the Pontiac's English-speaking community faces very specific and even acute problems as a result of Quebec's language legislation. An example is the case of the Pontiac Community Hospital in Shawville, traditionally an Anglophone institution, drawing on English-speaking staff from both Ontario and Quebec. As a result, it has had more than considerable difficulty in adapting itself to the demands of Law 101, a situation that has not been improved by the intransigency of the Quebec Order of Nurses, which has rejected all pleas for flexibility in staffing based on specific regional problems.

The effect of this type of reaction from afar, combined with some other aspects of the language law, has been to heighten the sense of frustration and isolation from the centre that was already strong among the English-speaking population of Pontiac. It is a common feeling among inhabitants of areas far from the political centre of power to feel that their interests are neglected, and Pontiac residents, English and French-speaking alike, do not escape the rule. This feeling, combined with the traditionally close ties with Ontario communities just across the river, has created a state of mind that makes it all the more difficult for the area's English-speaking people to relate to the new language situation within the province. It might be too strong to describe the effect as traumatic, but barely.

Much the same can be said, and for the same reasons, of the Gatineau Valley, which encompasses a dozen-odd towns and villages stretched for some 200 kilometers to the north and the town of Buckingham to the east of Hull.

The 17,000 English-speaking inhabitants of the area are the descendants of the English and Scots who first settled the land in the first two decades of the 19th century. The sense of history is profound, and is maintained by the Historical Society of the Gatineau, which publishes an annual magazine on the subject. Today, the area's inhabitants are involved in farming, in tourism and in the pulp and paper industries as well as in business and the professions. Here and in the Hull-Aylmer area there has also been a recent influx of civil service families drawn by the recent growth of federal government institutions in the Quebec part of the National Capital Region.

As in other regions, the English-speaking communities have built up a network of educational and health-care institutions. And, as elsewhere, the situation is changing. The formerly English-speaking Gatineau Memorial Hospital at Wakefield is now bilingual and run jointly by English and French-speaking residents. The survival of the school system, at least at the secondary level, is questionable in the face of pressures to centralize it in Hull.

Local information, in the Gatineau is provided by the Lowe Down To Hull And Back News, in the Buckingham area by the weekly Post and in Aylmer by the Aylmer Bulletin. In Hull and Aylmer the single major issue for the English-speaking population, and one that affects the whole Outaouais region, is the future status of the Heritage campus of Le CEGEP de l'Outaouais, which is the only English-language post-secondary institution in western Quebec. That status is in question owing to a desire on

the part of the "Heritage Campus" to be affiliated with the Champlain College network and the counter-pressure of some Francophone groups that oppose the move.

This particular dispute reflects both the strength and the weakness of the position of the English-speaking community in the Outaouais. Precisely because of their numbers, as well as because of the nearness of Ontario, the English-speaking residents are considered a threat by some Francophones, who see them as constituting a sort of beach-head in Quebec. Any flexibility in dealing with the minority is seen, therefore, as a dangerous sign of weakness on the part of Francophone Quebec.

Faced with this attitude while striving to face up to other Quebec realities, some Outaouais English-speaking residents are currently working to develop new leadership to help them cope. The result has been the creation of a regional association called the Cultural Support Committee, with the immediate aim of dealing with issues of education, access to information and the interests of senior citizens in the region. While the initiative came from residents of Hull, the hope is that the organization will become active throughout the whole Outaouais region.

THE LAURENTIANS

While to most people outside the region any mention of the Laurentians conjures up images of summer and winter sports and luxurious resorts, to those who inhabit the area the reality is slightly more somber.

Stretching from Ste-Thérèse in the south to St-Jovite in the north, and from the Ottawa River in the West to Joliette in the East, the region is basically defined by the counties of Argenteuil and Papineau, and includes several middle-sized towns. The 12,000 English-speaking people who live in the two counties are scattered among several towns and villages, but their biggest concentrations are to be found in Brownsburg, Morin Heights, Arundel, Shawbridge, Ste-Agathe, Rawdon and in Lachute, the home of the bilingual weekly, The Watchman.

As with so many other areas, the major problem in the Laurentians is unemployment. The jobs provided by the recreational and tourist industries are seasonal, and in any case not enough to go around. A large percentage of English-speaking people are handicapped by their lack of French, resulting in an especially high rate of unemployment among members of the linguistic minority, with many families living on welfare.

From the standpoint of the various local English-speaking communities, the situation appears to be increasingly precarious. The considerable out-migration of young English-speaking people saps their vitality as does the trend to close local schools and bus pupils away from the town or village.

A decline in community activities and community spirit is the inevitable result.

In the field of social services and health-care, residents complain that the continuing and intensifying trend toward francization is making it even more difficult to find English-language care, a matter of special concern for older people.

In several cases members of local communities have fought, with varying degrees of success, to maintain their viability. In an area-wide referendum, a majority of voters agreed to pay higher taxes in order to maintain their local schools. Despite their efforts, however, the Shawbridge Elementary School and the Morin Heights School were closed shortly after. In the town of Arundel, however, the elementary school has been kept open because the community bought the school and is now leasing it back to the Laurentian Regional School Board.

While it appears that the school closings are irreversible, there is nevertheless a growing interest in maintaining an English cultural presence. Although there has been no tradition of cooperation between the various English-speaking communities, there may be one in the making. Just this fall there was an exploratory meeting of leaders from several of the English-speaking communities, who decided to form an association based on the model of the one that exists uniting English-speaking people in the Eastern Townships.

SOUTH SHORE

While it is closely connected to Montreal, the region known as the South Shore (of the St. Lawrence) has its own characteristics and its own problems, as does its English-speaking population, which in 1976 amounted to about 80,000 in a total population of about 440,000. Since then, the English-speaking population of the area has grown substantially.

While they are scattered throughout the area, which extends to about 30 kilometers from Montreal, the main concentrations of English-speaking people are to be found in St. Hubert, with its Armed Forces Base, and in the towns of the Richelieu Valley, including St. Bruno, St. Hilaire, Chambly, St. Jean, St. Lambert-Greenfield Park, Brossard, Candiac and Chateaugay. These municipalities in the region developed over the past century, many of them including at their origin English-speaking groups. For the most part, churches, schools and other social institutions were organized by residents within their own municipalities as they felt the need. Since 1950, the non-francophone population has mushroomed due to immigration and families moving here out of Montreal. Many of the residents are newcomers, some having moved from working-class districts of Montreal to the new housing developments in St. Hubert, and some being recent immigrants, who have formed minorities of their own within the English-speaking minority. They include Greeks, West Indians, Indians, Pakistanis and Africans.

The original local socia-cultural institutions have adopted to a more bilingual situation, but by now they involve only a relatively small proportion of a much larger population.

This means that members of non-francophone minorities are scattered geographically through a large area; the proximity of Montreal offers some alternative activities for some, but many others are somewhat isolated without institutions to meet their needs. Social services, medical services and government offices have been centralized, regionalized and bureaucratized, and in the process have tended to ignore the interests of non-francophones. Non-francophone residents of long standing, particularly the elderly, are seriously affected by the scarcity and remoteness of services intended for them, and by the lack of information available in their own language about affairs that concern them every day.

Development and expansion of socio-cultural institutions suffer from crucial lack of public communication services in any language other than French - there is no radio service catering to South Shore interests, and no English-language news publication. Except for the St. Lambert Campus of Champlain Regional College, their post-secondary educational facilities are on Montreal Island, as are those offering cultural activities.

Many of the English-speaking families in the region are now forbidden to enroll their children in English-language education, although a network of primary and secondary schools does exist under the South Shore Protestant Regional School Board in addition to a number of English Catholic Schools.* Many of those families are having trouble adjusting to the situation. Without community services and the infrastructure underlying them, those same families, together with all English-speaking residents of the region, will have to resolve their problems on their own.

South Shore residents have, when circumstances permitted, shown that they have initiative and energy in organizing activities and institutions that express their way of life and promote adaptation to the milieu. What they need in order to succeed is communication, both in the sense of public media and in person-to-person relations. Minority cultural groups on the South Shore represent many individuals who find themselves losing contact with their language and culture.

The need for association is vital and urgent. Initial steps have been taken to organize an advocacy group for English-speaking people of the region. The group will need assistance to develop its programs and structures in this widely dispersed population that lacks the many links of a big city.

* It should be noted here that it was the South Shore board that led the way in Quebec in setting up French immersion programs in the early 1970s.

LOWER NORTH SHORE

While there are several regions of Quebec that can be described as suffering from isolation, to one degree or another, from the mainstream of Quebec life, there is no place that fits the description better than the Lower North Shore of the St. Lawrence, where the river meets the sea.

Strung along the rugged coast, in a thin line stretching 600 kilometers the Labrador border, are 15 villages, 12 of them English-speaking, comprising a total of 5,000-plus Anglophones out of a total population of about 6,000. Except for some cold-weather lumbering, the sole industry is fishing. In the winter, unemployment is rife, directly affecting about three-quarters of the population.

These villages are isolated in a very real sense of the word. There are no roads to the outside and very few connecting villages to each other. Air service is infrequent and unreliable; goods and services, including banking facilities, are provided by boats from the Lower St. Lawrence region on an infrequent, if reasonably regular basis.

Medical and social services exist at a rudimentary level. There is one small hospital for the whole region, and four doctors travel between the villages. There are no resident dental practitioners and no professional social workers.

Each village has a primary school, and six of them offer some secondary education as well. However, to complete high school, young people

must attend high school in the Gaspé and Eastern Townships regions, at considerable expense to their families.

The educational services, such as they are, are administered by a regional school board located in the city of Sept Iles, far to the southwest. That same city is also the centre for municipal services for the area, which has no locally elected village councils.

Information is a difficult commodity to come by. There is one bilingual newspaper, Le Sextant, that is published on an occasional basis in the village of Chevery. English and French FM programming, courtesy of the CBC, penetrates most of the area, but there are some villages that cannot pick up even that signal. English television, when it can be had, comes from Montreal and Newfoundland. There are telephones in all the villages, but long-distance rates are charged between them.

There may soon be changes for the better. Following the visit in 1979 of a special provincial government task force, a report was issued in 1980 calling for action in several spheres to improve the quality of life in the region.

Whatever happens to these recommendations, however, the isolation of the English-speaking communities may well be intensified as government services in English become steadily less frequent and less reliable.

The situation is worsened by the fact that almost all the English-speaking residents of the area were brought up and still live in villages that are unilingually English and where, therefore, with the best will in the world, they have virtually no opportunity to practice any French they may learn in school or in other courses.

It is only very recently, in the Fall of 1981, that the region's English-speaking residents have looked to the possibility of setting up their own organization. One preliminary meeting has been held, and there is some hope that, with outside help, progress will soon be made in this direction.

SAGUENAY

Lying some 200 miles north of Quebec City, at the other end of the Laurentides Provincial Park, the agricultural, industrial and forestry region of Saguenay-Lac St. Jean has a population of about 200,000 which, from its settlement in the mid 19th century, has always been overwhelmingly French-speaking. However, for most if not all of this century there has also been a nucleus of English-speaking residents employed by the aluminium and pulp and paper industries or involved with the Armed Forces Base at Bagotville. English-speaking families live in several different towns and villages, but the centre of English-speaking activities has always been the town of Arvida, 10 kilometers to the west of the city of Chicoutimi; and to the extent that such activities continue, this is still the case.

At one time, with close to 20,000 people, the English-speaking community was a flourishing one, with a band, an orchestra, choral societies, two theatre groups and English-language cinemas. Even then, however, there were neither social nor health-care institutions, nor any local media catering to the English-speaking population which tended to be a mobile one, moving in and out of the area in considerable numbers. Over the last two decades, mobility has continued to be a factor; but, with the exception of armed forces personnel, it has been almost entirely out of the region. The present English-speaking population, including about 500 at the Bagotville base, numbers at most 3,000.

The prime reason for the emigration process was the francization process begun by the two major employers, Alcan and Abitibi Price, in the

1960's, involving the replacement by Francophones of English-speaking executives and engineers. The result has been the steady erosion of the English-speaking community and, inevitably, of the groups and events in which it was involved. All the cultural and musical organizations have been disbanded - the last earlier this year - and English-language films have disappeared from local screens. Their place has been partially filled by CBC radio and television outlets which arrived four years ago; but, beyond a report from a local correspondent once every two weeks, there is no regular local content. English-language newspapers from Montreal and Toronto are available, but the only local news in print consists of an English page in Alcan's biweekly company publication.

Two elementary schools remain in Arvida, where there are also two high schools, Protestant and Roman Catholic, the merger of which is presently under discussion. Both are heavily dependent on students from the Bagotville Base, which has its own elementary school but no facilities for secondary education. In fact to a large extent, the continued viability of the English-speaking community would seem to depend on the continued presence of a certain number of English-speaking families in that establishment. The 500-odd English-speaking constitute about 13 percent of the total at the base - a proportion that has remained constant over the past several years.

There is one English Protestant Church in Arvida, combining the Anglican and United Church denominations. It is the only English-language meeting place in the region.

One characteristic that the Saguenay community shares with no other except that in Quebec City is the high degree of bilingualism amongst its English-speaking members. There is no question of widespread unilingualism in the area. The main reason, of course, is the smallness of the community. In order to obtain services, whether governmental or otherwise, an adequate knowledge of French is, quite naturally, as much a necessity in Chicoutimi and the surrounding region as a knowledge of English would be for a Francophone established in Brockville or Red Deer. The younger members of the English-speaking community are fluently bilingual, as are most of their elders.

Nevertheless, despite the virtual absence of language barriers, the English-speaking community in the Saguenay gives no indication that it is resigned to assimilation and to losing its own heritage. Unfortunately for the community, however, one indication of this determination is the continued emigration of the younger people to areas of greater English-speaking concentration in Quebec, or outside the province entirely. A recent survey of English-speaking high school students showed that fully three-quarters of them intend to leave the region once they have graduated. This does not necessarily mean that the Anglophone community of Saguenay is doomed; but its survival is certainly not assured.

OTHER COMMUNITIES

While it is true that the 9 regions we have described account for the overwhelming majority of the English-speaking inhabitants of Quebec, there are several thousand others - perhaps 25,000 in all - who live, widely dispersed in small communities in every part of Quebec. While in relative terms they are all insignificant in relation to the majority population in their respective regions, in absolute numbers several groups are large enough to have already survived as distinct communities over several generations; and there is no reason to believe they have necessarily resigned themselves to disappearing today.

We cannot, of course, give a complete list of such communities but we can give a few examples of the human and social reality to which we refer.

In the northwest extremity of the province some 3,000 English-speaking people form a distinct community in the twin cities of Rouyn-Noranda, with most of them concentrating in Noranda, where, in 1971, they formed one-fifth of the population.

Also in the northwest regions, there are relatively large English-speaking groups in the town of Val d'Or, where an English-language paper, the Val d'Or Star is published, and in Temiscaming, where about 900 English-speaking people constitute about one-third of the population. Proceeding north and east, the town of Shefferville, near the Labrador border, has an English-speaking population of about 1,000, exceeding 10

percent of the total population. Further east still, and to the south, the easternmost part of Quebec is the Magdalen Islands where about 1,000 English-speaking residents are concentrated in a few completely English-speaking villages, where they and their ancestors have been fishing since the early 19th century. In the centre of Quebec several thousand English-speaking people are to be found, with about 2,000 in the city of Trois Rivières as well as other groups in Grand'Mère, Shawinigan and other cities and towns.

Clearly, we are dealing here with a highly disparate group of individuals and communities, some of which are highly integrated into the surrounding society, while others continue to live unto themselves. What they have in common is a self-identification as English-speaking Quebecers. Their problems as distinct communities are, not surprisingly, similar to those we have encountered elsewhere, but in a more acute form. Their survival depends to a large extent on a certain sense of generosity on the part of governments, and more particularly on a recognition of their specific needs. It would perhaps not be a national disaster were they to disappear; assimilation is not, after all, an absolute evil. But in a society that affirms the desirability of a certain duality within its borders, the continued existence of communities such as these can surely be viewed in a positive light, and action taken accordingly.

MONTREAL

There is a myth abroad about the English-speaking population of Montreal that richly deserves to be laid to rest. To sum it up brutally, it is to the effect that English-speaking Montrealers constitute a wealthy, compact, tightly organized and inward-looking society characterized by a sort of White Rhodesia mentality with neither an understanding of nor sympathy for the aspirations of the French-speaking majority, whether of the region or of the whole province of Quebec.

The reality is much more complex - infinitely more encouraging, more puzzling and more human - than the myth would suggest.

The one and only characteristic that is shared by the "Montreal English" is that their first official language is English and that they tend to feel more comfortable living and working in English, although many do, of course, work in French.

The total number of English-speaking people on the Island of Montreal is about 700,000, representing approximately one-third of the total population. This does not include the English-speaking people in the South Shore region of the St. Lawrence, who are considered elsewhere. It should simply be mentioned here that many off-island residents work in Montreal itself, thus strengthening the English-speaking presence on a day-to-day basis.

That presence is, however, far from being monolithic. Montreal's English-speaking residents are divided geographically, religiously, econ-

omically and ethnically to the point that it is quite impossible meaningfully even to use the phrase "Montreal English-speaking community" in any but the vaguest and most general sense. Instead, English-speaking Montrealers must be discussed in terms of the several communities in which they live and to which they relate in social and geographical terms.

Perhaps the closest approach to a homogenous anglophone population is in the largely middle-class dormitory municipalities of the area known as the West Island. These include the cities and towns of Lachine, Dorval, Pointe Claire, Beaconsfield, Baie d'Urfé, Senneville, Kirkland, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Pierrefonds and Dollard Des Ormeaux. In all these places there are large groups of English-speaking residents - in most cases forming a local majority - who, regardless of the language they may use at work, are used to living in English in their home communities.

Two school commissions serve the West Island, Baldwin Cartier School Board and the Lakeshore Regional Protestant School Board. At about 30%, the Baldwin Cartier Board is the Catholic school board with the highest proportion of English-speaking students. Both commissions offer adult education services as does John Abbott CEGEP and the Extension Department of MacDonald College, of McGill University in Ste. Anne de Bellevue.

Local municipal governments have been and continue to be accessible to the citizenry in English and French. Municipal recreation services are numerous and there has been intermunicipal collaboration on local problems such as juvenile delinquency and crime prevention.

The voluntary network that transcends municipal boundaries in the West Island is impressive. An autonomous West Island Volunteer Bureau enjoys a deserved reputation for commitment and innovation. Local planning is supported by the West Island Citizens' Advisory Committee Inc., which began as an Advisory Committee to the West Island Branch Office of Ville Marie Social Services, an English-language agency. Diversion programs for youth are co-ordinated by the West Island YMCA. Senior citizens, through West Island Senior Enterprises, advocate for a better quality of life for the aged. Although voluntary agencies and municipal governments are more and more bilingual, they have traditionally functioned in English and English-speaking people continue to feel comfortable and welcome participating in their own language. The West Island of Montreal remains the only geographically determined community where English-speaking urban people are a linguistic majority. Their involvement in and control of their social, cultural and municipal institutions is an essential part of their contribution as citizens within this corner of Quebec.

West Island residents are concerned about the impact Law 101 will have on the character of their institutions, particularly their hospitals which are steadily becoming more francophone in character. There is, however, evidence of a greater acceptance of the primacy of the French language on the part of parents of elementary-aged children witnessed by the increase in French immersion participation in English schools and by the increased enrollment of children from English homes in French public schools. There are more French mother-tongue families than ever before settling in the many municipalities of the West Island, but it is generally agreed that, for the foreseeable future, the West Island will remain a source of

strength for English-speaking Montreal. The same can be said for a certain number of towns and villages just to the west of Montreal Island, including Ile Perrot, Hudson and other communities approaching the Ontario border.

Once we leave the West Island area, the situation becomes considerably more complex. The cities of Montreal West, Côte St. Luc, Hampstead, Westmount and the Town of Mount Royal remain largely English-speaking as does the district of Notre Dame de Grace of the City of Montreal. Ville St. Laurent claims to be equally French and English in character. Considerable concentrations of English-speaking peoples are to be found in the municipalities of Lasalle and Verdun, as well as in the districts of Côte des Neiges and St. Henri of the City of Montreal. Point St. Charles, although predominately French speaking, retains its claim as the home of English-speaking working class people of British and Irish origin.

Though united in a sense on the basis of language, the areas present wide differences in other respects, with different ethnic groups tending to concentrate in different sections and with economic circumstances varying widely, from the wealth of upper Westmount and the Town of Mount Royal, through middle-class sections of lower Westmount, Montreal West and, to some extent, N.D.G., Verdun, St. Henri and Point St. Charles are solidly working-class.

As one proceeds north and east, the picture changes again, with French increasingly predominant, but with municipal districts such as St. Louis, Parc Extension and the town of St. Leonard where the people of various ethnic origins have, over the years, adopted English as their first

official language. These communities can properly be considered as being part of an extended English-speaking community. In fact, in every section of Montreal including the overwhelmingly French-speaking east end and the city of Laval covering Ile Jesus to the north, there are pockets of English-speaking residents from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds with their own churches, cultural centres and traditions.

It is in fact precisely this variety that is the single most specific characteristic of the English-speaking population. And, while it is impossible within the limits of this study to do justice to the groups concerned in terms of adequate description of their social realities, we can at least try to give some of the flavour they provide to that mosaic and to consider, however inadequately, some of the problems they face.

The largest single group, hardly surprisingly, is made up of people of what could loosely be called British descent, if we take this to include Irish as well. They are to be found everywhere, but are especially predominant in the Anglophone population of West Island, Westmount, Montreal West, Mount Royal and Notre Dame de Gr^âce. More particularly Irish in character are the city of Verdun and the district of St. Henri and Point St. Charles.

In all these areas, be they full-fledged municipalities or not, there exists a certain community spirit and sense of identification. The best known example is undoubtedly the city of Westmount, enclosed on all sides

by Montreal, which until recently had responsibility for the full range of municipal services. Several of these have been taken over by the Montreal Urban Community, but Westmount still retains control over a considerable number of social services - including parks and libraries - and, despite Law 101, still keeps much of its traditional Anglo-Scottish outward appearance. To varying degrees the same can be said about other areas of English-speaking concentration, each with its own specific traditional character. If such is the case, however, it is at least partially due to the fact that the provisions of the Language Charter concerning signs and posters, which theoretically made it almost impossible to show an English-speaking face to the world, have so far not been rigidly enforced. If they ever are, the situation will be much more difficult.

While the British and Irish communities certainly constitute a majority of the English-speaking population, amounting to about 50 percent of the total, even here we are talking about a rather disparate group, divided by geography, by economic status and, most of all perhaps, by religion, with Roman Catholics forming a slight majority. While in a loose sense, we might refer to a "British" or "Irish" community, that sense would have to be loose indeed. In the past, there has been no sense of common purpose or common destiny, or even common interest - although the situation may now be changing.

Beyond those of English, Scots, Irish and Welsh descent, the English-speaking population of Montreal is a treasure house of ethnic diversity. It is not our purpose here to give anything approaching an exhaustive description of the different groups, ranging in size from a few hundred to

tens of thousands. But, if only in order to illustrate the complexity of the Anglophone group taken as a whole, we shall take a very brief look at some of the other main sub-groups that make it up.

Perhaps the most cohesive, and certainly the population with the strongest ethnically organized institutions, is the Montreal Jewish Community. Representing 14% of the total population of the region of Montreal, the Jewish community contains both English and French-speaking people.

The English-speaking members, who are a large majority, are mainly of European Ashkenazin descent while the smaller Sephardic community, from the Middle-East, is mainly French-speaking.

Concentrated largely in the areas of Hampstead, Côte St. Luc, Westmount, NDG, Snowdon, Côte des Neiges and Chomedey, the community has its own traditional institutions such as Jewish Family Services and the Jewish General Hospital. However, like other English-speaking public institutions, these are currently going through an intense francization process, as a result of which the hospital has, for all practical purposes, ceased to be a specifically Jewish operation in the eyes of the community itself. Nevertheless, both institutions retain a strong Jewish component and for that reason can continue to be regarded as bulwarks of the whole community, which remains strong and outspoken on the local scene.

The Greek community of Montreal has swelled greatly in numbers as a

result of heavy immigration from Greece over the past 30 years, and now numbers 80,000 people, concentrated in the Park Extension district of north-central Montreal and in the city of Laval on Ile Jesus. During that time, the overwhelming tendency was to adopt English as the second language. Greek children attended English Protestant schools and social services were provided in Greek and English. Under the pressures of the language legislation, the situation is now changing somewhat. In the social service area, for example, the one office that caters mainly to the Greek population is being slowly francized, with the search now on for trilingual social workers who can help bridge the gap between the demands of the law and the needs of the clientèle. Nevertheless, as a result of the integration process of the past quarter-century, Montreal Greeks continue by and large to consider themselves as English-speaking, with the same basic language problems as others in the linguistic minority.

Along with other recent immigrant groups, however, the Greeks also face special problems in the realm of language, including the constant, not always fruitful search for crash courses in French as a second language to enable them to take their place in the work force. In perhaps the most difficult position of all are thousands of women of several different ethnic groups working in low-paying factory jobs and without the French language skills that would enable them to improve their lot.

Among Montrealers of Italian descent, about 50 percent of the total number of 200,000 have become integrated in the English-speaking group. Their largest concentration is in the town of St. Leonard in the north of

the island, but several other distinctly Italian neighborhoods continue in the central northern part of the city, and in Notre Dame de Grace, with churches and community associations supporting a rich cultural life. While those who have been here for one or two generations appear to be integrated into the English-speaking population, the fact that more recent and future immigrants must send their children to French schools would indicate that, as in the case of other ethnic groups, the number of English-speaking Montrealers of Italian descent will be steadily decreasing from now on.

The black people of Montreal have two distinct origins. Those of Haitian origin are French-speaking and integrate into the French-speaking public sphere - school system, social services and the work place. English-speaking blacks in Montreal are mostly of Caribbean origin and have joined an old established, though originally small, community in Montreal. Both English and French-speaking black people must cope with the problems of being a visible minority in Canada. The English-speaking black population must also cope with the added burden of being part of a linguistic minority in a French Quebec. Immigration from the Caribbean began accelerating in the sixties and although immigration in general has decreased in recent years, Montreal based black English-speaking families continue to welcome family members as new immigrants to Montreal. Children must be integrated into the school system at whatever age level they happen to be upon arrival.

The restriction on access to English schools imposed by Law 101 has had serious impact on the English-speaking black community of Montreal.

Those who were in Quebec and with at least their first child in English school at the time of passage of Law 101 may continue to use the English school system for subsequent children. All others must, under the law, send their children to French schools including those people who may have worked in Montreal for many years, pursued their post secondary education in English in Montreal, and who feel very strongly attached to the larger English-speaking community of the city. There are both Catholic and Protestant English-speaking blacks in significant numbers. Their children are therefore served mainly by the two large school commissions serving central Montreal - the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal and The Montreal Catholic School Commission. The PSBGM has, in response to pressure from this group, installed a senior educator to serve as liaison officer between the school system and the community. This has resulted in a important improvement in the understanding of the particular needs of black children integrating into a larger white society. To date this community has not had the same success within the Catholic school system.

The English-speaking black community, being proud of its culture and heritage, has developed several national societies and cultural organizations as support structures. Lacking a strong economic base within their community, however, these people must rely for the most part on government grants and Centraide donations to support their organizations. Most activities rely on volunteer labor and the leadership carries enormous responsibilities. This leadership feels inadequately recognized by the funding bodies of both provincial and federal governments and of the private sec-

tor. They express a feeling of powerlessness and frustration as they continue to make representations on behalf of their mostly unilingual English-speaking community and its serious problems - which have been exacerbated by the francization of the work place, health and social service network, and government agencies. This leadership speaks for approximately 80,000 people, the large majority of which have settled in the Montreal region since 1966.

Another group that has grown substantially lately has been the English-speaking population of Indian, West Indian, Sikh and Pakistani origin. It now numbers about 20,000 persons in the Montreal area. Despite other differences, its problems as a group are similar to those facing blacks. Is it possible for a group whose traditions to a large extent involve the use of English to become integrated into a predominantly francophone society while maintaining those traditions? The question is still unanswered.

These are a few of the larger groupings among all those who come together to form what, for want of a better term, we call English-speaking Montreal - a population that is divided in terms of a great many characteristics and united in terms of a few means of intercommunication. These include the media - one daily and several community weekly newspapers as well as two television and a half-dozen radio stations. They include two universities, three CEGEPs, several hospitals and one major social service organization, Ville Marie Social Services, which have traditionally served the needs of the English-speaking community taken as a whole. At least some of these institutions, notably those dealing with health and social services, are subjected to legal and social pressures to become progres-

sively less English-speaking in their orientation, which in turn creates common problems, along with the possibility of common responses, on behalf of the English-speaking population. There are clearly arguments to be made for such services to be given on the basis of geography rather than the language or culture of the clientèle; but there are surely cogent arguments to be made in the other direction as well. The future of publicly funded institutions that heretofore have served an English-speaking clientèle in its own language is uncertain, to say the least.

However pluralistic this portrait may be, it is vital to note that there are important binding forces in the English-speaking community. The Universities, the CEGEPs, the Hospitals and social service institutions, the newspapers, the television and radio stations all provide common points of reference and connect the communities described here into a coherent whole.

To sum up, the picture of the Montreal English-speaking mosaic is complex, and to a certain extent, unfocused. It is large and diverse, and it has vitality. But, as a direct result of the educational provisions of Law 101 it can look forward to no further support either from inside Canada or, unless the law is changed, from outside Quebec. Given the mobility of English-speaking Quebecers, and especially of those who inhabit Montreal, the only outlook is for a steady decline. For the moment, Montreal's English-language community, using the term in its broadest sense, seems healthy and active. It certainly has a present. It is the future that is in question.

CHAPTER II - THE PROBLEMS

Chapter I described a collection of communities just beginning to have a sense of commonality as English-speaking Quebecers, a network of individuals and communities just beginning to grapple with the reality of minorityhood and the problems that come with it.

These difficulties have been touched upon in Chapter I. While in many ways they are similar to those that confront minority groups in general, and most specifically Francophone minorities elsewhere in Canada, some elements of the situation are peculiar to Quebec.

A - ECONOMICS

1. Economic development, or rather the lack of it, affects both French and English-speaking Quebecers in many parts of the province. In places like the Gaspé, the Eastern Townships and the Ottawa Valley, the scarcity of jobs has long meant migration by members of both language groups to "greener pastures". Such an outflow has a particularly serious effect on the vitality of minority-group communities in these areas, since the loss is subtracted from a population base smaller than that of the local French majorities.

Consequently, while economic development is of interest to everyone in any given region, its promotion has particular significance for minority communities. Their regional organizations must therefore have the resources to work towards the economic improvement of their areas, through promotion of individual and co-operative endeavours. If French-speaking Beauce can enjoy an economic renaissance, why not the Gaspé, the Eastern Townships, the Laurentians or the Outaouais too?

The Quebec government's strategies in job creation in recent years have seen the devolution to the regions of certain parts of the civil administration. Lack of ability in French and ignorance of the job possibilities has resulted in the English not benefiting from the creation of numerous jobs. This is particularly noticeable in the Gaspé and other rural regions.

2. Francization of the Work Place, which has been going on for several decades, has had and is still having a profound effect on job opportunities for non-francophones. Launched first in the private sector by a number of major corporations, this process has been accelerated by Bills 22 and 101, and applied by them to the public and parapublic sectors.

Virtually any non-francophone wishing to practise a profession in Quebec must pass an oral and written exam at the Office de la langue française. Anyone wishing to be hired, promoted or transferred within the civil administration (schools, hospitals, social service centres, municipalities, crown corporations and the civil service) must pass a similar

test administered by his employer but approved by the OLF, or at the OLF itself. Although these examinations purport to evaluate the competency of the testees to do their particular jobs in French, they tend to be academically-oriented, with only incidental relevance to the real world of work. They therefore have the effect of excluding many non-francophones from the provincial labour force, including some individuals whose fluency is unquestionable. An alternative means of evaluating people's capacity to communicate in French must be developed to reconcile the demands for justice to the anglophone minority with the legitimate requirements of the French-speaking majority in Quebec. In the meantime, local and provincial groups must have the resources to help individuals caught in the heavy bureaucratic machinery which currently marks the language testing process.

The first step towards informing non-francophones of the job openings that do await them has been taken: the then Employment Opportunities Development Package (E.O.D.P.). Each regional association will need to adapt the province-wide job projections contained therein to reflect local realities. Considerable resources will also have to be used to train people to use the Package and to spread its message all over non-francophone Quebec.

Finally, those large corporations which began to voluntarily francize two and three decades ago (e.g. Alcan, Abitibi-Price) can offer real career possibilities to non-francophones, because they have no need to prove their good corporate citizenship to the Quebec government by focusing on francophones when hiring: they already have done it. All such companies must be

sensitized to the benefits for them and for English-speaking Quebec of now hiring more non-francophones.

B - GENERAL LANGUAGE POLICY

The stated objective of the Quebec government is to make Quebec an essentially French-speaking society in which francophones can feel at home anywhere and the language of the majority will be universally respected. It has never been explained why the achievement of this legitimate goal requires either that the English language should virtually disappear from public and commercial life or that anglophones in the public administration should be refused the right to communicate with each other in their own language. Such requirements do not appear to be consistent with self-proclaimed government intentions to respect minority culture in a predominantly French-speaking society.

C - EDUCATION

1. School Board Reorganization: As this report is being prepared, a cloud of uncertainty hangs over the future of English-language education boards through Quebec as a result of the announced plans of the Ministry of

Education to restructure Quebec's school system. To the extent that this reorganization creates a network of unified regional school boards, controlled by francophones, democratic control of English-language education will be denied to English-speaking Quebecers. The serious consequences for them can be anticipated by looking at the sad experience of French-speaking minorities elsewhere in Canada.

2. Teaching French as a second language (F.S.L.): While Quebec's minorities want their identities - and the institutions like schools and social services which reflect them - to be respected, they accept the fact that Quebec is a fundamentally French society. They want to participate as citizens in that society and they want to have jobs in it. Sad to say, at least 300,000 non-francophones are functionally illiterate: they cannot communicate in the language of the majority. Yet access to French-as-a-second-language (F.S.L.) courses is being reduced as the provincial government slashes its grants to the welcoming classes for four-to-five year olds, to the school boards for French consultants and to Adult Education programmes for F.S.L. The compulsory time slot for the study of French in English high schools has been chopped by 20%. Both the Quebec government and the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission still refuse to re-classify F.S.L. for adults as a job-skill-program. Thousands of Quebec's non-francophones need such re-cycling if they are to gain employment in Quebec.

There is, in short, a great deal to be done to help English-speaking Quebecers help themselves. The classroom setting is not the only good

venue for the learning of a second language. Innovative approaches to this problem, including on-the-job training and work placement, must also be developed.

The Consumer's Guide to French Language Courses in Quebec, published by the former C.Q.M., describes virtually every programme available to adults now; but it also makes the point that courses are not enough: one must have the occasion to practise. Thousands of immigrants to English Canada learned English on the job. Unfortunately, gaining access to the French work milieu in Quebec is not easy. Moves have been made recently to open the doors of the Quebec civil service to non-francophones. It remains to be seen if these changes will bear fruit, especially in a time of cutbacks in civil service staffing. Similar reductions in funding for the health and social services augur poorly for the availability of jobs in the francophone institutions of that sector, which are generally 99% French-Canadian in their staffing.

2. Access to Public Schools: Law 101 bars Canadians from other provinces from sending their children to English schools in Quebec. A recent poll indicates that a majority of francophones in the Montreal area would accept changing this provision to allow these people such access, but meanwhile it makes it difficult for many companies to transfer people here, and poses a serious long-term threat to the survival of English schools.

The question of the future of the 1,600-odd children enrolled in English schools despite the law hangs over the school system, as inquiry is being conducted by the government to find ways of easing them into French

schools. And access to the latter is not always easy, either: minority groups continue to deal with cases like the one this fall of the Métis woman from Ontario who wanted her children to go to French schools, and so went to Montreal Catholic School Commission headquarters. There she was sent to the immigration desk (!), after which her children were refused access because she had no birth certificates for them! Clearly, Quebec's minority communities have a great deal of lobbying to do over the next few years before access to French schools is an assured, automatic and pleasant experience.

3. Problems at the Collegial Level: For a dozen years, the 30,000 English-speaking residents of the Outaouais have been putting up with the markedly inadequate English-language collegial education offered in Hull by the CEGEP de l'Outaouais through its Heritage campus. In the spring of 1981, the CEGEP agreed to relinquish control of Heritage, and Champlain Regional College agreed to incorporate it in its network. The Minister of Education gave his approval for this arrangement, which would have put control of English-language collegial education in the Outaouais in English hands for the first time. At the last moment, Dr. Laurin put the changeover "on hold" for one year, pending further studies. Failure to resolve this problem to the satisfaction of the English-speaking residents of the area will be demoralizing for them and tend to increase the sense of alienation that many already feel.

In contrast to Heritage, Dawson College in Montreal is at least run by English-speaking people to serve the mix of young non-Francophones who come from all over the city to its seven "campuses" and many ancillary buildings. Most of these are in a sad state of disrepair because new, centralized facilities have been promised for years, so only the minimum is being spent on upkeep. Meanwhile, the students, teachers and administrators of Dawson are still awaiting delivery of their new home.

4. The English-language universities: English-speaking students of all ages study at Bishop's, Concordia and McGill. So do many Francophones, and people of both language groups benefit by the English-language universities' research programmes.

The Quebec government's cutbacks in funds for universities and for foreign students have a direct impact on what these institutions can offer. Perhaps more serious is the long-term threat to their very viability as a result of restricted entrance to English public schooling, and the net flow of English-speaking people from the province.

5. Adult Education: In offering courses to adults, the three levels of education discussed above face one major hurdle: they must organize classes on the same teacher-student norms as the majority-language institutions, despite the fact that the population base they start with is generally

smaller and more dispersed than the French-speaking one, and is spread over areas of harsh climate conditions and mediocre roads. Minority-group people all over Quebec can echo the story of the woman in the Laurentians who travelled over winter roads to take a French commercial course at night, returning home as late as one in the morning. When she finished the programme, she was told by Canada Manpower she still didn't have sufficient French to get the job.

Adult Education Services can be, but sadly are not always, the prime movers in seeking-out and training community leaders. Tremendous resources are going to have to be devoted to this process for the next decade or so, because the development of collective self-awareness of the minority communities of Quebec has only just begun. Only in the last 3 or 4 years have they begun to see themselves as minorities in need of leaders and organizations to defend their interests and prepare their members for full participation in a basically French-speaking Quebec. Regional bodies and The New Alliance of Quebec Minorities are going to have to devote much of their time and energy to developing such leadership.

It is important to note the unique role that the Extension department of MacDonald College of McGill University plays in ensuring ongoing learning opportunities and services to those English-speaking people engaged in farming throughout Quebec.

D - SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

However, it takes not only trained leaders, but also associations through which they can organize to animate their local minority-language populations. Last Spring, such groups were funded in greater Quebec City and the Chateauguay Valley. Last Fall, the English-speaking residents of the Outaouais got organized. Launching of similar organizations on the South Shore, in the Laurentians, and on the Lower North Shore is now underway.

Such associations are vital to the maintenance and development of minority life in their various regions. They provide a framework and resources for developing the English-speaking community's sense of self-worth and resolve to preserve itself and its institutions. Their members know the local issues and the local variations on broader, provincial questions. They are thus able to respond effectively to local needs, all the while backed up by the resources and contacts of the A.Q.

The case of the nurse who serves the 150 English-speaking residents of Entry Island in the Magdalenes demonstrates well how the process works. The President of CASA, in his role as the Gaspesia Board's Adult Education Director, made available to her the best access possible to local French courses, then called on the then Council of Quebec Minorities to straighten out her problems with the Office de la langue française, whose test she had to pass despite the fact that none of her clients speak French. During this first tour of the Magdalenes, the Council's Outreach Director made a point of meeting the nurse. Then with the Council of Quebec Minorities' contacts in-

side the OLF, he was able to arrange for its testing team to go to the Magdalenes, whereas on previous attempts the woman concerned had had to travel to Montreal at her own expense. A small example, perhaps, but typical of how organizations at the two levels often function together for the benefit of individuals scattered all over the province. The regional and central associations, thereby build up a body of experience, which is then shared, sometimes among the regional groups themselves and sometimes through the Alliance as intermediary. This flow of information identifies potential province-wide problems as they are developing, thus giving the Alliance time to research the issues and propose strategies for dealing with them.

E - COMMUNICATIONS

1. It is not enough for institutions of the English-speaking community to keep each other informed. English-speaking individuals want to be kept up-to-date too. There is much yet to be done by government and media alike.

The 12,000 Anglo-Gaspésians, for example, had to create their own newspaper, SPEC, to keep them au courant of events in their region as well as in the province of Quebec. Almost all of their English radio and TV comes from New Brunswick, and the Montreal Gazette, when it finally arrives, has little relevance to the Gaspé.

The 16 English-language regional newspapers, grouped together in the

Association of Quebec Regional English Media (AQREM), the daily Record Sherbrooke, do their best to fill the gap in many English-speaking communities around the province. However, they have a difficult time getting most federal government departments and their advertising agencies to give them a share of their advertising dollar. The amounts involved would be minute to the spenders, but would mean the difference between viability and mere survival for the recipients.

At least such ads, when they are forthcoming, are in English. The Quebec government, despite promises of its Plan d'action for the minorities which it announced last March, continues to advertise in French only in minority-language papers. This Fall, it placed French-only announcements in the Gazette, saying it wanted to consult the citizens for their opinion on its proposal to abolish the compulsory retirement age.

The refusal of the Quebec government to inform English-speaking citizens in their own language of proposals that affect them and of programmes that can help them has serious consequences. It deprives them of benefits to which they have a right and for which they pay. Unilingual French notices advising citizens of opportunities to comment on government policy and programmes deprive many English-speaking citizens of the democratic right to participate.

A major objective of anglophone associations, at both the regional and the provincial levels, must be to work with both the federal and the

Quebec governments to ensure that English-speaking individuals across the province have access to adequate information services through the regional English-language media.

2. Culture. Outside of the Greater Montreal area, English professional theatre and live music is unavailable most of the time. The library service provided by local volunteer efforts (e.g. New Richmond in the Gaspé) or by the Centrale du prêt du Québec is often good but not always (e.g. the Townships).

The cultural arm of our regional associations will have their work cut out for them over the new few years as they struggle to bring English-language cultural events to their constituents.

F - THE YOUNG AND THE OLD

1. We are very concerned that so many of our young people have already left Quebec and that so many more are evidently planning to do so. We know that such departures are practically a tradition from such economically depressed areas as the Gaspé, but they are becoming a much larger and more general phenomenon across the province.

Many of our young people feel they have roots here, and want to stay. They are uncomfortable, however, with the government's efforts to reduce their communities' visibility ability to control their institutions and services. Even those fluent in French feel this but, sadly, many of our young people are still weak in the French-language skills now so necessary on the Quebec labour market.

We have already discussed the then Council of Quebec Minorities' first major effort to persuade non-francophones, young and not so young, that job possibilities do await them in this province. This Employment Opportunities Development Package (E.O.D.P.), even when adapted to meet the needs of our various communities, is not the whole answer to the problem. Non-francophones will undoubtedly look for additional means of convincing our youth to stay in Quebec. One such program is the Quebec Young Farmers' Federation (QYFF). This provincial youth association promotes leadership skills through its community development programs and has a communications network that spans all areas of English-speaking rural Quebec. The QYFF has been instrumental in building bridges of communication and cooperation with the francophone rural youth on a provincial level. It has also provided, over the last 4 years, input into the National 4H program to give both French and English-speaking rural youth the opportunity to come into contact with young people across Canada.

2. The rise in the average age of the population is a phenomenon across North America, but it is particularly acute in our communities. As else-

where, their need for health, social and other services is greater than what is being provided, but it is aggravated by the fact that most of the information and services offered are in French only, while most of these people are unilingually English-speaking. This only increases the feeling of helplessness being experienced by people growing old in isolated farm-houses in the Chateauguay Valley or in sub-standard housing in Montreal, for example.

Regional and provincial representatives of these people will have to spend much more time than they have been up until now lobbying the Quebec government, the regional health and social service councils, as well as local points of service so that they meet the needs of our elderly - in the user's language.

G - DIALOGUE

Dealing only with governments and their agencies, it is difficult to be sure that we will be able to get all of the accommodations our communities need. It is essential that we build links with the majority community. Organizing exchanges between francophones and English-speaking people, addressing francophones through their media - these are some of the obvious means, and we shall continue to use them. However, we must have a bank of speakers who will bring the minority message to meetings of the Richelieu Clubs, francophone women's groups and even the Mouvement national des Québécois! It will take some time to build up this bank and the contact group, and it may take years before it bears tangible fruit; but it is an

essential investment in the resolution of many of the problems described above.

H - CONCLUSION

A good start has been made in addressing these problems. The creation of Alliance Quebec, along with the intensification of organizational efforts throughout the province, has been an important step. It is evident that it will take some time -- perhaps a few years -- to lead these beginnings to fruition. It is clearly up to English-speaking Quebecers to take the initiative in this effort. However, we believe we have the right to expect help from government, to the extent that government believes that minority culture has a legitimate place in the Quebec of today and tomorrow.

CHAPTER III - THE STRUCTURES

In Chapters 1 and 2, the nature and needs of the English-speaking communities of Quebec have been outlined. In this chapter, certain inescapable consequences of the process of community development that has taken place in the last five years will be examined.

Two separate and related chains of events have brought the English-speaking minority communities of Quebec to a threshold of organization and self-awareness that is quite unknown in their history.

The first process is the accelerating change that has marked Quebec society especially over the past two decades and that has been outlined in the attached chronology. During this period English-speaking Quebecers have, somewhat painfully, become aware of their minority status. In so doing, however, they have also by and large begun to accept and value their place in Quebec, not as landlords or tenants, but as partners.

The growth of this new awareness and acceptance has not, however, been helped by a series of what most English-speaking people consider as an unnecessary, restrictive and intolerable set of legal, regulatory, and attitudinal developments that directly imperil the survival of any meaningful pluralism in Quebec.

The idea of community development toward which we would strive would involve community-based organizations in each of the ten previously identified areas that would then be linked through a provincial organization with Montreal area groups of English-speaking people of either a geographic, special interest or particular ethnic nature. Getting there will be a singular challenge requiring an unprecedented commitment of good will by all concerned including governmental authorities. Along the way this developmental process will need support from action research resources and communicating vehicles of various kinds, as well as the willing collaboration of all existing community animation resources within our communities. Fortunately, for the eventual success of this endeavour, there is a widespread recognition of the need for leadership to emerge from the English-speaking people of Quebec and for a structure to ensure its effectiveness as we strive toward our rightful place within Quebec society and an active involvement in the development of its future.

Over the past five years, the growth of this community's resources has kept perfect pace, though still imperfectly, with the growth and needs of a still fragile and delicate community infrastructure. The investment of funds in a community development process in the Gaspé and the Eastern Townships has resulted in these two areas now having stable organizations with a membership base and the beginning of a community structure. Both are now ready to enter the difficult second phase of work in their respective areas - that of in-depth needs analyses. Some needs will be addressed eventually

through long negotiations with local and regional public services, others will need creative resource development appropriate to their particular localities. Communications between their members and with the larger society will continue to be a challenge for their leadership faced with sparsely populated areas and great distances between groups of English-speaking people. This difficult first stage of community organization with all of its trials and errors, successes and failures, serves as a useful experience base for those just beginning their own community organization in other regions.

Two such regional groups have already gone through these first stages, and four others are now embarking on them. It is foreseen that four or five more will be necessary to ensure that all significant groupings of English-speaking people off the Island of Montreal are adequately supported by their own organizations. We estimate that at least five years will be necessary before the process is completed throughout Quebec.

At this point it must be recognized that the process of community development for the off-island English-speaking community necessarily follows a fundamentally different pattern from that of the Montreal community. This does not represent a polarization of the rural and urban English-speaking population but it is a result of the different historical backgrounds and challenges facing those communities.

From the English-speaking Quebec experience to date, concerned with a dispersed and disparate population, any community development process in the rural areas must initially center around a provincial common denominator, perhaps of a professional or cultural nature, in order to facilitate continuous participation at the grass-roots level.

Provincial associations involve citizens in coordinated action on specific short and long term issues. This, in turn, builds up the necessary confidence and expertise in key leaders for the eventual emergence of regional citizens' associations. Such regional associations respond to important local issues and, through their leaders' previous experience, are in a position to feed into the established provincial network.

The example of the development of such a provincial network can be traced in the history of the Quebec Farmers' Association. This association was initially established to deal with problems facing English-speaking farmers; the QFA, through its fundamental philosophy of grass roots participation, has now built a strong set of provincial community linkages that cross Quebec. It is now establishing itself as a provincial forum and voice on issues facing the rural English-speaking community that relate to both federal and provincial institutions and organizations that affect daily life in rural in Quebec; e.g. CBC, Commission of Enquiry, etc.

It is of the utmost importance that the programs of the QFA and its established provincial communication and contract network be maintained and developed not only to assist in the establishment and growth of regional

citizens' associations, but also to provide the necessary perspectives required to foster a sense of province-wide cohesion amongst the English-speaking members of the rural community in Quebec.

For similar reasons, it is of equal importance that other associations concerning themselves with specific aspects of the cultural and institutional requirements of the Quebec English-speaking population, e.g. Quebec Drama Festival, Association of Quebec Regional English Media, Home and School Associations, and Quebec Young Farmers, also be maintained.

Community concerns similar to those identified by regional off-island organizations are surfacing on the Island of Montreal. Access to a franchised work place, assured health and social services and participation in policy and program development of public services are common goals for all English-speaking Quebecers. Achieving these will require that urban community-based groups, similar in some respects to those regional groups previously described, be established in districts with the heaviest concentration of English-speaking people. The English-speaking black community has already requested financial assistance to address the problems of a linguistic nature. English-speaking senior citizens will have special needs concerning access to information; low income workers will require support to pinpoint their particular needs.

A provincial organization linking all regional and special interest

groups is essential if the goal of a strong voice for the English-speaking peoples of Quebec is to be realized. As the regional groups reach maturity in their development, the provincial organization's primary function will be to ensure communication between the parts and to support an ongoing policy-making process upon which recommendations will be made and actions taken. Analysis of legislation as it may have an impact on the linguistic minority will be its ongoing responsibility. For some years to come the provincial organization will also need to be able to furnish energy and expertise toward the development of the regional organizations. It is ultimately the responsibility of the provincial organization to ensure that the ideal of a strong voice for English-speaking Quebecers is in place and effective.

CHAPTER IV - CONCLUSION

This document has attempted to describe the nature of the English-speaking community of Quebec, to outline the problems it must face in the immediate future and to explain what kind of organizational infrastructure will be necessary to meet the situation as it now presents itself.

The process of development of community leadership so encouragingly begun in the last few years can only continue with the availability of secure and sufficient funding for community groups. Without this leadership there is no hope that the community can address effectively the problems that face it. Nor will it be able to coalesce sufficiently to even recognize those problems.

Failure to sustain this growth and development will lead to disappointment of legitimate hopes and expectations, a severe and perhaps fatal blow to many rural official language minority groups. It is worth noting that the rural English of Quebec who number 180,000, are Canada's fourth largest official language minority group, just 20,000 fewer than the Acadians of New Brunswick, whose struggle to maintain their collective identity we fully support. It is also important to note that, in terms of security and legal rights, Quebec is the only province in which the position of the minority language group is actually deteriorating. In other parts of Canada, albeit much too late, there has at least been a steady improvement over the last decade.

Although it is true that the English-speaking people in Quebec have been served by public and private institutions in their own language to a significantly better degree than have French-speaking Canadians outside of Quebec, the situation is changing rapidly. Many of these institutions of an English character in Quebec were created by the community itself and continued over a long period of time, some for over one hundred and fifty years, to respond adequately to human needs. With the process of governments assuming responsibility in meeting these needs has come a diminution of control and a diminution of actual services in the English-speaking sector. Now, with the francisation of all public and para public institutions, the historical English character of many traditionally English insitituions has all but disappeared. Services which not too long ago were taken for granted by English-speaking people have rapidly become unavailable in many parts of the province including the Island of Montreal. Public libraries do not adequately serve English-speaking people in most areas of the province. Even bookstores are becoming rarer.

The already serious trend of out-migration of youth (48% in Caldwell's updated study of rural youth) will accelerate. The elderly will become increasingly isolated both because their community is thinning out and because services to them from government will be less and less available in their own language. One by one rural communities, some of which have several hundreds of years of history and tradition will collapse. Nor is the urban centre secure. The disappearance of all visible signs of English-speaking culture presages the death of that community.

Canada will become further polarized into two unilingual regions and the eventual dismemberment of the country will become more plausible.

On the other hand, if Quebec's English-speaking communities are given the resources and the good will to enable them to protect their language and culture, to learn French and to integrate into the new social reality of Quebec, all Quebecers will benefit through the kind of social and cultural interaction that best preserves the health and promotes the development of any human society worth its salt.

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