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Evaluating the impact of Bill 101 on the English-speaking communities of Quebec

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Though forty years of language policies much improved the status and use of French in Quebec, laws such as Bill 101 played a role in reducing the demographic and institutional vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ). Pro-French laws maintained Francophones at close to 80% of the Quebec population and ensured that 95% of the Quebec population acquired knowledge of French. Language laws contributed to the decline of Anglophone mother tongue speakers from 13% of the population in 1971 to 7.5% in 2016, while increasing to 70% French/English bilingualism amongst Anglophones. With a net interprovincial loss of over 310,000 Anglophones who left Quebec for the rest of Canada (ROC), results show that Anglophones who stayed in Quebec are less educated and earn lower income than Quebec Francophones. Language laws limiting access to English schools succeeded in reducing the size of the English school system from 256,251 pupils in 1971 (100%) to only 96,235 pupils in 2018 (37%). While the Anglophone minority bemoan their demographic and institutional decline in education, health care, and government services, many Francophones remains concerned about threats to French by bilingualism in Montreal and their minority status in Canada and North America.

Keywords: Allophones, Anglophones, Francophones, ethnolinguistic vitality, English Schools, Quebec Community Groups Network

Language planning in Quebec can be seen as an intergroup struggle in which the Francophone majority sought to assert its linguistic, political and economic ascendancy over not only the English language but ultimately over its speakers, namely the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ). The first part of the paper defines the group vitality concept and its development as a tool of social analysis for understanding intergroup relations between language majorities and minorities in multilingual settings. The second part provides a brief historical review of Quebec's two language communities, the French majority and

the ESCQ minority. The third part reviews key language policies such as Bill 101 designed to increase the vitality of the French-speaking majority relative to that of the English speaking minority. Part 4 assesses the impact of Bill 101 in enhancing the demographic vitality of the Francophone majority relative to that of the ESCQ. Part 5 focuses on language laws designed to undermine the institutional vitality of the ESCQ by reducing the size of the English school system in Quebec. The paper concludes with challenges faced by the declining English-speaking minorities of Quebec.

1. The ethnolinguistic vitality construct

The vitality of ethnolinguistic groups has been defined as that which makes them behave as distinctive and collective entities within multilingual settings (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). The more vitality an ethnolinguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity. Conversely, ethnolinguistic groups that have little vitality are more likely to cease to exist as distinctive language communities. As a tool of social analysis, the objective vitality framework uses available census and sociolinguistic indicators to measure the relative vitality of minority and majority language communities in contact. As originally conceived, such objective vitality assessments were used as a heuristic for more systematically comparing the language groups being used in intergroup and sociolinguistic research (Smith, Ehala, & Giles, 2018). The vitality construct was also used as a tool for developing the advocacy and language policy strategies needed to ‘reverse the language shift’ of vulnerable low vitality minorities in majority settings (Fishman, 2001).

Three structural factors contribute to group vitality: demographic factors, institutional support and status. *Demographic variables* refer to the number of speakers composing language groups, their birth rate, their age pyramid, mixed marriages, their intergenerational language transmission, their proportion and concentration relative to other ethnolinguistic communities, and their pattern of immigration and emigration within and outside their territory. Demographic indicators of ‘strength in numbers’ can be used as a legitimizing tool for granting linguistic minorities the institutional support they need to develop their language community within majority language group settings.

Institutional support refers to the degree of control one language group has achieved over institutions contributing to its survival in multilingual settings. Institutional support refers to the degree to which members of a linguistic group have gained a position of control at decision-making levels in national, regional and municipal governments and in domains such as education, health and social

services, the military, commerce, mass media, cultural industries, sports, and religious institutions. Institutional support also includes the leadership and political parties necessary to maintain such control. Language minorities need to achieve and maintain a favorable position on the institutional control front if they wish to develop as distinctive collective entities relative to majority communities within multilingual states.

Status vitality includes the prestige of the languages spoken by linguistic minorities and majorities in contact, both within the country and internationally. It also includes the perceived historical prestige of the language communities in contact following their rise and fall over time. Status vitality includes language planning efforts designed to enshrine the knowledge and use of majority and minority language groups within a given nation or region. The more status a linguistic community is ascribed to have, the more vitality it could be said to possess as a collectivity.

The strength and weaknesses of language groups on the demographic, institutional support, and status variables combine to situate language communities on a continuum of strong to weak vitality. A linguistic minority may be relatively strong on the demographic front but may suffer weak institutional support. In contrast, a linguistic group may be weak on the demographic front but benefit from improving institutional control in key domains such as education and health care. Analysts have made useful objective assessments of the vitality of ethnolinguistic communities within regional and national territories using census and institutional support data to compare their relative strengths and weaknesses for both research and public policy developments (Gilbert, 2010; Johnson & Doucet, 2006). Using a cross-national comparative perspective, Bourhis & Landry (2012) proposed a 'wellness model' to situate the vitality of language minorities on the orthogonal dimensions of demographic factors and institutional control factors. Using this two-dimensional framework for strategic analysis, the vitality of language communities could be characterized as 'recovering to full wellness' (high demographic and high institutional control), as being 'stable but experiencing problematic illness' (high demographic but low institutional control and low demographic but high institutional control), or as suffering 'critical illness' (low demographic and low institutional control). Each of these wellness assessments calls for specific advocacy and language policy interventions designed to improve the vitality of vulnerable language minorities.

Do majority and minority group speakers perceived their own group vitality in line with specialist assessments of their objective vitality? *Subjective vitality* perceptions were proposed to monitor how language minorities and majorities perceived the relative strength of their language communities. Such perceptions were measured using the *Subjective vitality questionnaire* (SVQ) designed to moni-

tor in-group/out-group vitality perceptions on demographic, institutional support and status domains (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981). Subjective vitality studies showed that group members tend to be realistic in their perceptions of their own group vitality relative to that of salient out-groups, especially when such differences are large (Harwood, Giles & Bourhis, 1994). However, when in-group/out-group objective vitality differences are less pronounced, perceptual biases such as exaggeration or underestimation of own-group vitality strength relative to out-group vitality occur, and this depending on strength of in-group identification to one's own language group (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1993). Studies show that most language minorities and majorities are keen to improve their own-group vitality on institutional and status variables (Sioufi, Bourhis & Allard, 2016). Studies also show that language minorities and majorities often mobilize collectively to defend or improve their respective vitality prospects (Bourhis, 2017; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2013).

2. Brief overview of French and English languages communities in Quebec

In the Canadian setting, individuals who have French as a mother tongue are labelled as Francophones, those who have English as a mother tongue are labelled Anglophones, while Allophones are individuals whose mother tongue is other than French or English. In Quebec, both Francophones and Anglophones have a double status: Francophones constitute the language majority within the province but remain a linguistic minority in Canada; Anglophones are a minority in Quebec level but constitute the language majority at the Canadian level.

Many Francophones in Quebec can trace their ancestry to the 17th century in 'Nouvelle France' before the British conquest of 1759. For close to four centuries in Quebec, the Francophone majority succeeded in controlling their institutional vitality within their own French religious, judicial, cultural, health and educational institutions, as well as their municipal and provincial governments (Plourde, Duval & Georgeault, 2000). This francophone majority was under the influence of the powerful French Catholic Church and the English Protestant elite whose control of the Quebec economy was substantial since the British conquest of the 18th century (Dickinson, 2007). This lasting alliance resulted in a diglossic language situation with English as the prestige language of the Anglophone business elites, and French as the lower status language of the Francophone majority on whose shoulders fell the necessity of becoming bilingual for key jobs and upward mobility. As Francophones became increasingly educated, secular, and wealthy following the 1960 'Quiet Revolution', the French language was invested

as the distinguishing symbol of its newly defined positive identity as Québécois Francophones (QF; Oakes & Warren, 2007). The QF majority expanded its provincial public administration and dislodged the Catholic clergy to develop a fully secular and universal public education and health care system. The growing Quebecois nationalist movement sought to dislodge the Anglophone business elite who resisted the linguistic, social and economic emancipation of the Francophone majority. The nationalist movement decried French-English bilingualism in the Quebec National Assembly, enactment of bilingual provincial laws, bilingual usage in courts and health care, and the dual French and English education systems (Rocher, 2002). Nationalists also bemoaned the lack of Francophone representation in the Canadian Public Administration and federal intrusions in Quebec linguistic and provincial affairs (Martel & Pâquet, 2010). The Québécois nationalist movement proposed the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada as a solution for giving Quebec full institutional control of its own destiny, including the promotion of French as the only official language of a sovereign state.

Anglophones are a distinctive cultural minority with ancestral roots in Quebec that date back to the British conquest of 1759 and the Proclamation of British laws and political institutions in 1763. Such laws served the small “British merchant class” settled within the French Catholic majority population. English-speaking empire loyalists settled in Quebec during and following the American War of Independence of 1783. The English-speaking population grew slowly as immigrants from Britain settled in Quebec, while many others settled in English-majority Upper-Canada after the 1791 Constitutional Act. British immigrants to Quebec were of English, Scottish and especially Irish origin in the early 1800s (Rudin, 1985). In the 1830s, English speakers constituted the majority population in Montreal. By the founding of Canadian Confederation (BNA Act, 1867), the Anglophone minority was 260,000 strong, making up 25% of the Quebec population.

From Confederation to the 1960s, these British background English-speaking minorities gained institutional control by funding their own educational, health care and religious institutions while maintaining strong cultural links with English speakers in the rest of Canada (ROC). The Montreal protestant English-speaking elite controlled key sectors of both the Canadian and Quebec economy (Dickinson, 2007). Class stratification in Quebec benefitted the Scottish and English protestant business elite while Irish Catholics and speakers of English from various ethnic immigrant backgrounds constituted working class poor and middle-class elements of this Anglophone minority. As noted by Rudin (1985):

The superior position of English speakers in 1961 did not mean that all English speakers earned more than their French-speaking counterparts; nor did all Eng-

lish speakers achieve upward mobility in the decades before 1961. Among the 70% of male Montreal workers who earned less than \$ 5000 in 1961, there was no difference in the wages earned by English and French speakers. Rather, the entire gap was the product of the concentration of English speakers in the city's best jobs, and many of the occupants of these positions were the upwardly mobile English speakers of the post-World War II era. In the years after 1961 the disparities between English and French speakers narrowed. Rudin, pp. 212

The economic decline of Montreal to the advantage of Toronto developed from the inter-war years into the 1960s, as investment from the UK to Montreal declined, while those from the U.S. to Toronto increased. This shift was accentuated by the construction of the St Lawrence Seaway, which allowed international ships to bypass the port of Montreal, thus further contributing to the emergence of Toronto as the center of the Canadian economy. Fewer managerial, clerical and professional jobs became available for English speakers in Montreal compared to those expanding in Toronto, thus limiting the upward mobility and income of Quebec Anglophones (Rudin, 1985). Furthermore, the expansion of the French public administration was a domain of state employment not available to unilingual Quebec Anglophones.

3. Language policies in Canada and Quebec

The Canadian government adopted the *Official Languages Act* of 1969 enshrining French and English as co-official languages of the Federal parliament and public administration (Canada, 1988). The Act provided bilingual federal government services to minority Francophone and Anglophone communities across Canada where numbers warranted. This bilingualism policy was adopted as a way of improving the position of French Canadians in the Federal public administration, as a measure to reinforce nation-building through Canadian duality, and to eventually attenuate the political draw of French separatist aspirations in Quebec (Fraser, 2006). The Act also established the *Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages* (OCOL), which still reports annually on the level of French and English use and services in the Federal administration and its agencies (Jedwab & Landry, 2011). The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, adopted in 1982, enshrined English and French as the official languages of Canada. Importantly, the Charter guaranteed primary and secondary schooling (article 23) for the French minorities in the rest of Canada (ROC) and for the English-speaking minority in Quebec (Vaillancourt, Coche, Cadieux & Ronson, 2012).

In 2005, the Canadian Government reinforced Part VII of the *Official Languages Act* by obliging ministries of the Federal government to take positive mea-

asures to *enhance the vitality* of the French and English official-language minority communities in Canada, supporting and assessing their development, while fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society (Part VII, Articles 41–43; Canada, 2009). The Federal government also funded four 5-year Action Plans supporting French and English official language minorities in education and government services from 2003 to 2023 amounting to \$ 5.8 billion (Canada, 2018). These Canadian language policy efforts testify to the Federal government's commitment to developing the vitality of its two official-language minorities (Clément & Foucher, 2014).

In its first decade of implementation, the federal official bilingualism policy was criticized on political, practical and fiscal grounds by some anti-French elements across English Canada (Reid, 1993). Likewise, many QFs considered such bilingualism measures as 'too little too late' and unlikely to stem the decline in the proportion of Francophone minorities in English majority provinces (Martel & Pâquet, 2010). However, after decades of implementation, Canada-wide national polls have shown growing support for Canadian bilingual policies amongst both Francophone (93%) and Anglophone (87%) citizens (Jedwab, 2011).

At the height of the Québécois nationalist movement of the 1970s, four factors were seen to undermine the demographic and institutional vitality of the Francophone majority in Quebec: (1) the drop in the birthrate of the QF population from one of the highest to one of the lowest in the western world; (2) the gradual assimilation of Francophone minorities in the ROC, convincing many QFs there was no future beyond their own province; (3) Anglophone elite domination of the Quebec economy; (4) Allophone immigrant choices favouring the English rather than the French educational system for their children (d'Anglejan, 1984). The Québécois nationalist movement succeeded in convincing successive Quebec governments to adopt language laws designed to address such factors undermining the long-term vitality of the Francophone majority in the province.

Following linguistic riots between QFs and Italian immigrants on the streets of Montreal, the Quebec Liberal government adopted Bill 22 in 1974, limiting access to English schools by imposing English language tests to determine if a child could register in English schools (Mallea, 1984). Bill 22 was much decried by Allophone immigrants and Anglophones as it curtailed their freedom of language choice in education instituted in 1969 by Bill 63. Bill 22 frustrated Francophone nationalists who felt too many immigrants still had access to English schools, thus integrating to the English minority rather than to the French host majority (Rocher, 2002).

The Charter of the French language (Bill 101) was the first law adopted by the newly elected separatist Parti Québécois government to address vitality threats to the French language in Quebec (Corbeil, 2007). One pillar of Bill 101 was access to

French and English education. Bill 101 made it clear that *all* immigrants to Quebec from Canada or abroad were obliged to send their children to French primary and secondary public schools. However, immigrant children already in English schools by the time Bill 101 was adopted, along with their current and future siblings, were guaranteed access to English-medium schooling. Bill 101 also guaranteed English schooling to all present and future Quebec Anglophone (QA) pupils who had one parent schooled in English in Quebec but not Canada or internationally. Thus, freedom to attend English schools was abolished by Bill 101 not only for immigrants and English Canadians from the ROC, but also for members of the Quebec Francophone majority who had to attend French schools (Quebec, 1977). Unlike Francophones, QAs could choose to send their children to either the English or the French school system of the province. Given that post-secondary education was optional in Quebec as in the ROC, freedom of language choice was guaranteed for Francophone, Anglophone and Allophone post-secondary students, who could choose to attend French or English colleges and universities.

Bill 101 also guaranteed the rights of every QF to receive communications in French when dealing with the Quebec public administration, semi-public agencies, and business firms, as well as the right to be informed and served in French in retail stores and businesses. The law also ensured the right of all employees to work in French and not to be dismissed or demoted for the sole reason of being unilingual French. As regards the language of work, Bill 101 stipulated that business firms with more than fifty employees were required to apply for a *francisation certificate*, which attested that they had the necessary infrastructure to use French as the language of work within their organization. From 1996 onwards, the *francisation* certificate was legally required for business firms wishing to tender their services to the provincial government.

Bill 101 contained controversial clauses that banned languages other than French from the *linguistic landscape*, including road signs, government signs, and commercial store signs. These linguistic landscape regulations had the advantage of producing immediate visible changes in favour of the French landscape especially in Montreal, thus reassuring QFs their language was being protected by the government. However, the highly symbolic nature of the linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) for both the Francophone majority and Anglophone and Allophone minorities resulted in decades of language activism and court challenges on both sides of the linguistic divide. These linguistic tensions, as well as Quebec and Canadian Supreme Court rulings that freedom of expression included the right to post commercial signs in the language of one's choice, resulted in the adoption of Bill 178 in 1988 which used the 'notwithstanding clause' of the Canadian Charter (Clause 33) to allow French only on outside commercial signs, but bilingual signs inside stores. Bill 178 displeased Anglophones and

Allophones whose languages were banned from outside commercial signs, while French nationalist bemoaned language signs other than French inside stores. Bill 86 adopted in 1993 eased tensions somewhat by ruling that French be ‘clearly predominant’ over all other languages allowed on commercial signs (Bourhis & Landry, 2002).

Francophone reactions to Bill 101 were mostly positive. Organized labour and the “*petite bourgeoisie*” saw Bill 101 as being effective in securing the status and use of French at work, while contributing to the cultural security of the Francophone majority (Bourhis, 2001; Maurais, 1987). However, at the time of its adoption, the Francophone employer class was less supportive of Bill 101 as it was seen to hamper the development of Montreal as a business centre, including its head offices and research centres (Coleman, 1984).

To this day, the *Office québécois de la langue française* (OQLF) ensures that every feature of Bill 101 and subsequent language laws remain fully implemented and backed by financial and legal sanctions for non-compliance. Presently, this public administration consists of 240 employees. The OQLF mandate includes monitoring compliance with language laws and regulations, delivering francisation certificates, French proficiency tests for non-Francophones, monitoring the progress of French in the province and collaborative projects with other countries of “la francophonie”. In addition to its Annual Report, the OQLF also report on the overall demolinguistic status and use of French in the province (Quebec, 2011). Numerous detailed evaluation studies commissioned by the OQLF focused on demolinguistic and sociolinguistic analyses of the French language, while highlighting threats to the ascendancy of French based on optimistic vs pessimistic projections for the future (Paillé, 2011; Termote, Payeur & Thibault, 2011). Some analysts consider that language policies did not go far enough in supporting French, while highlighting that Bill 101 had been unduly diluted by *Charter of Rights and Freedom* rulings adopted in Quebec and Canadian courts (Plourde, 1988; Woehrling, 2005). The rising number of multilingual immigrants settled in Montreal maintained Quebec nationalist discourse focused on linguistic threats to French. Some worried that French mother-tongue speakers were reaching the tipping edge of losing their majority status within the island of Montreal, while bemoaning the power of attraction of English and increasing the French/English bilingualism of Francophones (Curzi, 2014). Other analysts celebrated the progress of the French language and its role as a unifying badge of a Québec national identity, highlighting the continuing challenge of accepting ethnolinguistic diversity within the only French dominant society of North America (Georgeault & Pagé, 2006).

With the Parti Québécois government adoption of Bill 101 and its first referendum on Quebec sovereignty in 1980, many QAs who stayed in Quebec began

to see themselves as a vulnerable minority group rather than as individuals (McLeod Arnopoulos & Clift, 1984). QAs mobilised as minority pressure groups to safeguard their individual rights and institutional vitality in education, health care, and municipalities (Stevenson, 1999). Militant activists launched *Alliance Quebec*, a protest movement defending Anglo rights and challenging Bill 101 clauses in the Quebec and Canadian Supreme Courts. In the process of losing their elite economic position and their historical power of influence with Francophone politicians, Montreal Anglophones launched the *Equality Party* to defend their collective rights in the Quebec government where they elected four Anglophone members to the National Assembly (Scowen, 1991). Political dissensions in those movements lead to the demise of the Equality Party and Alliance Quebec in the 1990s.

The *Quebec Community Groups Network* (QCGN) was launched as a federation of regional and Montreal Anglophone advocacy organizations in 1995. To this day the QCGN is a not-for-profit organization encouraging collaboration amongst over 50 Anglophone community organizations, while assisting federal, provincial and municipal governments to commit to the legislative policies needed to develop the institutional vitality of the ESCQ across the province (Laforge, 2018). *Community Learning Centers* (CLC) hosted within English schools across the province provide lifelong learning and culture hubs involving local adult community members in cooperation with school personnel. Over 85 such CLCs develop resources and programs for the benefit of both students and adults on school premises, contributing to the vitality of local English-speaking communities (ABEE, 2018). The QCGN, CLCs along with the *Community Health and Social Services Network* (CHSSN) and *English Language Arts Network* (ELAN) all funded in part by Canadian Heritage, help foster the leadership and community mobilization needed to maintain the linguistic and institutional vitality of the ESCQ in education, health and social services, justice, culture, municipal and community development for youth and seniors (Carter, 2012; Jedwab & Maynard, 2012; Rodgers, Needles & Garber, 2012).

A number of evaluations were made to assess the impact of Bill 101 on the vitality of the ESCQ and non-French language minorities in Quebec society. The first studies analysed the historical drop from majority to minority status of the ESCQ (Caldwell, 1984). Later analyses used features of the group vitality framework to document the decline of the Anglophone minority since the adoption of language laws in the province (Bourhis, 2012; Bourhis & Sioufi, 2017; Jedwab, 2004). Sociolinguistic studies focused on the language attitudes and French/English use patterns of Francophones and Anglophones as behavioural consequences of language planning efforts (Bourhis, 2012; Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot, 2007; Landry et al., 2013). The legal status of the Anglophone minority was also explored

using the Canadian Constitution and human rights charters as well as jurisprudence drawn from official language minority court cases in Quebec and the ROC (Foucher, 2012).

It is difficult to establish cause and effect relationships when evaluating the impact of language policies on the demographic and sociolinguistic development of linguistic minorities and majorities. This caveat must be considered when assessing the issues discussed in Section 4, which provides a selective overview of the demolinguistic and income position of the ESCQ relative to that of the Francophone majority.

4. Demolinguistic and sociolinguistic impact of Bill 101

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

Census and economic studies of Canadian interprovincial migration have tended to focus mainly on economic factors and shown that unemployment and income differentials were key factors accounting for such migration across Canada (Coulombe, 2006). Due to various economic, fiscal and political reasons, Quebec experienced the highest cumulative out-migration of any of the ten Canadian provinces, losing over 582,000 residents who migrated to the ROC between 1971 and 2015, reflecting in part the position of Quebec as the second most populous province in Canada (Clemens, Labrie, & Emes, 2016). This out-migration was prevalent especially amongst the highly mobile 20–29 year olds in the early stages of their career following the completion of post-secondary degrees. Conversely, Quebec recorded the lowest rate of in-migration (adjusted for population) of any province between 1971 and 2015.

Figure 1 shows interprovincial migration of Canadian citizens to and from Quebec between 1966 and 2016, excluding international migrations (Houle & Corbeil, 2018). After subtracting departures from arrivals in Quebec, Canadian census data shows that the net outflow of Francophones to the ROC was 55,000 between 1966 and 2016. As a dominant majority in Quebec, QFs have few push reasons to leave their province for the ROC where Francophones remain fragile minorities in all provinces including Ontario (5% of its population) and New Brunswick (33%).

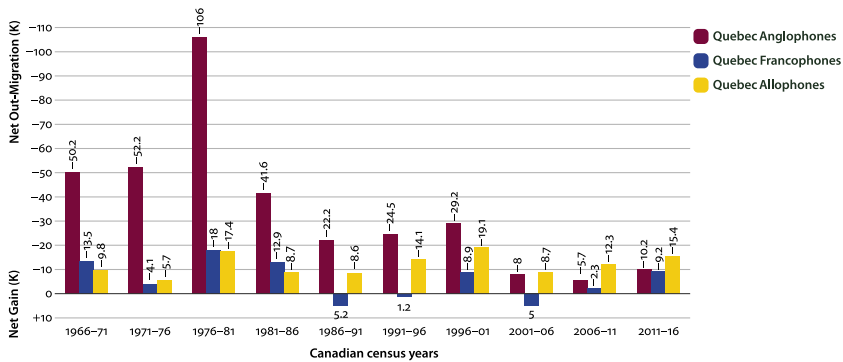


Figure 1. Net-outmigration

Figure 1 shows that a net inter-provincial migration of Allophones to the ROC occurred for each census period from 1966 to 2016, amounting to a net outflow of 120,000 individuals, many of whom were well qualified and had received government language training in French. Such Allophones are made up of first- to third-generation immigrants of different ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds in Quebec.

Figure 1 shows the net interprovincial outflow of QAs to the ROC which amounted to 310,000 people, thus contributing to a significant decline of the QA minority in Quebec. What is known as the 'Anglophone exodus' began in the 1966 to 1981 period. They were seen as years of turmoil including critical incidents such as: urban guerilla actions of the *Front de Libération du Québec* (FLQ) including the October crisis of 1970, the election of the separatist *Parti Québécois* government in 1976, adoption of pro-French language laws such as Bill 101, and the *Parti Québécois* government's first referendum on Quebec separation held in 1980. These critical incidents, along with labour strife, high income taxes, declining job prospects and a second referendum on Quebec separation in 1995 remain salient push factors in the historical narrative of many Quebec Anglophones, whose net out-migration continued up to the 2011–2016 Canadian census period (Bougie, Osborne, de la Sablenière, & Taylor, 2010).

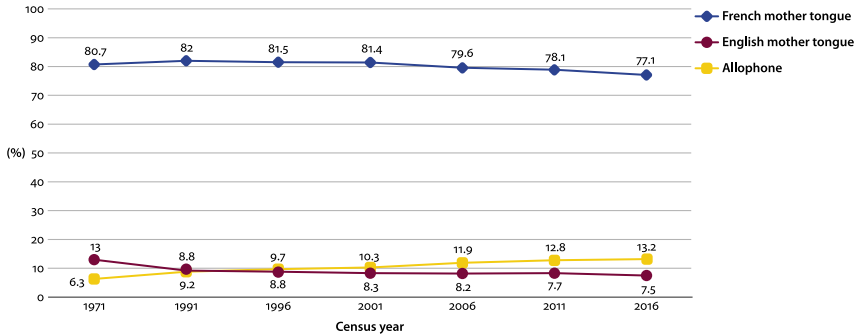
Analyses of the 2001 Canadian census showed that Quebec-born QAs who left Quebec were more likely to have a university degree and as likely to be bilingual as those who stayed, suggesting that lack of French skills was not the main reason for their out-migration (Floch & Pocock, 2012). An updated study based on the 2011 census showed that Quebec-born QAs with higher University degrees (Ph.D, M.A., MD, Dentistry) were less likely to stay in Quebec (34% to 40%) than QAs with college (CEGEP) (56%) or high school diplomas (58%) (Floch, 2018). In contrast, Quebec-born QFs with higher university degrees were almost as likely to stay in Quebec (91%–95%) as those with a college or high school diploma (97%).

Such trends suggest that the ESCQ are losing highly qualified bilingual QAs educated and trained in Quebec who could otherwise fill much-needed positions for the economic and social development of not only the English-speaking minority, but Quebec society as a whole, faced with chronic labour shortages due to falling birthrates.

Linguistic tensions can be factors complementing economic ones in accounting for QA desire to migrate from Quebec to the ROC. Though being the victim of prejudice and discrimination is often based on category memberships such as sex/gender (sexism), age (ageism) and race/ethnicity (racism), it can also be based on language and accent (linguicism: Bourhis & Carignan, 2010). At the collective level, linguicism is defined as ideologies and structures used to legitimate and reproduce unequal division of power and resources between groups which are defined on the basis of language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988). At the individual level, the literature on evaluative reactions to language and accents shows that speakers who use speech styles that are devalued by dominant majorities are often the victim of linguicism, which reflects current prejudices and may result in discrimination such as limited employment opportunities, difficult access to health care and education, and feelings of social exclusion from mainstream society (Fuerte et al., 2012).

Quebec qualitative studies showed that QA out-migration was not only an exit strategy motivated by individual economic interest but also in part by feelings of exclusion and collective political helplessness (Pettinicchio, 2012). Interviews with Quebec Anglophones who left the province revealed that many did not feel accepted by the Francophone majority, especially in the workplace (Magnan, 2004). A Canadian post-census telephone survey of 45,000 respondents conducted across Canada showed that in Quebec, twice as many Anglophones than Francophones declared having been personally victims of discrimination, with linguicism based on language/accent seen as the main factor accounting for such negative treatment relative to ethnicity, race and religion (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen, 2007).

A study of Quebec Anglophone and Francophone bilingual undergraduates attending English-medium and French-medium universities respectively in downtown Montreal, showed that QAs were more willing to leave Quebec than were QFs (Sioufi & Bourhis, 2018). Though both QFs and QAs reported economic reasons for leaving Quebec, results showed that push factors to leave Quebec based on linguistic tensions were much more important for QAs than for QFs. Push factors accounting for QA desires to leave Quebec were: to avoid French/English linguistic tensions, to avoid being judged because of one's linguistic origin, being the victim of collective discrimination, perceiving French-English relations as zero-sum, and to get better access to health care and employment in English in the ROC.



● L1 French	4,860,410	5,585,645	5,741,435	5,802,020	5,916,840	6,102,210	6,219,660
● L1 English	788,830	626,195	621,865	591,380	607,165	599,225	601,155
● Allophone	390,415	598,445	681,285	732,180	866,000	961,695	1,060,830

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

Figure 2. Mother tongue

Pro-French language laws had effects on the demographic vitality of both the Francophone majority and the Anglophone minority. As seen in Figure 2, we present Canadian census data in 1971 before the adoption of Bill 101 and monitor trends forty years onwards using the 2016 census data. The Canadian census defines mother tongue (L1) as the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood at the time of census. Results show that the number of French mother tongue (L1) speakers increased from 4.8 million in 1971 to over 6.2 million in 2016. Census results also show that the proportion of French mother tongue (L1) speakers in Quebec declined slightly from 80.7% in 1971 to 77.1% in 2016. This 4.4% drop in the proportion of French mother tongue speakers was due mostly to the increase in the number of Allophones in the province, which more than doubled through immigration, from 390,415 in 1971 representing 6.3% of the population, to over 1 million in 2016, constituting 13.2% of the population.

Through its partial control of international migration negotiated with the Canadian Government, the Quebec Ministry of Immigration (MIDI) does select some immigrants on the basis of numerous criteria including French language skills. From the 2005 to 2014 period, the MIDI (2016) accepted 490,895 immigrants to Quebec, of whom 60.7% had a knowledge of French, 16.7% had a knowledge of English only, and 22.6% had no knowledge of French or English. Immigrants accepted to Quebec who have no knowledge of French are offered optional French language courses funded by the MIDI during the day, evening or on the workplace.

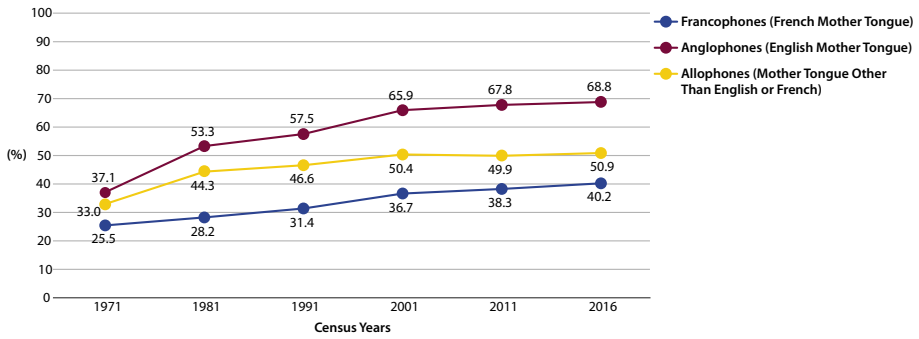
Many QFs decry that too many immigrants are admitted to Quebec without knowledge of French, and that too few French language classes are offered to

immigrants due to underfunding by the MIDI, thus threatening the vitality of French in Quebec. Nevertheless, QFs remain consensual in considering Bill 101 as one of the key factor contributing to the ascendancy of the French language in the province and to the strong demographic vitality of the Francophone majority.

As seen in Figure 2, the Anglophones mother tongue population dropped from 788,830 (13% of the Quebec population) in 1971 to 601,155 in 2016, representing only 7.5% of the Quebec population. This decline in both absolute and relative terms was due in part to the net out-migration of Anglophones to English majority provinces of the ROC as seen in Figure 1. Mother tongue (L1) statistics remain relevant because Quebec government laws and regulations have often used this L1 measure as its indicator of the size of the Anglophone minority in the province. Mother tongue statistics allows the Quebec Government to offer education, municipal, health and social services based on fewer Anglophones than would be required if the First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) was used as a measure of the size of the QA population (Jedwab, 2012).

FOLS was developed by Statistics Canada as a composite score of three existing census items: official language knowledge, mother tongue, and language(s) spoken most often at home. Statistic Canada assigns individuals as English FOLS; French FOLS and English-French FOLS. Compared with “mother tongue”, FOLS is more inclusive by taking in consideration that people’s knowledge and main use of language at home may change over time relative to mother tongue as in cases of Allophones who may switch to French or English as their FOLS as they integrate within one or the other host communities in the province. Based on FOLS, Quebec Anglophones numbered 958,250 in 1971 (15.9% of total population), dropped to 832,048 by 1991 (12.2%), and 828,730 in 2001 (11.6%), while rising to 935,635 in 2011 (12%) and 964,120 in 2016 (12%) (Corbeil, Chavez & Pereira, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2016). Clearly, the number and percentage of QAs is greater based on FOLS than based on mother tongue census data (Figure 1). Anglophone associations such as the QCGN have sought the use of FOLS as a broader baseline to receive more language services from the Quebec Government but with little success. In contrast, the Federal government and provinces such New Brunswick and Ontario are using FOLS as a basis to provide language services to their Francophone minorities. Québécois Francophone numbers also benefitted from the use of the FOLS measure. Based on FOLS, Quebec Francophones numbered 4,937,834 in 1971 (81.9% of total population) and increased steadily to 5,772,180 in 1991 (84.8%), 6,059,113, in 2001 (85%), and 6,750,950 in 2016 (83.7%). In effect, both QAs and QFs gain when using FOLS as an indicator of their demographic vitality relative to the mother tongue measure (cf. Figure 1).

The growing integration of Quebec within the Canadian and U.S. economic and cultural mainstream, along with the presence of Anglophone minority insti-



● L1 French	1,238,500	1,499,200	1,746,798	2,122,050	2,334,520	2,502,735
● L1 English	292,800	375,500	342,766	377,090	406,130	413,575
● Allophone	122,900	188,800	285,200	357,210	480,000	539,455

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

Figure 3. L1 and Bilingualism

tutions, are in part reflected in a gradual increase of individual French-English bilingualism in the province. Bilingualism is defined in the Canadian census as the capacity to speak both French and English well enough to conduct a conversation. As seen in Figure 3, census data shows that while 25.5% of Quebec Francophones were bilingual in 1971 (1,238,500), 31.4% were bilingual in 1991 (1,746,798), and as many as 40.3% were bilingual by 2016 (2,502,735). This gradual increase in Francophone bilingualism testifies to the power of attraction of English in Quebec as elsewhere worldwide.

Linguistic tensions between the Francophone and Anglophone communities added pressure on Allophone minorities to take sides in the Quebec linguistic debate. One response was to learn both French and English as the two host community languages in Quebec. While 33% of Allophones were bilingual in 1971 (122,900), by 2016, 50.9% were bilingual (539,455). Allophone bilingualism reflects both the francisation effect of Bill 101, the presence of the Anglophone host minority in Montreal and the enduring drawing power of English worldwide. For Allophones who maintained knowledge of their mother tongue, we can assume that such French/English bilingual Allophones are often trilingual, thus contributing to the multilingual diversity of Montreal where most immigrants settle in the Province.

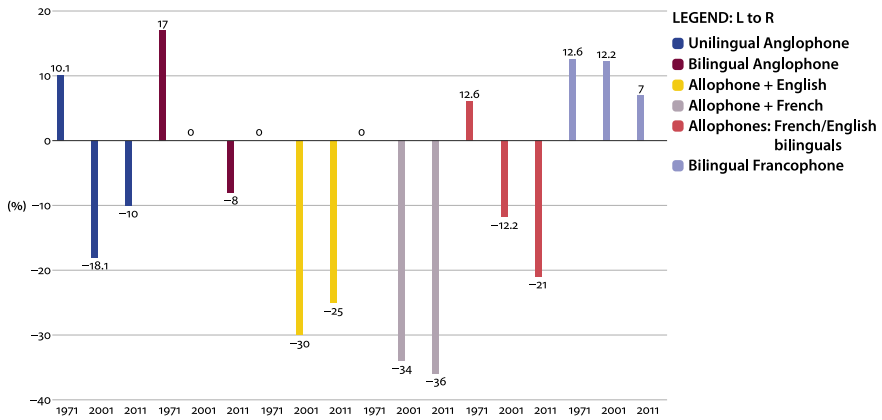
QFs have long bemoaned that QAs did not make the effort to learn French in Quebec. As seen in Figure 3, an increasing proportion of Anglophones who live in Quebec have become French/English bilinguals since the adoption of Bill 101: from 37.1% in 1971 (292,800) to 69.8% in 2016 (446,595). Using 2001 census data, Floch & Pocock (2012) showed that 77.7% of Quebec Anglophones who stayed in Quebec were bilingual compared to those who left of whom 61.4% were

bilingual. Taken together, the increasing number and proportion of bilinguals amongst Francophones, Anglophones and Allophones bode well for intercultural communications, especially in the greater Montreal region where bilinguals are concentrated in the province.

A key goal of Bill 101 was to ensure the widespread knowledge of French as the shared public language of communication across Quebec society (Corbeil, 2007). Combining the proportion of unilingual Francophones with all French-English bilinguals in the province provides a measure of the Quebec population that has a knowledge of French. In the 1971 census, the proportion of the Quebec population of all backgrounds declaring knowledge of French was 88.5% and increased to 94.5% by the 2016 census, attesting to the role of Quebec language policies in maintaining French as the shared language of public communication for most Francophone, Anglophone and Allophone citizens of the province (Houle & Corbeil, 2018).

Using Canadian census data, Floch & Pocock (2012) analysed the income of Quebec-born Anglophones who left Quebec compared to those who stayed in the province from 1971 to 2001. Results showed that for each census decade, the percentage of individual Anglophones with incomes of more than \$ 50k was systematically higher for those who left the Province than for those who stayed. For instance, in 2001, results showed that 28.8% of QAs who left the province had high incomes, while only 15.7% of those who stayed had high income; a trend partly explained by the higher education of leavers. The cumulative effects of QA outmigration and the lower educational attainment of those who stayed were reflected in the 2011 Canadian census showing that the median annual income of individual mother tongue QAs was \$ 27,213, while that of QFs was highest at \$ 29,432 and that of Allophones was lowest at \$ 21,678 (Statistics Canada, 2013). Such trends were confirmed in the 2016 census: the median annual income of mother tongue QAs was \$ 31,701 while that of QFs remained highest at \$ 34,620, while that of Allophones was lowest at \$ 25,774 (Statistics Canada, 2018). Based on 2016 Census results analyzed by Jedwab (2017), the unemployment rate of mother tongue QAs was 8.2%, while that of QFs was lowest at 6.2%, and that of Allophones was highest at 9.9%. Census data also showed that in 2016, the proportion of QAs living under the poverty line (LICO) in Quebec was 17.8%, while that of the QF majority was lower at 11.9% (Pocock, 2018). Taken together, these income, poverty and unemployment rates testify to the declining economic position of Quebec Anglophones, the upward mobility of the Francophone majority and the systemic economic disadvantages of Allophones of diverse linguistic, ethnic and religious background.

Using census data to address the effect of language skills on income, Vailancourt (2018) used the labour income of unilingual Francophone men (and



Controlling for level of education, years of experience & number of weeks worked in QC. Horizontal line is French unilingual salary

Figure 4. Income differentials and L1

women, not reported here) to calculate the percent advantage of being unilingual or bilingual in the Quebec workforce from 1970 before the adoption of Bill 101 up to forty years later in 2001 and 2011 (Vaillancourt, 2018; Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt, 2007). The net effect of language skills on labour income was obtained by controlling for level of education, estimated years of labour market experience in Quebec and number of weeks worked. As seen in Figure 4, results showed that while a unilingual Anglophone man had a 10.1% income advantage over a unilingual Francophone in 1970, by 2011 it was the unilingual Francophone who had a 10% income advantage over a unilingual Anglophone. While a bilingual Anglophone had a 17% income advantage over a unilingual Francophones in 1970, it was the unilingual francophone who had an 8% advantage over a bilingual Anglophone by 2011. The income position of Allophone men relative to Francophone unilinguals also declined substantially from 1970 to 2011 in Quebec. While English-speaking Allophones had zero advantage in 1970, they suffered a 25% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2011. French-speaking Allophones contribute to the strength of the French language in Quebec, but they had 0% income advantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 1970, and were suffering a 36% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals by 2011. As to French-English bilingual Allophones, they enjoyed a 12.6% income advantage over Francophone unilinguals in 1970, but these trilingual Allophones were suffering a 21% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals by 2011. In contrast, bilingual Francophones maintained an income advantage over unilingual Francophones: 12.6% in 1970 and 7% in 2011. These results suggest that the growing market value of French relative to English and other languages varies depending on the ethnolinguistic background of its speak-

ers with Allophones suffering the most pronounced income disadvantage relative to unilingual Francophones, regardless of their knowledge of French. These results raise the troubling question of why the French-English bilingualism of majority group Québécois Francophones should be worth so much more than the French-English bilingualism of Anglophone and Allophone minorities in Quebec.

The economic analyses conducted by Vaillancourt et al., (2007) also showed that ownership of the Quebec economy by Francophone employers increased from 47.1% in 1961 to 67.1% in 2003, while Anglophone ownership decreased from 39.5% in 1961 to 22.9% in 2003. The share of the Quebec economy owned by foreign capital also declined from 13.6% in 1961 to 10% in 2003. Combined with the educational, economic and political gains of Quebec Francophones from the “Quiet Revolution” onwards, and the departure of highly skilled Quebec Anglophones to the ROC, the above trends attest to one goal of Bill 101 as advocated by the chief architect of the law, Camille Laurin, the *Parti Québécois* Minister in charge of language planning:

The ultimate goal of the Charter of the French language was to insure that more and more Francophones seize power in business, that they become the directors and CEOs, and that the Québécois economy be at last controlled by them.

Camille Laurin, 1998; in Picard, 2003, pp. 247–248

5. Bill 101 and the Institutional vitality of the ESCQ: Decline of the English school system

The 1977 preamble of Bill 101 asserted the status of French as a pillar of the identity of the Francophone majority, while adding in 1984 recognition of English-speaking institutions in the province:

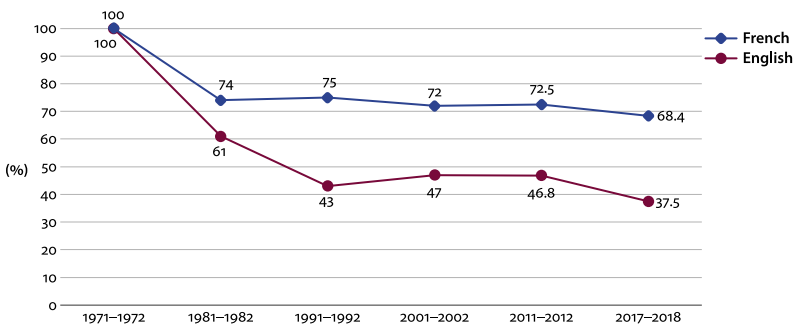
Whereas the French language, the distinctive language of a people that is in the majority French-speaking, is the instrument by which that people has articulated its identity...

Whereas the National Assembly intends to pursue this objective in a spirit of fairness and open-mindedness, **respectful of the institutions of the English-speaking community of Québec**, and respectful of the ethnic minorities, whose valuable contribution to the development of Québec it readily acknowledges;...1. French is the official language of Quebec.

(C-11 Charter of the French Language. Preamble. Quebec, updated, 2018)

Despite its avowed goal of respecting the institutions of the ESCQ in its Preamble, Bill 101 had the effect of decreasing the institutional vitality of the ESCQ in education, health and social services, municipalities and the provincial public

administration (Bourhis, 2017; Carter, 2012; Levine, 1990). As seen above, an important pillar of Bill 101 were provisions to guarantee that immigrants settling in Quebec sent their children to the French rather than English school system, thus facilitating immigrant integration within the Francophone majority rather than within the Anglophone minority (Rocher, 2002). This closing section offers a brief overview of the impact of Bill 101 on the key institutional domain of primary and secondary education in Quebec.



◆ French Schools	1,378,788	1,026,951	1,035,358	997,358	999,976	943,381
● English Schools	256,251	155,585	111,391	121,225	119,974	96,235

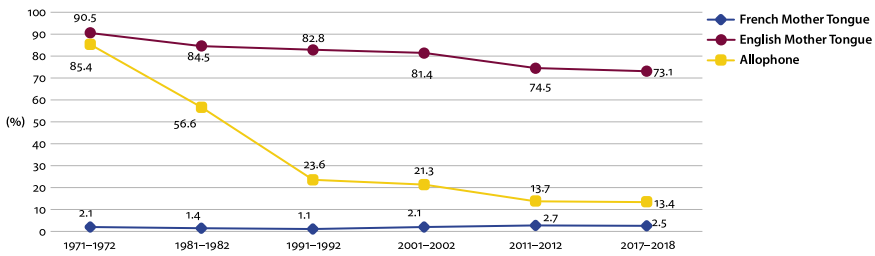
Figure 5. French/English school enrollments

Quebec National Assembly laws including Bill 22, Bill 101 and Bill 104 & Bill 115 closing the ‘bridging school loophole’, successfully restricted immigrants’ and QFs’ access to English schools, while only QA ‘rights holders’ could attend English schools (Bourhis & Foucher, 2012). Bill 101 stipulated that Anglophone pupils could attend English schools as ‘rights holders’ only if one parent had spent most of his or her primary schooling in English within Quebec. However, a Canadian Supreme court ruling stipulated that access to English school was possible for ‘rights holders’ if one parent had spent most of his or her primary schooling in English *anywhere in Canada*.

Figure 5 shows that in 1971, there were 256,251 pupils enrolled in English primary and secondary schools in the combined public and private systems, our 100% baseline enrollment before Bill 101. By 2018, education ministry data showed there were only 96,235 pupils left in the English school system, or only 37.5% of the original 1971 baseline. Such decline, due to QA low birth rate, out-migration and restrictive language laws, forced English school boards to make commensurate cuts in school budgets, while having to rule on schools mergers and closures,

decisions unpopular with distraught QA parents in Montreal and especially in remote regions of the province. By 2016, there were 273 English schools within nine English school boards, some covering regions of the provincial territory the size of Belgium, thus making access to small remote English schools difficult for their pupils (ABEE, 2018).

In contrast, the decline of the French school system was less pronounced, given that Francophone and immigrant pupils must attend the French school system following the adoption of Bill 101, thus compensating somewhat for the declining birthrate among Francophones. As seen in Figure 5, Ministry of Education data showed that 1,378,788 pupils were enrolled in the French primary and secondary schools in the combined public/private systems in 1971, our 100% baseline. However by 2018, there were 943,381 pupils in the French school system, a drop of 435,400 pupils amounting to 68.4% of the original 1971 baseline. It remains that with its critical mass of pupils, sixty French School boards oversee a network of 2,023 French schools across the province, offering a complete range of programs and services within close proximity of its student base.



◆ L,French	28,700	13,839	10,361	19,505	20,451	17,591
● L,English	171,175	101,695	79,004	76,818	63,946	52,500
■ Allophone	56,376	37,264	19,508	22,199	18,853	12,144

Mother Tongue (L1): First language learned at home as a child and still understood at census time

Figure 6. L1 Pupils in English Schools

An analysis of the mother tongue of pupils attending English schools provides a revealing portrait of the effect of language laws restricting access to English Schools. Figure 6 shows that the number of Anglophone pupils studying in the English school system dropped from 171,175 in 1971 to only 52,500 in 2017, a loss of 118,675 pupils representing a 69.4% attrition from the 1971 baseline. This drop in Anglophone pupils has been felt most dramatically in isolated schools across regions of the province which do not benefit from the large Anglophone student base found in the Montreal region. This problem is compounded by the dearth of English-speaking teachers available for primary and secondary schools in those

regions, while recruitment of complementary service professionals is also difficult such areas (Lamarre, 2012).

Figure 6 also shows that in 1971, before the adoption of Bill 101, 90.5% of all Anglophone pupils enrolled in the Quebec school system did attend English schools. However, by 2018 only 73.1% of all Anglophones pupils enrolled in the Quebec school system were attending English schools. Ministry of Education data shows that an increasing proportion of Anglophone pupils are attending French primary and secondary schools. While in 1971 only 9.5% of all Anglophones pupils in the province attended French schools (17,924), results in 2018 showed that 26.9% (19,387) did by 2018. Many Anglophone parents choose to send their children to French schools to improve their mastery of the local Québécois French accent and culture with the hope that their bilingual children will eventually find jobs and thus stay in the province. Some QA parents also send their children to French schools because these are often closer to home than far-away English schools on long bus rides.

Most English schools in Quebec provide quality French teaching for their pupils through ever-popular French immersion programs teaching along with phased-in English-medium teaching. In 2006, as many as 66% of English school pupils were enrolled in French immersion classes, a trend increasing to 83% by 2011 (ABEE, 2018). At the secondary school level, 35% of English school pupils were enrolled in French immersion classes in 2006, a proportion increasing to 65% by 2011. Thus many English schools provide English-French medium teaching that succeed in training the most bilingual pupils across the Quebec school system. This is reflected in Quebec Ministry of Education final exams showing that pupils in the secondary English school system of the two largest Montreal English school boards obtained scores in French that were 9% higher than those obtained on the same exams by QF pupils in the two largest French school boards of Montreal (Jennings, 2015). Thus, Montreal English School boards contribute to the strength and quality of the French language by training highly competent bilingual QAs students able to contribute to Quebec French society. Quebec Education Ministry data in 2013 also showed that six of the nine English school boards of Quebec were amongst the top ten performing school boards on academic performance, while 4 of the 60 French school boards were in this top 10 league across the province. Ministry of Education figures in 2013 also showed that while high school graduation rates were at 75% in French school boards, graduation rates in English school boards were at 84.5%, attesting to the strong performance of English school boards despite their institutional attrition following decades of laws restricting access to English schools in the province (Jennings, 2015).

Figure 6 also shows that the number of Allophones studying in the English school system dropped from 56,376 in 1972 to 12,144 in 2017, a loss of 44,232

pupils, as planned by Bill 101. This represents a 78.4% drop of Allophone students attending the English school system. Results also show that out of the total of all Allophones enrolled in the Quebec school system, as many as 85.4% attended English schools in 1972, while that proportion dropped to only 13.4% by 2017. Conversely, Ministry of Education data shows that while only 14.6% of Allophone pupils in the Quebec school system attended French schools in 1972 (9,652), as many as 91.4% of all Allophone pupils in the province were attending French schools by 2017 (128,361). These figures attest to the efficiency of Bill 101 in limiting access to English schools for Allophone pupils and international immigrants.

Figure 6 shows there were 28,700 Francophones enrolled in the English school system across the Province in 1972, while this number fluctuated across the decades and dropped to 17,591 by 2017. While only 2.1% of all Francophones enrolled in the Quebec School system attended English schools in 1972, this percentage remained steady at 2.5% by 2017, attesting to the efficiency of Bill 101 in limiting Francophone access to English schools. Note that Francophone enrollment in English schools reflects French-English mixed marriages in the province. Evidence suggests that many mixed French/English language couples do exert their 'rights holders' option by sending their children to English schools. Such choices reflect the more general desire of QFs and Allophones to gain access to English schools to learn English. A Quebec-wide representative poll showed that 61% of Francophones and 67% of Allophones wished to obtain better access to the English school system for their children (*Montreal Gazette*, May 11, 2010; *La Presse*, May 12, 2010).

The success of Bill 101 is evident when considering that as many as 97.5% of all Francophones in the provincial school system did attend French schools in 2017, a percentage virtually unchanged since 1972 (97.9%). However as seen earlier, the number of Francophone pupils enrolled in the French school system did drop gradually during this period. In effect, legislating Francophones, Allophones and immigrants to attend only French schools for forty years could not offset the low birth rate of the Francophone majority (birth rate: 1.4–1.6; see Corbeil et al., 2010), resulting in the gradual decline in absolute number of Francophone pupils enrolled in the French school system.

Taken together, these results show that Bill 101 and related laws have achieved their goal of restricting access to English schools regardless of the success of such schools in fostering the academic and French proficiency of their Anglophone pupils. Such restrictive laws contributed to the erosion of the English school system, which remains mostly funded by the Canadian Federal government through transfer payments to the Quebec Government. With net QA outmigration to the ROC, the English school system cannot count on English-Canadian migrant rights holders from the ROC to improve enrolments in Quebec

English schools, while international immigrants remain banned from English schools. Over the decades, the steady drop in the absolute number of pupils enrolled in the English school system had the effect of forcing the closure of English schools, thus reducing the number of teachers, administrators and staff employed in such institutions, further contributing to the net out-migration of QAs to the ROC.

Despite decade-long pleas by Anglophone community leaders to allow immigrants from English-speaking countries such as the US, UK, Australia and India to access English schools (ABEE, 2018; Goldbloom, 2015), successive Quebec Governments have remained steadfast in excluding Anglophone or Allophone immigrants from accessing the English school system. For many QFs and elected members of the Quebec National Assembly, the planned decline of the English school system is seen as a justifiable measure, given the imperative of sustaining its own French majority school system and insuring the integration of immigrants to the Francophone rather than to the Anglophone host community.

The Advisory Board on English Education (ABEE) held consultations on the theme: “What would be lost if there were no public English education in Quebec?” In their annual report submitted to the Quebec Minister of Education, ABEE (2018) reported some testimonials as follows:

An important consideration for many respondents was the preservation of the culture, most saliently in rural areas where the school is the last “English” facility. If there is no English school, there is no English community. The preservation and transmission of cultures and heritages was linked to the idea of historical rights with the thought that we are lucky that Québec society is composed of many cultures: the loss of one as important as the English-speaking culture would be tragic. English schools were seen as necessary for establishing student identity and giving them a foundation in their community. Students need more than two languages to succeed in an international world and can achieve language proficiency in, at a minimum English and French, in an English-language school. Respondents maintained that English-language schools were necessary as “the last and only viable cultural institution left to the English-speaking community” and also to provide high quality instruction in English. They saw the school as having a symbolic relationship with its community, mentioning Community Learning Centres (CLCs) as providing a hub of community activities. They grieved the loss of their children to other provinces and congratulated English school boards for producing bilingual graduates. (ABEE, 2018, pp. 13)

During the 2018 provincial election campaign, the Quebec Liberal party promised it would not abolish the nine English school boards, following representations by QA advocacy groups that such school boards represent one of the last domains of governance fully controlled *by and for* the ESCQ. Though the Liberals won

National Assembly seats in multilingual Montreal, it was the nationalist party *Coalition Avenir Quebec* (CAQ) which was overwhelmingly elected in Quebec regions to form the ruling Quebec Government. The CAQ government is acting to fulfill its promise to abolish French and English school boards, which are to be replaced by local school-based service centers subjected to direct centralised control by the Ministry of Education in Quebec City. As an official language minority, Anglophone advocacy groups such as the QCGN invoked Canadian Supreme court rulings (e.g. *Mahe v. Alberta*) to claim that:

Minority language communities have the right to control and manage the educational facilities in which their children are taught both to ensure and enable that our language and culture can flourish... They (the boards) are vital to the very survival and identity of our English-speaking community. In this context the courts have consistently ruled in favour of French-language communities across Canada. *Montreal Gazette*, December 14, 2018

Faced with the power of the Quebec Government to legislate within its education jurisdiction, it is no wonder that the ESCQ feel they must rely on the protection of Article 23 of the Canadian constitution to limit the decline of their school system within the province. In its closing message to the Minister of Education, the ABEE annual report stated:

Quebec needs to decide whether it **really** wants to keep the English-speaking population in the province. Some first steps would be recognition of the particularities of the English school system by the majority of Quebec's educational community, and the establishment of a system of equitable funding.

ABEE, 2018 pp. 53, 2018

6. Concluding notes

Though the English language is not threatened in Quebec, there is evidence that the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec is declining on the demographic, institutional support and status fronts. Yet, by learning and using French, most Anglophones who stayed in Quebec have shown they accept the imperative of maintaining the status and predominance of French in the province, while also seeking to maintain their own language, culture and institutions within Quebec society (ABEE, 2018; Bourhis, 2012). Are Quebec Anglophones to be blamed for the substantial status and spread of the English language worldwide including within Quebec? Can provincial laws eroding the institutional vitality of the English-speaking minority in education, health care, social services and

municipalities ever be sufficient to neutralise the international drawing power of the English language for Quebec Francophones?

Quebec language laws restricting access to the English school system is a case in point of the “zero-sum” aspect of language planning in settings where the gains achieved by the majority language community is obtained at the detriment of the minority group’s institutional vitality. Laws restricting access to minority English schools are legitimized rhetorically by invoking that QFs are a ‘fragile majority’ when considered at the North American territorial level of analysis. For as long as English remains the majority language in Canada and the United States, nationalist discourse can use the threatened minority status of French at the continental level to justify language policies eroding the institutional vitality of its Anglophone minority within Quebec.

Can a formerly subordinated majority such as Quebec Francophones accept that it has gained linguistic, institutional and economic dominance within its own provincial territory? Must *total* French language hegemony be the only badge of success for French language planning in Quebec? Can Quebec Francophones accept a ‘paradigm shift’ by reframing their status position from a *fragile majority* to that of a *dominant majority* within their ancestral province? If so, can this Quebec Francophone majority develop the cultural security to view its own linguistic minorities as a responsibility rather than as suspicious liabilities? QFs acting as a secure dominant majority could view investments in the institutional vitality of its historic linguistic minorities such as the ESCQ as ‘win-win’ outcomes enhancing the diversity and adaptability of Quebec society. Without such a paradigm shift, Quebec Francophones will remain a *de facto* dominant majority imbued with the psychology of an insecure besieged minority, a troubling predicament for vulnerable linguistic and cultural minorities.

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Résumé

Quatre décennies d'aménagement linguistique ont assuré le statut et l'usage du français au Québec. La Charte de la langue française (loi 101) a contribué à la connaissance du français pour 95 % de la population du Québec et au maintien de 80 % de sa population ayant le français comme langue maternelle. Par contre, cette loi a contribué au déclin de la minorité de langue maternelle anglaise au Québec: de 13 % en 1971 à 7,5 % en 2016, tout en contribuant au taux de bilinguisme chez ces Anglophones: de 37 % en 1971 à 69 % en 2016. Des facteurs économiques et politiques, ainsi que le sentiment d'être peu toléré par la majorité, expliquent l'exode de 310,000 Anglophones vers le reste du Canada depuis l'adoption de la loi 101. Bien que bilingues, les Anglophones qui sont restés au Québec sont moins scolarisés et ont un revenu moindre que les membres de la majorité francophone. Les nombreuses législations limitant l'accès aux écoles anglaises ont eu l'effet de réduire la taille du système scolaire anglophone: de 256,251 élèves en 1971 (100 %) à 96,235 élèves en 2018 (37 %), minant ainsi la vitalité institutionnelle de cette minorité anglophone en déclin démographique au Québec.

Resumo

Kvardek jaroj de lingvopolitiko multe plibonigis la statuson kaj la uzon de la franca en Kebekio. La Ĉarto de la franca lingvo (leĝo 101) kontribuis al la disvastiĝo de la franca, kiu estas konata fare de la 95% de la homoj en Kebekio, kaj krome 80% deklaras ĝin kiel gepatran lingvon. Aliflanke, ĉi tiu leĝo kontribuis al la maldisvastiĝo de la Kebekia malplejmulto kiu parolas la anglan kiel gepatran lingvon: ekde 13% en 1971 ĝis 7,5% en 2016. Samtempe, la dulingveco angla-franca inter anglaparlantoj altiĝis ekde 37% en 1971 ĝis 69% en 2016. La faktoroj ekonomiaj kaj politikaj montras, ke la anglaparlantoj kiuj restas en Kebekio estas malpli bone edukitaj ol tiuj kiuj loĝas en la resto de Kanado, en la periodo ekde la efektiviĝo de leĝo 101. Fakte, en tiu periodo pli ol 310.000 anglaparlantoj foriris Kebekion. La leĝofarado kiu limigas la aliron al la anglalingvaj lernejoj sukcese malaltigi la grandon de la anglalingva anaro ekde 256.251 lernejoj en 1971 (100%) ĝis nur 96.235 lernejoj en 2018 (37%). Dum kiam la anglalingva malplejmulto plendas pro sia reduktiĝo en demografiaj terminoj kaj specife pri la limigoj en la kampo de edukado, la franclingva plejmulto daŭre maltrankvilas pri la minaco kontraŭ la franca fare de la dulingvismo en Montrealo kaj pri sia statuso kiel minoritato en Kanado kaj ĝenerale en Nordameriko.

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