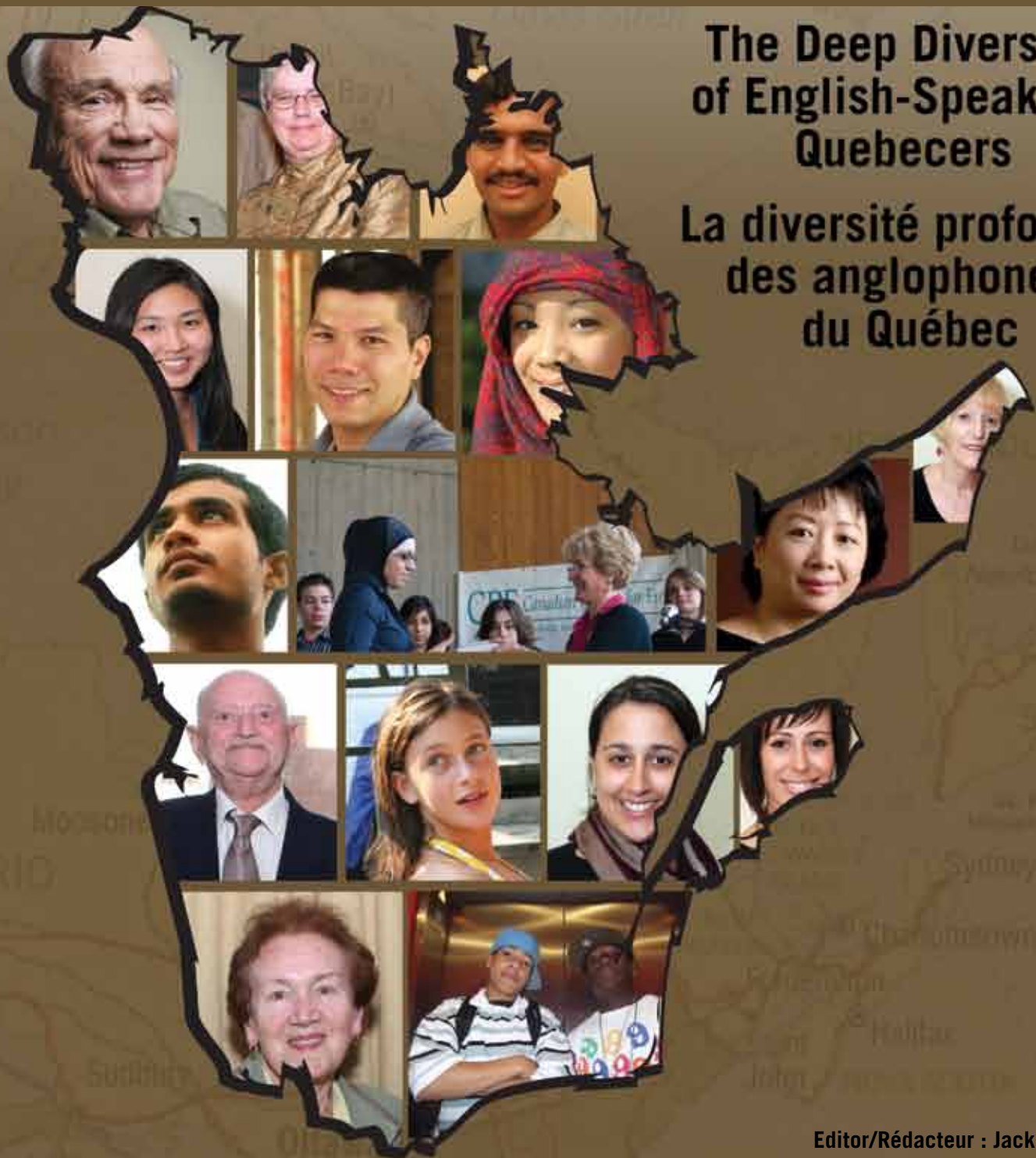


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## La diversité profonde des anglophones du Québec

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# INTRODUCTION: THE DEEP DIVERSITY OF ENGLISH SPEAKING QUEBEC

Publications about English-speaking Quebec frequently describe the group as multiethnic and multi-racial and further note the significant role played by immigration in enhancing its vitality. Monographs on Quebec's ethnic communities increasingly refer to the presence of English and French-speakers. Are members of ethnocultural and ethnoracial groups part of the English-speaking community or are Anglophones a part of various ethnic groups? In an era of multiple identities the answer is yes to both. Yet there are observers who would deny the very existence of a community of Quebec Anglophones and, underlying their argument is the assumption that a community is defined by common ethnic bonds. Following this logic, ethnic ties must trump language identification where the language is not an expression of the minority ethnic culture. This is clearly not the case in Quebec where there is no contradiction between identifying with South Asian, Italian and Greek ethnic origins and being an English-speaking Quebecer. For some observers, the politics of language requires that choices be made between multiple identities without which attachments are weak. It seems widely assumed that ethnocultural diversity is so interwoven into the English-speaking group that analysts have not directed much attention at issues of ethnocultural and ethnoracial incorporation within the minority language community and how such diversity affects representation and governance within the institutions of Quebec's English-speaking communities. It is however a subject that merits considerably more interest and inquiry than it has received to date. During the Bouchard-Taylor hearings it was widely assumed that the management of diversity within Quebec's English-speaking community was an example of best practices in this regard. Hence in the perceived absence of any significant problem, why pay any attention to the community? On the other hand, if the community's experience in addressing diversity is such a

success story, why not study the model and export it? The answer is simple. On the one hand the demographics and history of the English-speaking group make the model difficult to export and the community experience has not been without problems and persistent challenges.

The government of Quebec has acknowledged that issues confronted by certain ethnic, religious and/or visible minorities need to take into account the role of English language institutions in managing diversity. This was evident in provincial government deliberations aimed at addressing the economic challenges of Montreal's Black population and the development of an Action Plan to Fight Racism and Discrimination (MICC, 2006).

The Quebec government describes its approach to managing diversity as intercultural, which presumably contrasts with the multicultural approach preferred by the federal government. With which approach do English-speakers identify and what if anything does this mean for the provincial authorities discourse and policy around diversity? The government's aim is to direct newcomers to French-language institutions for purposes of integration and the cross-cultural dimension of the provincial intercultural program tends to focus on interaction between the francophone majority and ethnocultural and ethnoracial minorities. As the English-speaking community of Montreal does not have a dominant ethno-linguistic group, the bilateral "logic" of an intercultural approach may not be as well suited to the English-speaking population.

That which follows invites several of the province's minority language community leaders as well as a number of Quebec's leading thinkers on issues of diversity within the English-speaking community to share ideas, insights and research on the subject. It offers an important synthesis of the issues that arise within the English-speaking population as a result of the evolving composition of its population. The topics covered by the

essays can be broken down into five themes; 1) Demography, Identity and Governance, 2) Cultural expression, 3) Health, employment and education sectors, 4) Regions and 5) Political life. The approach taken in the essays is more sociological than historical and as such, it raises several questions that merit future research. It is hoped readers will take up some of the research challenges to which the essays give rise.

In my essay I offer a demographic overview of Quebec's English-speaking population and focus on the gap in the numbers of anglophones based on diverging federal and provincial definitions of identification with language groups. Based on the federal use of First Official Language Spoken, there are approximately three hundred thousand more individuals that would be regarded as Anglophones than under the Quebec definition which is based on mother tongue. Much of the difference is attributable to the way in which immigrants and their children are classified by the two levels of government. Data is provided that looks at the ethnic origins, visible minority status and generational status of the 300 000 Quebecers that contribute to enhancing the demographic vitality of Quebec's English-speaking population. Michael Rosenberg discusses the challenges of Montreal's Anglophone ethnocultural minority non-governmental organizations (NGO's) that often find themselves in a set of circumstances in which they lack legitimacy in the eyes of many Quebec Francophones and are often seen as "refusing" to integrate into the majority French language group. At the same time they risk being seen as irrelevant by an Anglophone community which is becoming more and more multicultural as identity becomes multiplex and community members speak two and often three languages. It is suggested that NGOs take advantage of the multiple means of communication which have evolved and seize opportunities for mutual cooperation generated by overlapping interests.

Xenecostas et al. draws on knowledge of the historical evolution of health and social services in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada. Accessibility to healthcare for immigrants is examined and reflections are offered for initiating dialogue on this subject in relation to Quebec's English-speaking ethnocultural and immigrant communities. A training tool designed to sensitize health and social service practitioners to barriers of access within a multiethnic context is presented by the authors as a means of improving accessibility and the quality of care.

Charles Boberg affirms that the history of immigration to Montreal has ensured the multi-ethnic character of its English-speaking community. He contends that the concentration of many large ethnic groups in separate neighborhoods, together with the local status

of English as a minority language, have fostered greater ethnic diversity in the types of native English spoken in Montreal than in most other Canadian cities. His essay offers an acoustic study of ethno-phonetic differences in Montreal English, among speakers of British, Italian and Jewish ethnic origins. His analysis provides insights into the varying degrees to which the ethnic groups have assimilated to common phonetic patterns of native Canadian English.

Leith Hamilton tackles the issue of the "double minority", in which the Anglophone Black community finds itself. He addresses the causes and best practise responses to "reduce the over-representation of Black youth in the Provincial Youth Protection system by increasing prevention resources in the target neighbourhoods with significant numbers of Black families at risk." Based on his experience as a community organizer, Hamilton makes the case for funding to be directed towards community based initiatives that are aimed at "strengthening families, building local neighborhood capacity, reinforcing protective factors, and promoting resilience", rather than top-down institutional solutions that often treat the symptoms instead of the causes.

Guy Rodgers discusses the three periods of both language-based arts (writing, theatre and film) as well as non-language based arts (music, dance, visual arts) and their consequences for Quebec's English-speaking artists. He describes the period prior to 1976 as the "Two Solitudes", the years of exodus and lamentation (1976-1995). The period since 1995 has seen "many of Quebec's English-speaking artists feel a sense of belonging within Quebec society." Lorraine O'Donnell offers a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis of the historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec outside of Montreal. Strengths include excellent sector workers, sound infrastructure, good research institutions and tools, and strong projects and historical information. Weaknesses include discontinuity in the community sector infrastructure, uneven coverage of different group histories, and information gaps. Opportunities include recent Quebec government initiatives making public room for cultural communities. Threats include the politicized socio-political environment and chronic underfunding.

Roderick MacLeod offers his thoughts on the term 'Anglophone' and its problematic use in defining a community. He believes the term is problematic for francophones and anglophones alike, some of whom see "any attempt to assert an Anglophone identity (as) like waving a red flag." The term is even more problematic for those whose origins are Italian, Greek, Chinese, South Asian and Jewish as they do not share "Old Anglo origins in Britain." In response to this, the Quebec Anglophone

Heritage Network chose to “adjust its mission and vision statements so they reflected what the organization really promoted: the history of people in Quebec who at one time spoke or identified primarily with the English language.”

Patrick Donovan challenges “...preconceived ideas about a monolithic English-speaking community” by showcasing three forms of diversity within the community, namely: inter-regional, ethnic/cultural, and socio-economic. Community projects outside of Montreal, such as the Eastern Townships are imperative “after decades of youth outmigration have seen reductions in the numbers of anglophones between 18 and 44 years of age. Community leader Rachel Garber describes various initiatives generated by the Townshippers’ Association, a regionally-based alliance of anglophones. The Association’s overarching goal is to connect English-speaking youth, newcomers and potential newcomers to relevant opportunities and to help motivate more people to become engaged in the region’s economic, social and cultural life.

Richard Bourhis documents the challenge of anglophones and allophones in reconciling their multiple identities in a context where he contends Québécois Francophones remain “imbued more with the psychology of a besieged minority than a dominant majority feeling responsible for its vulnerable minorities.” He adds that employment challenges are greater for persons that identify with both minority language and visible minority groups. For his part, David Birnbaum raises similar concerns about the process of integration. Birnbaum suggests however, that diversity is built into the core of the English-speaking community. He points to successful response to matters of cultural and religious accommodation by “English schools, through voluntary and mutual adjustments, negotiated by school principals and parents, staff and students.”

Gina Vallee, shares the results of interviews conducted with four immigrant teachers in Montreal’s school system. Each is convinced “that it is in their students’ best interest to be bilingual” although they “differ somewhat in their reasons regarding why and how French should be taught.” Some feel it is necessary to learn French for their students to be more competitive in the job market, to wishing “to see students fall in love with French, and discover the beauty of the language.” These two visions supporting bilingualism point to the need to reconcile the pragmatic with the emotional side of language learning. In effect, the two visions are not contradictory.

Michele Vatz Laaroussi offers insights into the integration experience of immigrant English-speakers in three Quebec centres outside of Montreal. The immigrants she selected for her research deliberately chose to live in those places. She highlights the importance of employment in ensuring that immigrants choose to stay in the regions. The regional communities have gradually established services to welcome new immigrants. She point that there is insufficient research on the process of adaptation of English-speaking immigrants that reside outside of Montreal.

Rita Legault points out that the arrival of new immigrants has played a fundamental role in shaping English-speaking Quebec, particularly in Metropolitan Montreal where the diversity of the population is a defining characteristic of the English-speaking community. She notes that Quebec’s English-speaking community have experience in the process of integrating individuals from diverse backgrounds into Quebec society. She insists that English language immigrants can identify with the English-speaking community while successfully integrating into Quebec society. Concerns over the condition of the French language have created a political climate that can make English-speaking immigrants very uncomfortable and she suggests that this creates unnecessary stigma for these newcomers.

# THE DEEPER DIVERSITY OF QUEBEC'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY: A PORTRAIT OF QUEBEC'S ETHNOCULTURAL AND ETHNORACIAL ANGLOPHONES

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## ABSTRACT

This paper provides a demographic overview of Quebec's English-speaking population and focuses on the gap in the numbers of anglophones based on diverging federal and provincial definitions of identification with language groups. Based on the federal use of First Official Language Spoken there are approximately three hundred thousand more individuals that would be regarded as Anglophones that under the Quebec definition which is based on mother tongue. Much of the difference is attributable to the way in which immigrants and their children are classified by the two levels of government. Data is provided that looks at the ethnic origins, visible minority status and generational status of the 300 000 Quebecers that contribute to enhancing the demographic vitality of Quebec's English-speaking population. The text provides insight into the challenge facing anglophone leaders in determining the level of resources required to serve the community. More broadly it also reveals that demographic estimates of community size are vulnerable to the categories defined by the state and how it chooses to determine membership.

Defining who belongs to the group is a good starting point for analysis of the diversity of Quebec's English-speaking community. Ideally some definition that is agreed upon by the community and the state is helpful for determining whether someone can be classified as an English-speaker. Two prevailing definitions of the Quebec anglophone population have considerable impact on its perceived demographic vitality. The Quebec provincial definition is based on mother tongue

(that is the language first learned and still understood) which in 2006 means there are about 590 000 anglophones in the province representing some eight percent of the province's population. By contrast the federal government definition is based on a derived variable-the first official language spoken-which results in some 885 000 persons belonging to Quebec's official language minority or 12% of the Quebec population. With the difference of some 300 000, the federal definition gives



rise to a far greater degree of perceived vitality than does the provincial definition. Underlying the difference in numbers is Quebec's designation of those persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French or the allophones. Undoubtedly in a context where people possess multiple identities, someone can be both an allophone Quebecer and as a member of an official language minority anglophone without any contradiction. The government designations are not based on individual choices of identities, rather for purposes of language planning the government(s) classifying according to the preferred method of language classification. Such classification systems are often designed to help determine the level of service needed by the group to meet the needs of members

Whether Quebec allophones are considered English and/or French speakers not only has an important bearing on the estimated size of the English-speaking population and how diverse the community. The allophones are predominantly first and second generation Quebecers that identify with a multitude of ethnic groups and several visible minorities. Their designation as part of either the French or English group also has a potentially important impact on the estimated share of the francophone population notably on the Island of Montreal where some demographers insist that the French language is most vulnerable owing to the declining share of francophones. Given the sensitivity around the politics of language in the province the designation of individuals as belonging to language groups can have an important bearing on the perceived demographic condition of the francophone population. The language debates focused on Montreal tend to lump anglophones and allophones together as the "non-francophones" paradoxically reinforcing common identification that is contrary to making mother tongue the criteria for group identification.

In Quebec, since the introduction of the Charter of the French Language in 1977, the State regards the majority francophone population as the host community for new immigrants and it is widely assumed that newcomers will acquire the French language and operate within a French-speaking milieu. The legitimacy of this expectation does not detract from the fact that many immigrants continue to operate within an English-speaking milieu or a mixed English-French speaking milieu. English language post-secondary institutions, health and social service agencies and cultural organizations receive newcomers and their presence is essential to sustaining the community's demographic vitality. Since the majority of ethnocultural and ethnoracial anglophones reside in Montreal when FOLS is the defining criteria, some three quarters of Quebec

anglophones are concentrated in the Montreal region. When however the mother tongue criterion is employed, the percentage of Quebec anglophones within and outside of Montreal is roughly similar. Hence the inclusion of ethnocultural and ethnoracial allophones has an important impact on the respective demographic importance of the communities in Montreal and in the rest of Quebec (ROQ). That which follows will document the demographic diversity of the English language population with a focus on newcomer anglophones-the ethnocultural and ethnoracial anglophones

## THE NEWER ANGLOS

As observed below, there is an important gap between those immigrants that might be designated English on the basis of mother tongue and the number deemed so on the basis of the first official language spoken. Under the federal designation the number of immigrants considered anglophones jumps by about some 170 000. Nearly one-quarter of a million immigrants in the province would be regarded as anglophones and it is safe to assume therefore that there is indeed a defacto community role in the reception of newcomers. Indeed during the period 2001-2006 on the basis of the federal criteria, the numbers of anglophone immigrants was perhaps the largest of any five-year period over the past twenty-five years (one needs to qualify this observation in the absence of the numbers of English FOLS immigrants that arrived in previous quinquennial periods and left the province thereafter).

**TABLE 1. Immigrants to Quebec by period of arrival for mother tongue and first official language English to the year 2006**

QUEBEC ENGLISH	MOTHER TONGUE	FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN	DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FOLS AND MOTHER TONGUE ENGLISH
<b>Total immigrant population by period of immigration</b>	<b>78 730</b>	<b>248 165</b>	<b>169 435</b>
Before 1961	11 990	40 285	28 295
1961 to 1970	14 045	37 910	23 865
1971 to 1980	15 655	35 850	20 195
1981 to 1990	12 245	35 995	23 750
1991 to 2000	15 090	55 965	40 875
1991 to 1995	8 405	29 210	20 805
1996 to 2000	6 680	26 760	20 080
2001 to 2006	9 700	42 155	32 455

Source: Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2006

As observed below, the group defined as English mother tongue differs considerably from the FOLS English population. On the basis of mother tongue, the majority of those considered anglophones are third generation or more, while the majority of those regarded as FOLS English are first and second generation. Of the approximately 263 000 person difference between the federal and provincial definitions of “who is an anglophone” some two-thirds are not born in Canada. Thus the provincially defined anglophone community is very different from the one defined by virtue of the federal language criteria. Indeed, based on the FOLS criteria, in the Montreal region, some 44% of the anglophone population would be designated immigrants and another 30% as children of immigrants. Under the provincial mother tongue criteria, the immigrant segment would account for 22% and their children 33% of the Montreal anglophone population.

**TABLE 2. Quebec English Mother Tongue and First Official Language Spoken and Generational Status for Population 15 years and older, 2006**

QUEBEC ENGLISH	MOTHER TONGUE	FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN	DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FOLS AND MOTHER TONGUE ENGLISH
Total population 15 years and older by generation status	478 740	741 935	263 195
1 <sup>st</sup> generation	82 905	261 345	178 440
2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	132 340	197 365	165 025
3 <sup>rd</sup> generation or more	263 495	283 225	19 730

Source: Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2006

The federally defined “official language minority” is considerably more diverse in terms of its multiethnic and multiracial composition. Within the mother tongue category over 13% of the anglophones identify as visible minorities compared to 22% that identify as such on the basis of the FOLS category. The largest gaps between the mother tongue and FOLS category on the basis of the visible minority identification are the South Asian, Chinese and Arabic groups. As we shall see, the anglophone community that is more demographically vital is also more economically vulnerable.

On the basis of ethnic origin, the single largest mother tongue anglophone group defines as Canadian accounting for 175 000 persons combining single and multiple declarations. The next largest group are English

**TABLE 3. Quebec English Mother Tongue and First Official Language Spoken by Visible Minority Status, 2006**

QUEBEC ENGLISH	MOTHER TONGUE (QUEBEC PROVINCIAL DEFINITION)	FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN	DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FOLS AND MOTHER TONGUE ENGLISH
Total population by visible minority groups	591 760	885 445	293 685
Total visible minority population	82 835	191 950	109 115
Chinese	6 155	33 230	27 075
South Asian	14 510	46 575	32 065
Black	37 945	43 095	5 150
Filipino	9 585	21 645	12 060
Latin American	1 725	8 645	6 920
Southeast Asian	1 805	6 800	4 995
Arab	3 640	15 150	11 510
West Asian	850	5 190	4 340
Korean	460	2 465	2 005
Japanese	985	2 275	1 290
Not a visible minority	508 920	693 495	184 575

Source: Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2006

(150 000) and Irish (130 000). Italian (55 000), German (38 000), Jewish (37 000) and Polish (25 000) are the next largest groups defining as mother tongue anglophones under the ethnic origin category. But given the possibility of declaring more than one ethnic origin, it is not possible to properly assess the difference in the respective numbers of minority ethnics under the mother tongue and FOLS categories. However the use of single ethnic declarations does give us some idea of what the use of language categories represents when it comes to the ethnocultural and ethnoracial composition of anglophones. In effect the numbers of ethnocultural anglophones declaring one origin only rises considerably if the FOLS criteria are used. As illustrated below, for every person that identifies as ethnically singular Italian, their numbers increase three times when the criteria is FOLS English. To varying degrees this is also the case for several other ethnic groups. In effect, nearly half of the mother tongue population reports single origins as Canadian and British and their combined share drops to nearly one-quarter under the FOLS category.

**TABLE 4. Quebec English Mother Tongue and First Official Language Spoken by Single Ethnic Origin for Selected Groups, 2006**

QUEBEC SINGLE ETHNIC ORIGIN	MOTHER TONGUE ENGLISH	FOLS ENGLISH	DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FOLS AND MOTHER TONGUE ENGLISH
Total	282 920	536 895	253 975
Canadian	70 290	72 550	2 260
English	30 515	30 920	405
French	5 875	6 265	390
Scottish	12 275	12 415	140
Irish	18 775	18 955	180
German	3 815	10 195	6 380
Italian	27 370	82 070	55 700
Chinese	4 380	30 700	26 320
Ukrainian	2 380	5 495	3 115
Dutch	1 215	2 635	1 420
Polish	3 540	10 300	6 760
East Indian	7 465	21 240	13 775
Russian	2 405	5 140	2 745
Filipino	7 195	17 990	10 795
Portuguese	2 595	9 275	6 680

Source: Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2006

As mentioned, the government systems of language identification often aim to determine the degree of resources required to extend services to the community. But this in turn depends on the markers of identity along which the state chooses to extend services. In general, the government of Quebec does not extend institutional funding on the basis of ethnic identification. It is assumed that the categories in place in the census offer important guidance... It is assumed that the “boxes” used in the census to identify ourselves can help capture the complex institutional realities confronted by members of official language minorities. The importance of measuring language knowledge and use often depends on the types of services offered by government and non-government actors. If for example the state organizes health services along language lines it will be important to evaluate the numbers of persons requiring service on that basis. The workplace and the school are two of the principal arenas in which institutional expression is given to language knowledge and use. Language used most often in the workplace provides some idea of the institutional expression of language and the language(s) with which the public is being engaged. Indeed the government of Quebec once introduced an indicator for

**TABLE 5. Language Used Most Often at Work in the province of Quebec by selected groups (in percentage), 2006**

QUEBEC	ENGLISH	FRENCH	NON-OFFICIAL LANGUAGE	ENGLISH AND FRENCH
Total – language used most often at work	12.9	81.5	0.7	4.3
Filipino	83.4	5.7	0.4	8.3
Jamaican	74.0	16.4	–	9.5
Pakistani	71.4	12.1	2.0	10.4
East Indian	70.4	15.9	1.3	10.0
Jewish	66.7	22.4	2.5	7.1
Russian	55.8	30.5	3.2	8.4
Iranian	54.2	25.5	2.2	16.6
Greek	51.6	30.8	2.0	12.9
Polish	49.4	40.1	1.1	8.4
Ukrainian	49.2	39.1	1.9	8.8
Chinese	47.4	28.4	12.8	7.7
Egyptian	35.3	46.8	0.7	15.6
Italian	34.0	53.4	0.6	10.4
German	33.3	60.0	0.5	5.9
Romanian	30.5	51.2	4.4	12.3
Portuguese	24.6	61.7	1.7	10.1
Lebanese	23.6	55.6	1.9	16.3
Spanish	22.5	62.8	3.0	9.1
Moroccan	16.7	68.2	0.8	13.2
Haitian	7.8	82.2	0.3	8.7

Source: Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, 2006

language of public use to measure the relative importance of The language used most often in the workplace does not necessarily entail an affective tie but certainly does undoubtedly have some bearing on the expression of identity in the public domain. As observed below, several Quebec ethnocultural and ethnoracial groups report greater use of English in the workplace and it is fair to conclude that from the standpoint of their language of public use they would be counted as anglophones. As many persons identifying as Filipino, Pakistani, East Indian and Russian it is by extension fair to conclude that an important element of their integration experience takes place in the English language. Hence it should follow that strategies around integration of members of these groups need to think about the role of the province's English-speaking community.

## EVOLVING DEMOGRAPHIC DIVERSITY IN QUEBEC'S ENGLISH LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

In the case of Quebec, since the introduction of the Charter of the French Language in 1977, entry into elementary and secondary schools is restricted to French language institutions for all students except for those who received the majority of their instruction in the English language within Canada. Once the sector where a significant share of immigrant children and children of immigrants gravitated by the end of the twentieth century some ten percent of students not born in Canada were in the English sector. As indicated below, there is a continued decline in the share that immigrants represent in the English school sector as observed below where it neared 10% at the beginning of the decade and dropped to 8% by the calendar year 2007-2008.

**TABLE 6. Number of Students and percentage born outside of Canada in the English and French Language School Systems in Quebec, 2002-2007**

STUDENTS BORN OUTSIDE OF CANADA	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008
French Language sector	57 757	59 508	61 686	63 566	66 072	68 204
English Language sector	6 240	6 185	6 114	6 099	6 014	5 959
Total	63 997	65 683	67 800	69 665	72 086	74 165
% in English Sector	9.7	9.4	9.0	8.7	8.3	8.0

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, Gouvernement du Québec. «L'effectif scolaire à temps plein et à temps partiel du secteur des jeunes (2003-2004 à 2007-2008) selon la langue maternelle et la langue d'enseignement, par région administrative (regroupée) et sexe».

Not surprisingly therefore, from the perspective of the English language school system, there is less attention directed at the integration experience of immigrants and their children and more on the decline in numbers of students enrolled in English language schools and its broader institutional ramifications. In the English language system over the 2002-2007 period, the number of mother tongue anglophone students dropped from approximately 76 500 (62.4%) to 72 000 (60.4%), the percentage of mother tongue francophones rose from 20 400 (16.7%) to 22 000 (18.4%) and the share of allophones remained roughly stable with 22 800 (18.6%) enrolled in 2002 and 22 065 (18.5%) in 2007. The percentage of allophones in the English

language system declined from 21% in 2002 to approximately 18.5% in 2007. As illustrated below, in 2007-2008, Italians were the largest allophone group followed by students whose mother tongue is Greek (the numbers of aboriginals falls between the numbers of Italian and Greek but they do not qualify as allophones). With the exception of the Yiddish, Aboriginal and Greek, few groups have experienced year-to-year growth in enrollment. In most immigrant receiving communities, foreign-born students contribute to replenishing the composition of the schools. In the case of English language schools, notably in Montreal there are likely a very high percentage of second-generation students.

**TABLE 7. Enrolment in Quebec's English Language Schools by Mother Tongue for selected groups with over 500 students, 2002-2008**

ENROLMENT IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE SCHOOLS BY MOTHER TONGUE (MORE THAN 500 STUDENTS)	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008
English	76 101	75 184	73 918	72 092	69 981
French	21 033	21 402	21 719	22 101	21 983
Italian	9 196	9 178	8 961	8 759	8 475
Aboriginal	3 011	3 171	3 276	3 258	3 348
Greek	1 605	1 670	1 680	1 735	1 794
Tamil	1 606	1 584	1 529	1 504	1 413
Chinese	1 278	1 228	1 162	1 043	982
Portuguese	1 129	1 103	1 061	1 029	1 001
Spanish	991	970	978	928	948
Yiddish	689	717	775	808	1 050
Urdu	767	775	796	832	792
Arab	613	627	617	641	671
Bengali	618	618	641	606	601
Punjabi	665	644	626	557	504
Vietnamese	419	484	530	515	515

Source: Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, Gouvernement du Québec. «L'effectif scolaire à temps plein et à temps partiel du secteur des jeunes (2003-2004 à 2007-2008) selon la langue maternelle et la langue d'enseignement, par région administrative (regroupée) et sexe».

As a very diverse group, Montreal anglophones have considerable contact with those persons identifying as members of ethnocultural and ethnoracial communities. Indeed in many instances, the contact between anglophones and ethnocultural minorities implies "meeting with oneself". Still to the extent that social interaction is an indicator of integration it is clear that in particular Montreal anglophones are an important presence where newcomer adaptation to place occurs. This is reflected in the table below which reveals that

Montreal anglophones have considerable contact with ethnocultural diversity. The data derived from a survey conducted in the fall 2009 by the firm Leger Marketing shows that in particular anglophones have significant contact with Jews and Italians.

**TABLE 8. Do you often, occasionally, rarely or never have contact with the following groups?**

MONTREAL	ANGLOPHONES		FRANCOPHONES	
	OFTEN	OCCASIONALLY	OFTEN	OCCASIONALLY
Jews	60.4	28.3	20.7	29.3
Muslims	26.9	40.4	37.8	30.5
Greeks	41.5	43.4	22.0	32.9
Chinese	34.0	47.2	26.5	38.6
Italians	62.3	32.1	48.8	30.5

Source: Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies, week of May 11, 2009

Underlying much of the data reviewed above are questions of salience of ethnic and language identities within the Quebec's official language minority. A Leger Marketing Survey reveals that amongst Quebec anglophones 75% of respondents that report a strong sense of attachment to their language also feel attached to their ethnic group. In sum many of the mother tongue allophones are also legitimately classified as anglophones. An equal and growing number of allophones can be legitimately classified as francophones. As well, there are a significant number that might be classified as in some ways belonging to all three language communities—a matter which we have not dealt with in this essay.

## CONCLUSION

The data presented above raises important questions about the relationship between ethnic and linguistic identities and how we go about classifying them. Quebec's English-speaking community offers

important opportunities for research around the intersection between language and ethnicity. Yet too few researchers have taken up the challenge of investigating the many interesting issues that arise from the management of diversity within the province's official language minority. In part, this is because immigrants are directed to the majority French language community when it comes to integration and hence research has focused very heavily on the process of immigrant adaptation and the how this is dealt with by civil society and the Government of Quebec. The provincial government has a special role to protect the future of the French language and the acquisition of the French language is widely regarded as central to the immigrant integration process. The federal government has acknowledged Quebec's special role in the integration process by conferring immigration selection authority to the province for non-humanitarian candidates and transferring funds for integration purposes to the province. However the federal government does have a legislative responsibility to promote the linguistic vitality of Quebec's anglophone population and ethnic diversity and language vitality are closely intertwined in the communities. If the federal definition of the numbers of anglophones is considerably greater than the provincial it is because of the presence of the ethnocultural and ethnoracial membership in the group. That reality cannot be ignored in the process of immigrant integration in Quebec and ideally the anglophone leadership should be engaged as partners in that process. Effective collaboration requires that anglophone leaders recognize and participate in supporting French language acquisition amongst English language immigrants while the government properly recognizes that immigrants that are English need support for other facets of the integration process. Such cooperation is essential towards the enhancement of the vitality of Quebec's English-speaking community.





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# PHONETIC INDICATORS OF ETHNICITY IN MONTREAL'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

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## ABSTRACT

The history of immigration to Montreal has ensured the multi-ethnic character of its English-speaking community. The self-segregation of many large ethnic groups in separate neighborhoods, together with the local status of English as a minority language, have fostered greater ethnic diversity in the types of native English spoken in Montreal than in other Canadian cities. This paper reports on an acoustic study of ethno-phonetic differences in Montreal English, among speakers of British, Italian and Jewish ethnic origins. It identifies several phonetic indicators of ethnicity in Montreal. These are analyzed in terms of what they suggest about the varying degrees to which the ethnic groups have assimilated to common phonetic patterns of native Canadian English.

While many people think of Montreal as a French-speaking city, for two thirds of its history it has also harbored an important English-speaking community. During the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, in fact, a majority of Montrealers spoke English. Though subsequent developments returned a French majority, Montreal today retains Canada's ninth largest urban concentration of native speakers of English (425,635 people, per the 2006 Census; about 12 percent of the population). These "Anglophones" speak a kind of English closely related to other types of Canadian English, sharing important structural features that distinguish all Canadians from speakers of other national or regional varieties (Boberg 2005a, 2008). Yet there are also ways in which Montreal's English-speaking community is both unique within Canada (Boberg 2005b, 2008, *In press*) and internally diverse (Boberg 2004, *In press*). This article will examine the most important basis for internal diversity: speakers' ethnic origins. The ethnic diversity of today's English-speaking community—a product of several decades of large-scale immigration—is reflected in several important phonetic variables. An

acoustic phonetic and statistical analysis of correlations between ethnic origin and vowel pronunciation, presented below, demonstrates that even among Montrealers who are native speakers of English, ethnic diversity is reflected in speech. Unlike in most Canadian cities, in Montreal it is possible to guess people's ethnic origins, to some extent, by the way they speak English.

## 1. A BRIEF HISTORY OF MONTREAL'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Whereas the English-speaking settlement of what is today Canada began in some places prior to the Treaty of Paris (1763), which transferred the Canadian territories of France to British control following the Seven Years' War, the effective establishment of Montreal's English-speaking community occurred directly as a result of the British Conquest, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century: Provost (1984) reports over a thousand British residents of Montreal by the 1770s. This small group experienced a small addition after the American Revolutionary War, when thousands

of Loyalist “Tories” fled the American colonies to avoid reprisals by their former countrymen, though most of the Loyalists who came to Quebec were soon transferred to new townships in what was to be Ontario. The major expansion of Montreal’s English-speaking population followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars, as a surplus British population, displaced by growing industrialization, was encouraged to emigrate to Canada, where it might serve to engender economic growth and reinforce British control in a territory threatened by American expansion. The construction of the Lachine Canal, in 1825, initiated the diversification of Montreal’s economy beyond the fur trade: by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the city had become the focal point of Canada’s own industrial revolution. This status helped to make Montreal the major metropolis of

Côte-St-Luc, Hampstead and parts of St-Laurent and Dollard-des-Ormeaux), nearer but still separate from the main areas of British-origin settlement. By the 1950s and 60s, the major source of immigration to Canada was southern Europe. The largest south European group was the Italians, who settled mostly in the east end of Montreal (especially St-Léonard, later Rivière-des-Prairies), among largely French-speaking neighborhoods, well isolated from the main centers of Jewish and British-origin settlement. Today, 120,000 Italian-speakers are the largest linguistic group in Montreal after native-speakers of French and English.

Because these immigrants arrived in a city still dominated by an English-speaking administrative, economic and social elite, it was natural for them to aspire

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Canada and a primary destination for British immigrants. Thousands of English, Irish and Scottish immigrants arrived, contributing to the establishment of an English-speaking majority in the city by as early as 1831 (by 1851, 55 percent of the population of 60,000 was of British ethnic origin, according to Levine 1990: 8).

In proportional terms, this turned out to be the highpoint of Montreal’s English-speaking population: in response to greater opportunities elsewhere, English-speakers began to drift away by the later 19<sup>th</sup> century, and a high birth rate among French-speakers, together with the migration of many rural French into Montreal, re-established a French-speaking majority by the end of the century. Future growth of English-speaking Montreal was to come not from the arrival of new native-speakers from Britain but from the assimilation of non-English-speaking immigrants, or “allophones”, to the city’s still socially and economically dominant Anglophone community. The first large group were Ashkenazy Jews from Eastern Europe, native speakers of Yiddish and other European languages, whose arrivals peaked in the decades before World War II; by 1921 there were 43,000 Jews in Montreal. They settled primarily in a Jewish “ghetto” north of central Montreal along St-Laurent Boulevard, before dispersing after the War to a larger region in the city’s west end (especially

to membership in the English-speaking community by securing an English-language education for their children. This preference was reinforced by the hostility of the French school system, controlled by the Roman Catholic Church, to the inclusion of foreigners amongst its students. The children of Jewish and Italian immigrants thereby became, to a large extent, new native-speakers of English, joining the population of British ethnic origin. By 1976 the community had grown to over 600,000 people—22 percent of the population and one of the largest urban concentrations in Canada. Like the majority of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, however, this turned out to be another highpoint before a fall.

The fall, in this case, was brought about by the separatist Parti Québécois, elected to the provincial government in 1976 by a demand among French Canadians for an end to the English-speaking domination of Quebec and by a fear that French—no longer buttressed by a high birth rate because of social changes that accompanied the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s—would soon become a minority language in Quebec, threatened with gradual extinction by the superior economic and social status of English and its ability to attract immigrants, now the major source of growth in Quebec’s population. The new government’s first act was therefore to adopt Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language (1977), which took a

four-pronged approach to ensuring the future dominance of French in Quebec: French would be Quebec's only official language; the language of external and internal communication in all businesses with over 50 employees, thereby removing barriers to the socio-economic advancement of French-speakers; the language of education for all children except those whose parents or siblings had been educated in English in Quebec (later Canada), thereby effectively ending further immigrant additions to the English-speaking population; and the language of all public signage (later the predominant language on public signs), visually reinforcing the conception of Quebec as a French-speaking society. Whereas most French-speaking voters—the large majority in the province—approved of this legislation, returning the Parti Québécois to power in the next election, most English-speakers disapproved strongly (Locher 1988: 83), many seeing it as a deliberate attack on their rights and a spiteful denial of their historic role as one of the founding peoples of modern Quebec.

Whatever its success as an instrument of language revitalization, the effect of the Charter on Quebec's English-speaking community was disastrous. Its adoption, together with related economic problems and political instability arising from the separatist movement, were the main factors in persuading well over 100,000 English-speakers to leave the province over the following decade, an exodus that continues today and that has reduced Montreal's Anglophone population by a third, hitting a low of just over 400,000 people by 2001 (Jedwab 2004: 7, 14). While the exodus has now slowed, the English-language school system has been decimated, losing two thirds of its enrollment (Jedwab 2004: 32), and young anglophone graduates looking for work and a place to raise their families continue to leave (Parenteau, Magnan and Thibault 2008: 26-27), while virtually all new immigrants are forced into the French school system, depriving the English community of its only source of growth.

## 2. THE CURRENT STATUS OF MONTREAL'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

The historical developments described in the preceding section have fostered the development of ethnic variation in Montreal English in several ways. First, the basic source of this variation lies in the pre-Charter regime, in which the majority of immigrants to Montreal supplemented its English-speaking community, while at the same time diversifying it ethnically and culturally. Early diversity might have been heard in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Montreal English, between the Irish-influenced speech of working class sectors like Griffintown and Pointe St-Charles and the more

English- or Scottish-influenced varieties of the Golden Square Mile and the west end. By the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century the community included thousands of new native speakers who had learned English in largely Jewish neighborhoods and still spoke a variety influenced by the Yiddish of their parents; by the late-20<sup>th</sup> century it had absorbed thousands more whose speech reflected their Italian or Greek origins, not to speak of those who had African American or Caribbean or still other origins. The language situation in Montreal no longer represents an ethno-cultural duality of French versus British Canadians; on both sides of the linguistic divide Montreal's two main languages are now spoken by multi-ethnic populations.

The residential patterns referred to above, in which large segments of ethnic populations effectively segregated themselves in particular neighborhoods, interacting mostly with others of their own kind (see Lieberman 1981), served to reinforce any ethno-linguistic differences found in the first generation of new native speakers, by limiting the exposure of their children to Standard Canadian English, thereby preventing the pattern of rapid assimilation seen among immigrant ethnic groups in other cities. When the Charter altered the public status of English, this further isolated ethnic segments of the English-speaking community from one another and from native speakers of Standard Canadian English, by removing English from public use and greatly reducing its availability in schools. As a first hypothesis about the current status of Montreal English, then, we might expect to see more ethno-linguistic variation in Montreal English than in other regional varieties of native Canadian English, even those spoken in heavily multi-ethnic cities like Toronto and Vancouver.

The history of immigration to Montreal suggests that any differences that might once have existed between Irish and English or Scottish varieties have since been erased, as these populations, now over a century old, have blended through intermarriage and residential and occupational desegregation into an undifferentiated British-origin group. Beside the British, the largest ethnic groups in today's English-speaking population are Jews and Italians (who are also the two non-British groups examined in linguistic studies of New York City (Labov (1966) and Boston (Laferrière 1979)). Of these, we might hypothesize that the Jews, having come a generation earlier than the Italians and having settled closer to the main Anglophone region of Montreal, might be more Canadian and less distinctive in speech, while the Italians, still undergoing the process of assimilation and heritage language loss experienced by Jews in the 1950s and in far greater contact with French, both residentially and culturally, might be maximally distinct from local Canadian English.

### 3. THE *PHONETICS OF MONTREAL ENGLISH* (PME) PROJECT AT MCGILL UNIVERSITY

These hypotheses were investigated by the author in a project entitled *Phonetics of Montreal English* (PME), carried out at McGill University from 1999 to 2005 (funded by FQRSC Nouveaux Chercheurs Research Grant # 2003-NC-81927). The project involved tape-recorded interviews with 93 members of the three ethnic communities, all native speakers of English who had spent their whole lives in Montreal. The sample of participants is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. Sample of participants for *Phonetics of Montreal English* study

Ethnicity	BORN BEFORE 1946		BORN 1946-1965		BORN AFTER 1965		TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	
British	8	5	5	1	7	3	29
Italian	3	1	6	3	8	9	30
Jewish	8	8	5	3	5	5	34
TOTAL	33		23		37		93

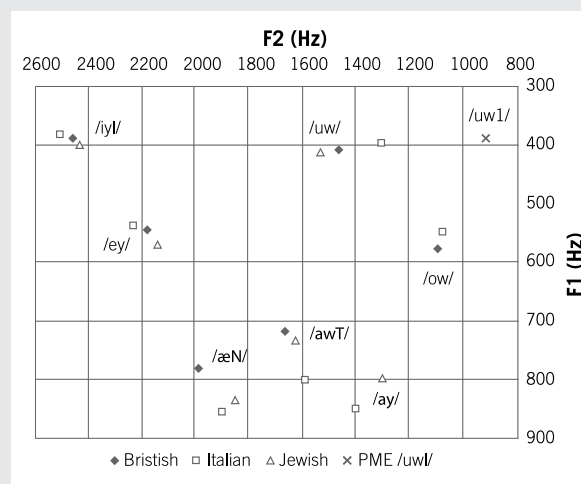
Participants, interviewed by McGill students who were usually members of the same ethnic group, provided demographic information about themselves, read a word list designed to elicit pronunciations of all of the vowels of English, and conversed freely with interviewers. Their speech was digitized and subjected to computerized acoustic phonetic analysis, using the CSL 4400 system designed by Kay Elemetrics.

Concentrating on the uniform set of data from each participant generated by the word list reading, a spectrogram and set of linear predictive coding points was produced for each word and measurements were made of the frequency (in Hz) of the first and second formants of each vowel (F1 and F2). These are acoustic measures of vowel height (F1) and advancement (F2), which permit a precise representation of the relative position of the tongue in the mouth during the vowel's articulation. By normalizing each participant's formant data to account for frequency variation connected with vocal tract size, it is possible to make direct comparisons of vowel quality among participants, or groups of participants, and to conduct a quantitative analysis to reveal correlations between vowel position and a range of social factors, including, in this case, ethnic group membership. The resulting formant data were subjected to a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) in SPSS, which isolated the effect of ethnicity from those of age and sex; tests of between-subjects effects and pairwise comparisons then determined which phonetic

measures were significantly affected by ethnicity and which ethnic contrasts were significant for each measure. For a more methodological details and results, see Boberg (2004, *In press*).

### 4. PHONETIC INDICATORS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY IN MONTREAL ENGLISH

FIGURE 1. Statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) differences in mean phonetic measures among ethnic groups examined in the PME project.



Key to symbols (words exemplifying vowel sounds):

/iyI/ see, seed	/uwI/ tool, pool
/eyI/ say, state	/owI/ toe, boat
/ayI/ sigh, side	/awT/ shout, house
/uwI/ too, boot	/æN/ can, damp

Figure 1 shows the seven phonetic measures that displayed the greatest ethnic differences in the PME study, along with one other vowel, the /uwI/ of *tool*, that was not ethnically differentiated but helps to define the outline of the vowel space. As hypothesized, the Jews are the most Canadian of the two non-British groups. In particular, they join the British-origin group in two features found in other studies to be strongly characteristic of Canadian English (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006; Boberg 2008, *In press*). One is the "Canadian Raising" of the vowel in words like *shout* and *house*, compared to that in words like *cow* and *loud*: Figure 1 shows that British- and Jewish-origin speakers share a higher vowel in these words (a lower F1 value), whereas Italians preserve a lower vowel (a higher F1 value), no different from that of the non-raising context. Another instance of Jewish adoption of Canadian features is the advancement of the vowel



/uw/, in words like *too* and *boot*: in Canadian English, this is strongly fronted, approaching the high-central region of the vowel space, sounding something like *tee-oo*. Jews, in fact, have an even more advanced vowel (a higher F2) than British-origin speakers, while Italians resist this development, retaining a back vowel (lower F2), like that of Italian /u/. Jews, for their part, have more open and diphthongal realizations of the vowels /iy/ (*see*), /ey/ (*say*) and /ow/ (*toe*), and a much more retracted vowel (lower F2, “darker” and more rounded) in /ay/ than the other groups, so that *sigh* sounds a little like *soy*. Finally, the British-origin group distinguishes itself from the more recently arrived groups by raising the vowel /æ/ (giving it a lower F1) when it occurs before the nasal consonants /n/ and /m/ (as in *can* and *damp*), a “native” Canadian feature also heard in Ontario and the Maritimes but not acquired by either “ethnic” group in Montreal. Taken together, these phonetic differences, along with other differences involving consonant articulation, intonation and even word choice, cause British, Jewish and Italian varieties of Montreal English to sound strikingly different from one another, a fact to which most speakers of Montreal English can attest.

## 5. THE OUTLOOK FOR ETHNIC VARIETIES OF MONTREAL ENGLISH

Ethnic differences in Montreal English like those reported above will likely survive as long as the social conditions that produced them: continued ethnic self-segregation and isolation from “native” Canadian English models will foster continued divergence in speech, even among successive generations born in Canada. Moreover, these differences should not be conceived of purely in negative terms: they may also represent a positive force of ethnic self-identification, as speakers seek to use language, among other forms of social behavior, to proclaim their membership in ethnic communities. Ethnic separatism, however, is not an easy goal to pursue in a democratic, pluralistic society, and it might be expected that even large, culturally distinct and well established groups like Jews and Italians will feel at least some pressure to tolerate increasing intermarriage and other forms of social contact with other groups, which can only weaken the ethno-linguistic patterns observable today.

Of course, the ultimate fate of all of these ethnic speech varieties is bound up with the larger fate of Montreal's English-speaking community as a whole. Since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, its proportion of Montreal's population has plummeted from over half to under ten percent, a loss of about 85 percent (for historical data on Quebec as a whole, see Rudin 1984: 28). If this trend continues, English Montreal is well over half of the way towards

extinction. This would mean the end of a unique community, displaying a set of subtle and complex relations between language and ethnicity found nowhere else in Canada, at least the same extent or involving the same groups. Ironically, it is in some ways the demotion of English to non-official status in Quebec that has increased its value to students of language, by helping to preserve ethnic varieties of speech that might have disappeared in a more English-dominant context.

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# MONTREAL'S ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITY AND MINORITY ETHNOCULTURAL NGOs

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## ABSTRACT

Montreal's Anglophone ethnocultural minority NGOs find themselves in a set of circumstances in which they lack legitimacy in the eyes of many Québécois and are viewed with suspicion for "refusing" to integrate into the Franco-phone majority. At the same time, they risk being seen as irrelevant by an Anglophone community which is becoming more and more multicultural as identity becomes multiplex and community members speak two and often three languages. It is suggested that rather than view diversity as a threat, NGOs take advantage of the multiple means of communication which have evolved and the opportunities for mutual cooperation generated by overlapping interests.

## MONTREAL'S ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITY AND MINORITY ETHNOCULTURAL NGOs.

This paper is devoted to the topic of Anglophone NGOs and the English-speaking community of Quebec, particularly Montreal. The term "Anglophone NGO" may be used to refer both to those organizations which claim to act on behalf of the Anglophone community, such as the English Montreal School Board, as well as those which act on behalf of ethnocultural minority communities made up largely of English-speaking members, such as the South Asian Women's Community Center. This paper is concerned primarily with the latter.

The approach taken here is conceptual, focusing on the socio-structural context within which NGOs operate, rather than on specific policy issues. Nevertheless, conceptual matters often have a practical significance in Quebec, where ideological and definitional matters may impinge directly on policy issues and in legitimating social relations.

The following discussion addresses three issues. Since our topic is that of NGOs, I will first consider the issue of defining the boundary between the formal political and parapolitical institutions of the provincial government in Quebec—the state—and civil society. What is the pattern of relations between the provincial state and NGOs characteristic of Quebec? Are NGOs—particularly Anglophone NGOs—seen to play a significant and identifiable role in Quebec and is such a role perceived by the general public—overwhelmingly Franco-phone—to be a legitimate contribution to Quebec society?

Second, I will address the issue of an English-speaking community in Quebec and what we mean by such a community. Is it legitimate to refer to an English-speaking community at all? I know that many people in Quebec speak English; my question is whether that means we can refer to an English-speaking *community*? If so, what kind of community is it?

Lastly, I will consider some of the problems facing Anglophone NGOs both vis-à-vis the state and their own constituencies. As Montreal transforms into a profoundly

multicultural region—in the sociological sense of the term—is there a future for Anglophone NGOs?

## NGOs AND THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

NGOs are among the most effective resources available to all citizens, and especially to minority group members, in achieving individual and collective goals. NGOs themselves emerge out of the interplay between civil society and the state and cannot be understood apart from that relationship.

As an example of how the social context has an impact on the organizational style, practices, and effectiveness of NGOs, consider the difference between what might be considered the paradigmatic NGO in the United States, the National Rifle Association, the paradigmatic NGO historically in Francophone Quebec, the Société St. Jean Baptiste, and what I would argue is the paradigmatic NGO among the minority ethnocultural communities of Montreal, the Quebec Jewish Congress.

The National Rifle Association (NRA) espouses a profound distrust of government, insists on “defending” a sharp and unyielding boundary between the state and individual rights, and has a committed membership which eagerly engages in political action while simultaneously contemptuous of most politics. Dating back to 1871, the NRA today claims to have about four million members in the United States. A glance at its sophisticated website indicates that it is both well funded and professionally administered. Clearly, the issue of gun ownership has enormous symbolic resonance in the United States. Not so in Quebec. If we compare the NRA’s web sites with that of the Province of Quebec Rifle Association, which actually claims to predate the NRA (having been founded in 1869), we see indications of a dramatic difference in orientation, operation, and funding. Indeed, any organization espousing the values and the goals of the NRA in Quebec would be out of touch with the vast majority of the population; a marginal rather than a mainstream organization.

The Société St. Jean Baptiste (SSJB), founded in 1834, was at one time the predominant NGO in Quebec and one representative of Quebec’s traditional values. Prior to Quebec’s Quiet Revolution, the SSJB operated for many years with an amalgam of religious, political and cultural goals able to appeal to broad segments of Quebec’s population, but especially middle class professionals. Following the Quiet Revolution, the SSJB found itself outflanked by the growth in the Quebec state’s legislative ambitions and regulative powers. To many Quebecois the SSJB is no longer a relevant organization. It is not that NGOs have disappeared from Quebec’s francophone community, quite the contrary. But contemporary NGOs tend to be

highly specialized and lay no claim to *represent* Quebec society, as the SSJB did at one time; that is seen by almost all as the prerogative of the provincial government.

The case of the Quebec Jewish Congress (QJC) is interesting and is worth discussing briefly. Dating back almost a hundred years, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) was established in Montreal and operated for many years with its national office in that city. CJC described itself as the “democratic voice” of Canadian Jewry and its membership was made up of a plethora of Jewish organizations and influential individuals. Over the years, CJC served as a model for many other ethnocultural communities establishing NGOs, especially those dealing with government on political and policy issues. Generally speaking, CJC had a long history of successful interaction both with the federal and provincial governments.

Structurally, there existed a regional department of the CJC entitled Canadian Jewish Congress, Quebec Region, which had its own elected officials, legislative structure and professional staff. Housed in the same building as the national office, the policies promoted by the Quebec Region were usually consistent with those of CJC. An example would be opposition to religious instruction in public schools, an issue much more salient in Quebec than in the rest of Canada since education is a far more contentious issue in Quebec. Such opposition has a political cost in Quebec. Another example would be support for multiculturalism, a stance which put the Quebec Region in opposition to the provincial government which has in large measure consistently opposed federal multicultural policy.

A series of changes in recent years resulted in the national office moving to Ottawa, altered the patterns of funding for CJC, and has led to subtle shifts in the way decisions are made. The re-naming of the regional operation to the Quebec Jewish Congress (QJC) indicates a re-orientation for the QJC which now sees itself as operating as a distinctive Quebec NGO concerned with provincial issues and taking an independent stance. While the new QJC is still tied to the CJC, the change in name is of major symbolic significance. But this change was initiated at the top with some opposition from community members, indicating that in many ways the new QJC is not the grass-roots operation the CJC Quebec Region claimed to be. Rather than attuned to nuances within the Jewish community, the QJC’s leadership would seem more concerned with nuances within the state apparatus. This increases the distance between QJC and the community it claims to represent. Ironically, though, this may actually constitute a more effective means to operate in the Quebec context.

## NGOs AND THE QUEBEC STATE

Quebec is not merely a political unit, not merely a province of Canada; it is a distinct society with much of the political, institutional and symbolic apparatus of a state. It makes sense, then, to refer to a Quebec state even if it is not a sovereign state.

Since 1960 the Quebec state has been perceived by most Quebecers to be a tool of and an expression of the culture and aspirations of the Québécois, the descendants of the original French settlers of New France. How (and whether) other groups fit into Quebec society has been problematic for many Quebecers since then and has been seen by them to be a legitimate matter for state policy and action. How can Quebec evolve as a Francophone society having its own distinctive culture if it incorporates individuals and groups who share neither that language nor that culture? State policy on immigration and integration, then, has been directed above all to the integration of immigrants into the Francophone milieu.

From the point of view of the state, moreover, linguistic integration means more than that people speak French; they are also expected make a commitment to Quebec as a society: to share in its culture, to participate in its institutions, and to identify with its aspirations. Indeed, a policy statement of 1990 asserts as an essential premise that “the success of integration depends on the respect from Quebecers of every origin for the social choices that govern modern Quebec” (Énoncé: 19). Immigrants are expected to accept and contribute to the collective project of the Québécois. This is not assimilation, but it is much closer to a model of shared values and identity than to the promotion of diversity which is built into the Canadian policy of multiculturalism.

The problem, of course, is that integration is a vague concept at best and becomes ever more ambiguous the higher the level of expectations assigned to it (Jedwab, 2006). As such, the general public has no way of determining whether minorities are integrating, especially since “successfully” integrated individuals fail to stand out for that very reason. The result is a suspicion that ethnocultural minorities refuse to integrate, either because they form self-contained institutional and cultural “ghettos” of their own or are seduced by the anglophone community whose English-speaking culture is dominant in North America.

This suspicion is consistent with the fact that historically ethnocultural minorities did not integrate into Quebec’s mainstream Francophone society. Yet they did not integrate into the Anglophone society either, however, since the two dominant communities refused to incorporate ethnocultural minorities or provide services for them. Italian immigrants in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early

20<sup>th</sup> century, for example, discovered that many of Montreal’s Francophone Catholics considered them rude and disrespectful during Church services and in their interaction with priests. Both Francophones and Italians felt more comfortable having separate Catholic parishes for Italians. While Jews and Greeks were allowed in Montreal’s English-speaking Protestant schools, they were treated as second class citizens and did not attain full and equal rights in these schools until the late 1960s. The result was that Italians, Jews and Greeks set up their own institutions not because they wished to segregate themselves from the broader society but because in large part they had no choice (Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992). Montreal’s extensive Jewish day school system serves as an excellent example of that process (Rosenberg, 1995).

All that changed profoundly with Quebec’s Quiet Revolution of the 1960s and especially after the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976. Today in Quebec the state pervades civil society in ways which are not only absent elsewhere in North America, but which would be abhorrent to most Americans and many Canadians. Such state intervention is considered acceptable because most of Quebec’s Francophone population have come to equate the promotion of their collective identity with the empowerment of the state. The Québécois, as they began to call themselves, felt that in the state and its agencies they had the collective tools with which to build a society that would be distinctively their own. Rather than see the state as a separate domain having a circumscribed set of tasks, the Québécois came to view the state as a manifestation of their aspirations and as the appropriate instrument with which to build a modern, democratic, and Francophone society. This means that people came to view the state as the only appropriate and legitimate medium for the solution of collective problems and the achievement of collective goals. In that sense, there is no recognition in Quebec that there should be a clear boundary between the state and civil society. As the manifestation of the will of the Québécois, civil society penetrates the state; as the collective tool of nation-building, the state penetrates civil society.

That does not mean that the Québécois deny the significance of community life and community institutions. But community groups and organizations are understood to be partners with the state in nation-building. To reject the right of the state to set the agenda and make the rules is to reject the aspirations of the Québécois. To reject a partnership with the state in nation-building is to segregate oneself in opposition to the broader society and the democratic will of the majority. Again, that does not mean that there are no differences of opinion among Quebec’s Francophone population—the debate over sovereignty is proof of



that—but regardless of disagreements on how to achieve their goals, most Québécois agree on the kind of society they want to achieve.

Because the Francophone majority in Quebec expects more from minorities and immigrants than does the rest of Canada, integration into Quebec society is no easy process. NGOs of all kinds, particularly minority and immigrant group organizations, have played a vital role in facilitating that process. Nevertheless, NGOs are to some degree viewed with suspicion, especially those which represent the views of minorities or seek to deal with issues such as racial profiling. In the Quebec context, most people assume that NGOs are not to act in opposition to government, not even as a loyal opposition. NGOs should partner with the state and accept the will of the majority. They should sit down at the table with all other communal groups and participate in the construction of a collective consensus to which they then adhere. Changing the name of Canadian Jewish Congress' Quebec Region to Quebec Jewish Congress reflects a public commitment precisely to such participation and partnership.

## QUEBEC'S ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITY

Let us move on to the issue of the Anglophone community. When we refer to an English-speaking community, to what do we refer?

One possible reference is to that set of Protestant English-speaking Quebecers of original British origin who established many of the Anglophone institutions of Montreal, such as the schools, hospitals, social service agencies, cemeteries and newspapers. While many such people still live in Montreal, their community has become very much a minority, and many of the people in Montreal who today speak English on a regular basis—Jews, Italians, Greeks, Caribbeans, Filipinos, Chinese, Sikhs—were never members of that particular community. That is not what we mean by the English-speaking community of Quebec today, although the institutions established by that earlier community persist and are central to the contemporary Anglophone community.

What of the North-American population of English-speaking people? Does the English-speaking community of Quebec identify itself as a branch of that majority group? Certainly there are many cultural and economic ties among the English-speakers of North America. Many Anglophone Montrealers watch *American Idol*, drink Starbucks's coffee, wear Gap jeans, listen to their iPods, and go on shopping trips to New York (or Burlington if they are less affluent). But all that is just as true of many Francophone Québécois. It does not serve either to attach Anglophone Montrealers to other English-speakers nor to differentiate them from Francophones. Rather, the

English-speaking population of Montreal find themselves in a context which is significantly different from that of Toronto, Boston, or Los Angeles. The English-speakers of Montreal are aware that they are a minority and that their status in the society reflects that fact. One need only listen to English-speaking Montrealers complain about being taken for granted by provincial Liberal governments to recognize the widespread recognition of that status and its implications.

Structurally, the Anglophone community consists of sets of overlapping networks loosely connected by a preference for the use of English in public life. That preference may be pragmatic, cultural, or historical, but in practice it does not serve to overcome the many significant differences among the groups which make up the community. Moreover, that community is undergoing a profound change as a result of Quebec's language and cultural legislation. The change, though, is not the one envisioned by those who drafted that legislation. Rather, the Anglophone community is being transformed into a multicultural community whose members feel at home in multiple cultural contexts and speaking multiple languages.

Montreal's English-speaking population, especially its young people, have become part of a multicultural community in the sociological sense that they participate in, feel comfortable with, and are a part of multiple ethnocultural groups at once. For many this is because they are literally the product of multiple cultures, having parents of different religious and cultural backgrounds. Structurally, though, there is another factor: that almost all of the English-speakers brought up in Montreal since the late 1970s are bilingual. They are literally members of two linguistic—and often three linguistic—groups at once. Both integration and diversity are facts of their lives. Thus they do not necessarily have a sense of belonging to one and only one group, but to being a part of something which transcends linguistic and cultural groups. Asking them to what group they “belong” is to ask them the wrong question. It is to ask them to distort the reality of their lives, their friendships, and their work experiences. That is why many of them describe themselves as Canadian, it is an inclusive term which they see as independent of a particularistic identity. They readily understand that others may belong to an ethnocultural group in this way and they accept that as legitimate, but it does not reflect their experience.

English-speaking Montrealers are thus cosmopolitan in terms of how they understand themselves and how they accept others. Many of them expect their institutions to be similarly cosmopolitan, to transcend the limits of any one language, culture, or set of issues. This



expectation was articulately expressed by one young Pakistani Montrealer:

At twenty-five years, I am one of the last of a generation of Quebec Pakistanis that was educated exclusively in English schools. Many in my generation are perfectly bilingual and trilingual, thereby stretching the boundaries of how this ethnic community fits into the spaces of Quebecois and Canadian society... We are hybrid and adamant... No one can force us to choose allegiances, because in the deepest parts of ourselves there exists a multiplicity... [our] identity is dynamic and fluid (Ahmad, 2002/03: 17).

Anglophone NGOs which fail to take the multiplicity and dynamism of their community members into account face the risk of becoming irrelevant to their constituents.

## IMPLICATIONS

The old image of “two solitudes” which once dominated thinking about Quebec does not reflect contemporary reality. If we take as an example a group identified as English-speaking, the Sikh community, how are we to locate them? Structurally, we can distinguish between the majority group, Québécois descendants of the original French settlers (along with those who assimilated into that community), and Quebec’s ethnocultural minorities. Among the ethnocultural minorities we can differentiate between largely Anglophone minorities such as the Sikhs and largely Francophone minorities such as the Lebanese. Thus Sikhs are a minority group within the minority Anglophone community which is itself only a part of the diverse set of ethnocultural minorities which all together constitute a minority within a largely Francophone Quebec society. Not only does this mean that a Sikh organization, such as the Sikh Community Center of Montreal, represents a relatively small community, but that members of the Sikh community have other identities to which they may develop a sense of attachment. In that case, they may feel that participation in a Sikh organization is restrictive rather than empowering.

Minority ethnocultural NGOs, then, have to adapt not only to the pattern of relations between the two linguistic communities but also to patterns of relations among individuals. They must also adapt to the state. Government policies have an influence upon ethnic communities, often a fateful influence. Policies with respect to immigration, anti-racism, affirmative action, and the recognition of professional credentials are matters

which directly affect many ethnic groups. More fundamentally, the state’s definition of its relations with its citizens forms the context within which the members of ethnic communities establish goals, form organizations, act on their interests, and interact with one another and with the state. By promoting integration as the goal of state policy, the Quebec government has set an agenda within which ethnic communities can legitimately act.

At the same time, though, an Anglophone community is emerging in Montreal which is multicultural, where identity is multiplex, and where people are able to communicate in not only English but in several languages. This community is not like the English-speaking communities of English Canada or the United States, although it might present us with an image of how those communities will evolve. Moreover, it is a community that does not define itself in opposition to the Francophone community but through its particular way of interacting with that community, neither being incorporated within it nor seeking domination over it.

To sum up, the intimate link between NGOs and particular ethnocultural minority communities poses a number of problems. Most ethnocultural minority groups are too small to sustain significant NGOs which can provide extensive and comprehensive services to its members. Small size also means that they may not be taken seriously by either the provincial or federal governments. Moreover, those NGOs which are seen to represent only the interests of a particular group rather than those of the social majority lack legitimacy in the eyes of that majority. Additionally, they may fail to reflect the reality of life in Quebec for many of their own community members, especially younger people who do not want to be locked into a rigid traditionalism but seek to participate actively in both the Anglophone and Francophone communities. As such, ethnocultural minority NGOs are often seen as irrelevant and have difficulty attracting participants or obtaining funding.

I am certainly not suggesting that ethnocultural NGOs in the Anglophone community have no long term future and should simply dissolve; they have an important role to play as resources both for individuals and groups. But if they are to persist they must broaden their mission, so to speak, presenting themselves not only as the representatives of a particular group but as concerned with issues which transcend group boundaries. I would suggest a three-fold strategy.

NGOs should continue to provide ethnocultural minority groups with the means to affirm their distinctive identity and retain critical values, practices, and memories. At the same time, they need to “adapt and change the way identity is expressed, in order to meet new circumstances” (Churchill, 2008), be open to new

initiatives and allow the younger generation to take the lead in defining their mode of participation. When dealing with the broader community or with the state, NGOs should consider acting in concert with others to achieve collective goals. Unity is itself an important political resource. Informal networks can be strengthened and those institutions which already exist can be utilized. Additionally, a coalition of groups which act in concert rather than reflect the interests of particular ethnocultural communities will have greater legitimacy in the eyes of the Québécois, especially if the contribution being made to that society can be clearly and pragmatically illustrated. Rather than posing a threat to the Anglophone community and its institutions, diversity is strengthening that community and its members by allowing it to adapt to the new circumstances in which people find themselves. That is a lesson which may be of great value to the Francophone majority. It may be a lesson of value for much of the world.

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# QUEBEC'S ENGLISH-SPEAKING ARTISTS: REINVENTING A CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

**Guy Rodgers** graduated from the National Theatre School in the early 80s and has subsequently divided his time between writing and arts advocacy. He was executive director of the newly created Quebec Drama Federation in 1989 and president of both FEWQ and QSPELL when they merged in 1996 to become the Quebec Writers' Federation. He has been president or executive director of Quebec's English Language Arts Network (ELAN) since its inception in 2005.

## ABSTRACT

Montreal was Canada's (English-language) cultural capital in the 40s. After decades of decline, Quebec is once again home to a vibrant English-language cultural scene consisting of thousands of artists. Many English-language artists have been reluctant to self-identify with the "Anglophone" minority and their efforts to integrate with the Francophone majority have not always been reciprocated. The first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen a remarkable transformation of Quebec's cultural landscape.

Montreal, at mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, was Canada's cultural capital according to William Weintraub in his book *City Unique*. "In the 1940s and 1950s, the best novels, poems and short stories that had ever been written in Canada were being written by Montreal writers" (Weintraub 1996). Weintraub's Montreal was almost exclusively English-speaking. This paper will briefly revisit the pre-1976 era of two solitudes, the 1976-1995 years of exodus and lamentations, and then examine questions of immigration, integration and belonging among Quebec's English-speaking artists in the post-1995 era.

## PRE-1976: TWO SOLITUDES

Once upon a time, Montreal—English Montreal—was an island that produced extraordinary cultural wealth. "Beginning with *Earth and High Heaven* by Gwethalyn Graham in 1944 and *Two Solitudes* by Hugh MacLennan in 1945, English Montreal fostered a rich and varied literary scene—from Morley Callaghan, Louis Dudek, F.R. Scott, A.M. Klein and Irving Layton to Mavis

Gallant, Brian Moore, Mordecai Richler and Leonard Cohen. All were intensely connected to Montreal, and yet described a city of closed communities. Theirs was an English-language city where the French-speaking community was largely limited to a role of spectator" (Simon 2006).

Bilingual Montrealers inhabited a larger, more diverse city. Noted poet and constitutional lawyer F.R. Scott regularly travelled across town to attend book launches by French-language publishers and authors. In the 1960s, he organized literary soirées for his English-speaking colleagues and prominent Francophone writers. Bilinguals translated for unilinguals, facilitating cumbersome but lively exchanges of ideas, as Scott recalled with fondness. "Later recollections by Micheline Sainte-Marie, Louis Dudek and others were more critical of these soirées, more conscious of ways in which they were not successful. When asked about the "bilingual evenings" at Scott's house, Louis Dudek replied, 'Sure, we met those guys, but that's all. Nothing came of it.' What remains is the image of a cultivated, well-intentioned, and polite

gentleman-poet who was slightly out of sync with the community he wanted to join" (Simon 2006).

## 1976-1995: EXODUS AND LAMENTATIONS

An exodus of artists started long before the political and economic upheavals of the 70s. Mavis Gallant migrated to Paris, Mordecai Richler to London, while Leonard Cohen, Christopher Plummer and William Shatner pursued their careers in the US. By the mid 80s, the economic and cultural wealth of Quebec's English-speaking community was greatly depleted, yet the impression of Anglo dominance persisted. "It was a long-standing and openly stated belief at the old Ministry of Culture—pre *Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec* (CALQ), established in 1993—that English-speaking artists were less dependent on government grants than francophone artists because unlimited sponsorship funding was available to them from the wealthy anglophone business community in Westmount. The opposite was in fact true. Businesses owned or controlled by English-speakers were extremely reluctant to associate publicly with any activity perceived to exclude the francophone majority" (Rodgers, Needles, and Garber 2008).

Not only did government and business in Quebec marginalize English-language culture, English-speaking artists were reluctant to self-identify with the Anglophone community, as Linda Leith discovered while researching *Quebec Fiction in English during the 1980s: A Case Study in Marginality*. "Most of the twelve writers I consulted during May 1989 object more or less strenuously to being described as 'anglophone writers.' They have different reasons for objecting. Some feel it 'compartmentalizes' them too much: 'there's a presumption of ghettoization,' 'it's pigeonholing,' and 'anglophone' makes you feel more and more marginalized.' Some find this too political a designation and a few dislike the word 'anglophone' because 'it's an ugly word'" (Leith 1989).

Quebec's Francophone culture flourished during the '70s and '80s. This was in part because French-speaking artists could not easily slide across the border to make a career in Ontario or the US, and France continues to be a difficult market to penetrate. As a linguistic island, Québec developed its own star system for the music, theatre and dance scenes, and a thriving film and television industry, which is the envy of English Canada. Many francophone Québécois artists toured the world and became international celebrities (Robert Lepage, le Cirque du Soleil, Céline Dion).

Social tension in Quebec climaxed in 1995. Most of the Francophone community, after two unsuccessful attempts to put an end to minority status within Canada, was ready to accept its role as the majority within

Quebec and to negotiate a new social contract to include minorities. Most of the English-speaking minority was ready for a new deal. This was particularly true in the arts community.

## POST 1995: IMMIGRATION

Quebec's thriving cultural scene was an attraction for English-speaking artists. Another important factor was the low cost of living during the decades of economic stagnation. This was as true for writers—"The difficult 1980s and 1990s attracted English-language writers from other Canadian cities to a cheap and artist-friendly city" (Simon 2006)—as for musicians, "Montreal has become such a cultural magnet that some Americans are relocating there. From a cultural and economic perspective, it makes perfect sense. It is a cheap place to do business and to live" (Perez 2006).

Barry Lazar, documenting the embryonic resurgence of English-speaking artists in 2001, discovered that virtually nobody was attracted to Quebec because of its Anglophone community. "No artist whom we have interviewed sees themselves as an Anglo artist with a capital 'A'. Does this mean there is no such thing as anglo culture? No, it means that anglo culture is in metamorphosis. Clearly, the Anglo-Québécois community is only recently emerging from a generation of destructive depression, one in which little vitality was evident and growth was deemed impossible. A new change of leadership was necessary for the community to grow. That leadership is evident throughout the English-speaking community today, particularly at the level of culture" (Lazar 2001).

Cultural leadership was concentrated around key institutions, most of which were relatively recent creations: the Quebec Drama Federation (created in 1989 from the older Quebec Drama Festival), the Quebec Writers' Federation (created in 1996 from a merger of the Quebec Society for the Promotion of English Language Literature (1987) with the Federation of English-language Writers of Quebec (1993), and the Blue Metropolis Foundation (1999), as well as 'older' institutions like Playwrights' Workshop Montreal (1963), Centaur Theatre (1969) and the Montreal Fringe Festival (1991). The necessary conditions were in place for artists to stay in Montreal or emigrate there.

## POST 1995: INTEGRATION

Minority artists have encountered mixed responses from the majority community in their efforts to integrate. Shortly after the 1995 referendum, author Neil Bissoondath appeared on a cultural television program in France

and defined a Québécois as “someone like me”. “At a conference, in the spring of 97, on English literature and culture in Quebec, distinguished Québécois literary scholar Gilles Marcotte delivered a paper entitled ‘Neil Bissoondath disait...’ (alluding to Bissoondath’s comments on *Bouillon de culture*). In his presentation, Professor Marcotte was categorical that ‘Citoyen québécois, Neil Bissoondath, n’est pas un écrivain québécois’ on the basis that ‘Il n’existe évidemment pas telle chose qu’une littérature anglo-québécois...’” (Reid 1998).

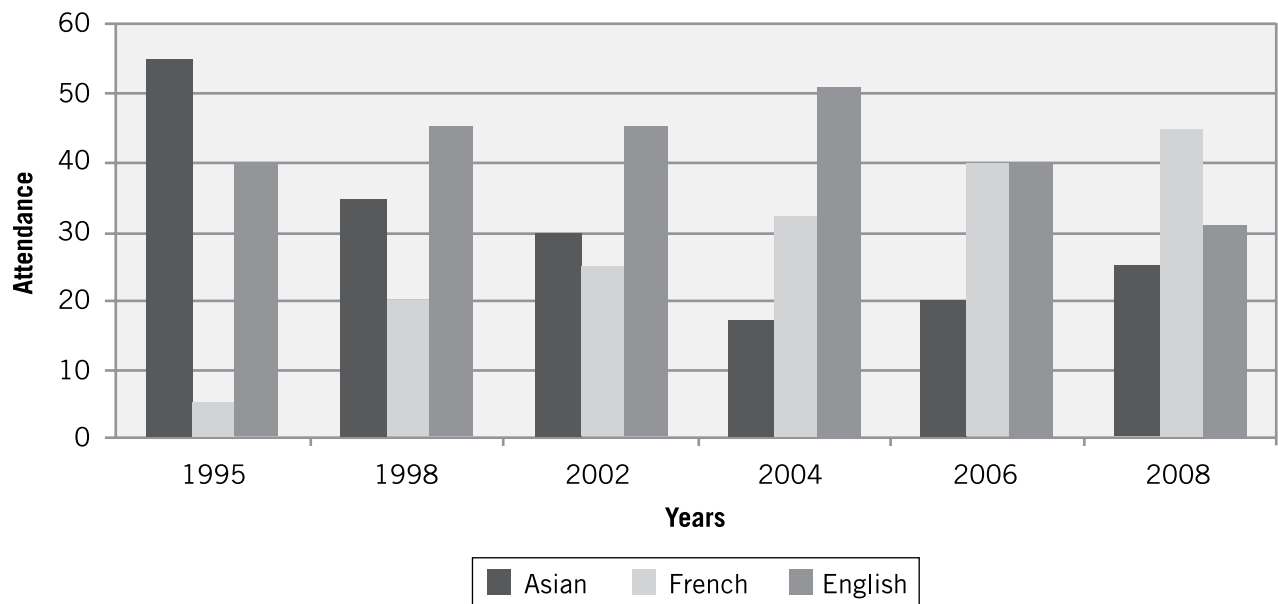
Resistance within the francophone community to the re-emergence of anglo-québécois culture came to a head with the creation of the Blue Metropolis Literary Festival in 1999. A paper written by Blue Met founder Linda Leith for the American Council for Quebec Studies describes in excruciating detail the antagonism aroused by the festival among some francophone authors and intellectuals. “Our sin was that we successfully crossed linguistic divides. Our sin was in being big and bold, plus international and multilingual. And still, in part, anglophone” (Leith 2007). A decade after its founding, Blue Metropolis, now a major international festival, still struggled to be fully integrated within the francophone community. In 2009, columnist Lysiane Gagnon wondered why Francophones continue to be absent. “Dès sa naissance, le Metropolis bleu s’était heurté à des tentatives de boycottage de l’Union des écrivains du Québec (...) On en avait également contre le caractère bilingue de

Metropolis, une organisation issue du milieu anglo-montréalais, et où il se trouve certainement plus de fédéralistes que de souverainistes. Mais il serait étonnant que cette ancienne querelle influence encore les simples amateurs de livres, d’autant plus que le festival est apolitique, et qu’un souverainiste ouvert sur le monde s’y sentirait parfaitement à l’aise” (Gagnon 2009).

The Montreal Fringe festival also struggled to attract French-speaking participants and audiences. Here, the causes were more practical than political. Francophone theatre artists had access to a sufficiently structured and funded theatre scene so that they did not need to self-produce their plays and rely on a percentage of ticket sales. Nor did they see much benefit in joining the fringe circuit to tour their French-language shows across English Canada. Both these opportunities were highly valued by English-speaking theatre artists. The absence of French-language productions limited the interest for francophone audiences, and so the festival has remained on the fringe of Quebec’s theatre scene.

The situation of so-called Allophone artists is both simpler and more complex. Bill 101 obliged children of immigrants to be educated in French. Immigrant families that arrived in Quebec speaking English found themselves divided between languages, generations and cultures. The conflict between English and French is perceived as a vestige of colonialism by many Allophones who decline to take sides.

FIGURE 1. Festival Accès Asie Demographics





Festival Accès Asie, founded in 1995 to present South Asian culture to their French-speaking and English-speaking neighbours, has progressively increased its francophone audience by minimising language-based work (music, dance) and making poetry readings multilingual. Not surprisingly, the festival attracted more Anglophones when programming was in English, and more Francophones when in French. The choice is both strategic and economic.

Language skills are a determining factor in the capacity of artists to cross the linguistic divide and successfully integrate with the majority community. A 2010 study of the English-speaking film and television sector in Quebec revealed that although only 7% of respondents were born into bilingual families, 26% now live in bilingual homes, 35% work bilingually, 60% are fluently bilingual and 97% are bilingual to some degree (ELAN Film and Television Study 2010). This represents a radical increase in linguistic skills within two generations.

A high degree of bilingualism strengthens integration into the majority community while weakening identification within the minority community. The English-language is a useful tool but Anglo-Saxon history has negative connotations for most French-speakers, many Allophones, and a good number of English-speakers. Linda Leith in 1989 and Barry Lazar in 2001 confirmed that English-speaking artists were reluctant to identify with the Anglophone community. The language wars of the '80 and '90s, fought by a querulous band of Angryphones, convinced many artists that the future lay outside the polarizing antagonisms of language. They preferred to identify with their art form (musician, writer, dancer etc) or their neighbourhood. "Montrealer" was a more comfortable identifier than "Anglophone."

The English Language Arts Network (ELAN) was formed following the Quebec Arts Summit in November 2004 which brought together 100 senior artists from all disciplines. Many of the artists who attended the Summit were apprehensive of any "Anglo" association that would threaten cordial working relationships with francophone colleagues that had taken years to develop. They also questioned the pertinence of a large umbrella association, because the language-based arts (writing, theatre and film) already had their own associations while the non-language based arts (music, dance, visual arts) didn't need one. The resistance relaxed when participants discovered a room full of bilingual fellow artists who shared their experiences, aspirations and challenges. They reluctantly agreed that an English Language Arts Network could be an asset if it helped provide support to artists and build bridges. By 2010, ELAN's membership exceeded 1,800 and visual artists constituted the single largest group of

members, demonstrating that the language of the artist is independent from the language of the artist's work.

## POST 1995: BELONGING

The 2001 census registered 8,510 English-speaking Quebecers working in arts and entertainment. The combined 2010 membership of ELAN, the Montreal Film Group, the Quebec Writers' Federation, the Quebec Drama Federation, ACTRA, the Quebec chapter of the Directors' Guild of Canada, the Writers' Guild of Canada etc. validate these numbers.

As English-language artists have increased in number and prominence they have been recognized by the French-speaking community in unprecedented ways. In 2004, poet David Solway was awarded the *Grand Prix du livre de Montréal* for his book *Franklin's Passage*. In 2005, Quebec City-based Jeremy Peter Allen was the first "Anglo" filmmaker invited to open the *Rendez-vous du cinéma québécois* with his film *Manners of Dying*, written in English by Francophone Yann Martel and starring fluently bilingual Roy Dupuis. In 2006, author Mavis Gallant was awarded Quebec's prestigious *Prix Athanase-David*. English-speaking artists began to feel they belonged in Quebec. Simultaneously SPIN magazine and the New York Times were reporting that Montreal's indie rock scene was the hippest in North America (Carr 2005 and Perez 2006).

Meanwhile, the English-speaking community was beginning to appreciate the artists in their midst. The QCGN's Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative (GMCDI) identified culture as a key area of community development, alongside education and health. "*Recommendation 7—That a Cultural Resources Task Force be established to design and implement a multi-year strategy for promoting the cultural resources of the English-speaking communities...*" (Report of the GMCDI 2007).

In 2008 Bernard Lord reported to the Canadian government that

"The arts and culture emerged as a unifying thread of the consultations. Participants mentioned many times that arts and culture serve to build cultural identity, contribute to community vitality and make it possible to bring all clienteles together around common elements. Participants proposed that culture serve as a gateway to the international stage. The arts and culture are useful for attracting and integrating immigrants, as well as strengthening identity and developing a sense of belonging" (Lord 2008).

Also in 2008, the Commissioner of Official Languages recommended “That Canadian Heritage, cooperating with other federal institutions having a role in arts and culture, work with the representatives of Anglophone and Francophone minority communities on developing a new vision of the arts and culture...” (Canada 2008).

By 2010, many of Quebec’s English-speaking artists feel a sense of belonging within Quebec society. For some this means integration into francophone culture, for others it involves a new definition of their identity. The larger English-speaking community has begun to invest resources in culture as a tool of social and economic development, both in the greater Montreal area and the outlying regions of Quebec, which are home to significant English-speaking populations. The francophone population is curious to discover English-speaking artists who are reinventing the cultural landscape.

This generally positive vista is marred by a few dark clouds. The resurgence of English-speaking culture in Montreal has begun to ring alarm bells among Francophones who feel their language and culture are threatened when English becomes too prominent on the streets and in the public arena. Whether this is a passing shadow or a growing squall is impossible to predict.

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# THE “A” WORD: THE CHALLENGE OF BUILDING AN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE HERITAGE NETWORK IN MULTICULTURAL QUEBEC

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## ABSTRACT

Reflections on the term “Anglophone” and its problematic use in defining communities in Quebec in the light of one organization’s attempts to promote an awareness of English-speaking heritage, with emphasis on one model for proceeding forward through these murky waters.

In 2000, when the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network held its Inaugural meeting on the weekend of la Fête Nationale, it sent a curious message to potential attendees. With the importance of that specific weekend with in mainstream Quebec culture, it appeared as though this was a new Anglo-rights group thumbing their noses at Quebec’s linguistic majority. Combined with the term “heritage,” which can push some uncomfortable buttons (i.e., Christian Heritage), “Anglophone” seemed to suggest exclusion. My own perspective was shaped by academia, specifically the McGill History Department and the Montreal History Group, which tended to pursue integration with mainstream Francophone Quebec rather than isolation. “Anglophone” seemed almost a dirty word—so why would a nascent community organization, even with the best of intentions, use it?

It turned out that the June 24<sup>th</sup> weekend had been the only one available to the planners of the founding meeting. It also turned out that the event was a gathering of people interested in local history who had the English language in common. English was not even necessarily their first language: of the eight elected to serve on QAHN’s first board of directors, two were Francophone.

QAHN’s origins lay within the *Fédération des sociétés d’histoire du Québec*, a province-wide network of historical societies, small museums and archives to which a great many groups in English-speaking areas belong, even though its leadership is overwhelmingly Francophone and its business is conducted almost entirely in French. In the Eastern Townships, however, the number of English-speaking member groups is sufficiently large for

regular meetings to be held in English. In the latter part of 1999, it occurred to the members of the FSHQ's Eastern Townships "chapter" that this model could be applied to the entire province and that a parallel network of English-speaking societies would be a useful way to share wisdom and compare experiences within the overarching context of living in a Francophone society.

Research revealed that such a network would be eligible for funding from the federal Department of Canadian Heritage (PCH) under its Official Languages Support Programs: as an organization serving the province's linguistic minority—English speakers, that is—it could join the ranks of the Townshippers' Association, the Outaouais Alliance (now Regional Association of West Quebecers), the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations, the Quebec Community Newspapers Association, and more than a dozen others. Organizers formed a steering committee and applied for a start-up grant from PCH to hold an exploratory conference. Once it was voted into existence with by-laws, mission statement and board of directors, the network could apply for core funding to hire a permanent coordinator as well as project funding with which to take on special activities. As an official player for the province's linguistic minority community, however, the organization was expected to have "Anglophone" displayed in its name.

The three-day conference during which QAHN was founded ("Building a Future for Our Past") took place at Bishop's University in Lennoxville.<sup>1</sup> It drew over 130 people from the Townships, Quebec City, the Gaspé, the Lower North Shore, the Laurentians, the Chateauguay Valley, the Saguenay, the Outaouais, and Montreal—and from many different fields, including journalists, archivists, and professional historians like me. My earlier qualms were dispelled in the company of dozens of highly knowledgeable and enthusiastic individuals who studied and wrote about history by choice (if only students showed half the initiative!) and I agreed to sit on the board of directors as the "education" representative, to liaise with academia and the school system. Had I known then that, three years later, I would find myself elected QAHN president, I might have been more wary, but those are the paths along which we are led in life.

The other non-regional seat on the QAHN board was entitled "cultural." It created some problems—and still does. The idea was to ensure that at least one member of the board came from what is often referred to as the "cultural communities"—someone not necessarily from a visible minority but at least from outside the "anglais de souche" cohort of British ancestry. There was, and is, something disagreeable about this frank tokenism, but it was clear that the creators of QAHN understood that cultural diversity was a reality in Quebec. Moreover, they

seem to have anticipated that the network would come across all too readily as an Old Anglo institution and would need to counter this perception by means of a procedural requirement. Indeed, one respect in which the Lennoxville gathering was not particularly diverse was ethnicity: apart from a sprinkling of French and Germanic names, the attendance list was largely British in origin. The first person to occupy the "cultural" seat represented the Channel Islands association—arguably a deviation from the spirit in which the seat was conceived. Whether or not it made sense for one person to liaise with all the province's cultural communities was another matter again—and one that QAHN has never entirely managed to resolve.

Well-intended efforts to respect the cultural diversity of Quebec society soon proved to be way out of their depth when it came to Montreal. QAHN's base was the Townships, its member groups overwhelmingly rural—or, to use that peculiar term born of Montreal myopia, "off island." In the city, historical societies are much fewer in number, and only a handful represent English-speaking communities. Heritage is of considerable interest—witness the ongoing success of Heritage Montreal—but the nature of urban life rarely permits people to establish the kind of bond with their neighbourhood's past that is possible in small towns. Besides, there are plenty of other institutions that do not require heavy volunteer labour, including world-class museums, archives, and libraries. And ethnic distinctiveness takes a pronounced turn when organizations for national or religious groups are focused on their *own* heritage, in the time-honoured tradition of Montreal "national" societies such as the St George's, St Andrew's, St Patrick's, Hebrew Benevolent, and St Jean-Baptiste.

Where did all this leave Anglophone heritage? Advancing the cause of QAHN on the urban front has involved two obstacles: one political, the other social or cultural.

The political issue is, of course, about language. Away from Montreal, Anglophones are used to living in French almost all the time, at least outside of the home. Individually or collectively, Anglophones pose no threat. An organization dedicated to promoting "Anglophone" heritage is similarly non-threatening, since digging up relics of a more influential past has no bearing on a politically impotent present. Furthermore, much of the Francophone majority is genuinely interested in the Anglo aspects of Quebec's history, and a great many recognize significant Anglo elements in their own pasts—witness the Irish ancestry of several of our premiers. In its early years, QAHN met with a great deal of support from the PQ government, as it has done with their Liberal successor, even to the tune of providing modest core

funding annually. Anglophone heritage is a small but important component of a modern, culturally diverse Quebec society.

The rules are different in Montreal, however. In the city, there are more Anglophones. There is certainly more English; some even claim it is more predominant than French. It is certainly true that there are Anglophone institutions that Off Island people have no access to, including places to buy English books and see English films. Many Montreal Anglophones still live much of their lives in English, although many more are functionally bilingual than was the case a generation or two ago. As a result, they seem, at least in some circles, a threat. The notion of Anglophone heritage could strike sinister overtones, containing as it might seem to do the intention to revive the glory days of Anglophone cultural superiority and to reopen the wounds inflicted in the course of language rights battles.

Surprisingly, those who tend to see "Anglophone" as a threat are likely to be Anglophones themselves. One train of thought says that linguistic peace is a delicate thing, and any attempt to assert an Anglophone identity is like waving a red flag. Another tendency—prevalent in, but by no means restricted to, academia—is to find "Anglophone" distinctly uncool. Disdain for English-rights zealots appears to have been adopted like a fashion, and the Anglophone brand is clearly out. The recent denial by Quebec's Justice Minister that she was Anglophone came as a rude surprise to many who had applauded her appointment to that office. Kathleen Weil's vacillation was typically Montreal, however: if spending much of one's time in French and having French friends means one is not an Anglophone, then most Off Island Anglophones wouldn't be Anglophones either. On one occasion I used the "A" word in conversation with an academic well-versed in the nuances of language politics and she surprised me by saying: "Oh, I don't like the sound of that! It makes me feel like I'm back in the late seventies." After much discussion, I suggested that her attitude might in part reflect snobbery: she recoiled from "Anglophones" the way she recoiled from people who say they don't know much about art but know what they like. In the end, she admitted I might be right. Even so, Anglo denial (is it in part Anglo guilt?) puts paid to any idea, however rational it might be, that "Anglophone" is essentially the same as "English-speaking," simply another in a list of Gallicisms we have adopted. It isn't—and to avoid the baggage many groups have dropped the word and use "English-speaking" religiously, and the "ESC" to designate the community, even though there are plenty of Francophones who consider themselves English-speaking.

If one tries to extend the definition of Francophone and Anglophone to people whose mother tongue is

neither, or even to people whose parents or grandparents spoke a third language, one often meets stiff resistance. I first experienced this while involved in the Heritage Task Force of the Global Development Plan as it brought its community consultation to downtown Montreal in 2004.<sup>2</sup> The GDP, an initiative of the Quebec Community Groups Network, the umbrella organization linking minority language community groups such as QAHN, sought to establish a vision for the future of the ESC. As a child of the federal government, the GDP took for granted the federal definition of Anglophone and Francophone, which is that everyone fits into one or the other camp, according to which of Canada's two official languages is your first, or which of them (if your first language is something else) you speak more easily. Quebec, of course, has a third category, unofficially known as Allophone—a convenient fiction that draws a line between people of British ancestry ("Anglophones") and those of other backgrounds whose English is usually flawless but whose parents may speak it with an accent. While the federal definition is also, in its way, a fiction, it keeps ethnicity out of the reckoning.

The social or cultural obstacle that "Anglophone" encounters in Montreal is a product of the Quebec definition. A great many who attended the GDP's downtown consultation stated quite firmly that they were not Anglophone. The assumption was that they were not Old Anglo with origins in Britain, but rather Italian or Greek or Jamaican. QAHN experienced similar reactions when it approached some Jewish groups who said they did not see themselves within Anglophone heritage—and this despite the fact that until the end of the nineteenth century the city's Jews came largely from Britain, sometimes by way of the United States, and that even after that time most Jews strove for familiarity with English rather than French. Even more frustrating for QAHN was the hesitation to embrace Anglophone heritage shown by some of Irish background on the grounds that they did not identify with England. Again, this attitude was an urban phenomenon—and one that would have to be countered if QAHN would ever make inroads in Montreal.

QAHN's first step was to adjust its mission and vision statements so they reflected what the organization really promoted: the history of people in Quebec who at one time spoke or identified primarily with the English language. As asserted by countless Francophones, including two of QAHN's board members, one does not lose interest in one's past simply because part of it spoke English. There may be a tendency in some circles to overlook what is often condescendingly called the Anglophone contribution to Quebec society, and for that reason QAHN's mandate to promote an awareness of Anglophone heritage is useful.



The second step was to approach multicultural Montreal more systematically, by means of an outreach project. In the fall of 2006, QAHN obtained PCH funding to hire a coordinator, Carolyn Shaffer, who had experience working with antagonistic cultural groups, notably Jews and Muslims. Shaffer went to work across the city, officially gathering stories for QAHN's quarterly magazine, the Quebec Heritage News (which deliberately sports no "Anglophone" in its title), and unofficially building useful relationships. She also recruited speakers for a spring symposium that would explore the city's historic diversity with English as a common denominator. QAHN secured the McCord Museum as a venue—but not without considerable discussion and reassurance that the event would not be exclusive (read Anglophone) in any way, nor even officially unilingual. In fact, "Anglophone" was pointedly not mentioned in the conference material, other than by way of reinforcing the idea that the term referred to the heritage of English speakers.

The crowd that gathered at the McCord on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007 for "Montreal Mosaic: A Symposium and Cultural Fair" paid very little attention to whether they were Anglophone, Francophone or Allophone.<sup>3</sup> They told stories. They found they had much in common, despite many different backgrounds, including Irish, Jewish, Indian, Chinese, Greek, Jamaican, and Inuit. Proceedings unfolded in English, with the occasional French intervention, although the initial welcome came in both languages, as well as Spanish, German and Italian—the latter from the keynote speaker, the Honourable Marlene Jennings, who speaks it with her in-laws. At one point,

writer Stan Asher was recounting his experiences as a young man working on the factory floor with Percy Rodriguez, who would go on to be a successful Hollywood actor; Jennings rose in delight to announce that Rodriguez had been her godfather. By the end of the day, Montreal's vast mosaic seemed a good deal more intimate, the pieces of the puzzle infinitely more in focus.

It is my conviction that the Montreal Mosaic approach is the way forward, not only for a group like QAHN but for all of Quebec society. Since that day at the McCord, the Bouchard-Taylor hearings have revealed a Quebec highly unsure of its own identity, wanting to be a people with a strong sense of their past and at the same time an open, ethnically diverse society. What we heard from the commission was at times unsettling, but still highly useful; debate and discussion are crucial to resolving differences, even if the process seems extraordinarily slow. What QAHN heard at Montreal Mosaic was proof that wonders can happen if you stop putting people in boxes and just let them talk.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Building a Future for Our Past: Report of the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network's First Annual Conference*. Edited by Louise Abbott. Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> The GDP was later renamed the CDP, the C for the less ambitious "community." *Community Development Plan for the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec, 2005-2010*. Quebec Community Groups Network, 2005.

<sup>3</sup> *Montreal Mosaic: Sketches in a Multicultural History*. Prepared by Sylvia Welke for the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network, 2007.

# THE HISTORICAL DIVERSITY OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBEC AS A PUBLIC PROJECT: A PRELIMINARY STRATEGIC ANALYSIS

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## ABSTRACT

This article considers in preliminary and cursory fashion the question of the historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec outside of Montreal as a "public project" and analyses it strategically using the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) technique. Strengths include resources such as excellent sector workers, sound infrastructure, good research institutions and tools, and strong products including projects and historical information. Weaknesses include discontinuity in the community sector infrastructure, uneven coverage of different group histories, and information gaps. Opportunities include recent Quebec government initiatives making public room for cultural communities. Threats include the politicized socio-political environment and chronic underfunding.

The socially crucial question of whether or not a minority group feels that it belongs in the majority society will inevitably bring up other questions of the history of the group, and how it has related to the majority over time.

As coordinator-researcher of the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN), with a background in the worlds of academic and community history, I was pleased to be invited to explore such questions as they pertained to Quebec's official language minority community. This chance arose when the Association of Canadian Studies requested that I organize a panel entitled "Historical

Diversity of English-Speaking Quebec" at its *Integration and Belonging in Quebec's English-Speaking Community Symposium* held on October 14, 2009 in Sherbrooke, Quebec.

The focus of the symposium was on the province outside of Montreal. And, as the panel and symposium titles indicate, the questions were further complicated by their focus on the ethno-cultural communities that together comprise the larger Quebec English-speaking community. The task at hand was therefore to explore ways that small, sometimes tiny English-speaking ethno-cultural groups had integrated and belonged in Quebec

society. The present article presents how I used this forum to try and carry out the task.

My overall approach in organizing the panel was to bring attention to both formal scholarly studies and grassroots community initiatives. Four highly qualified colleagues accepted my invitation to participate. They were: Louisa Blair, author of a ground-breaking popular history of Quebec City's English-speaking communities—people of English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Greek, American, African, Chinese, Jewish, Italian, German, Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish, Armenian, Russian, Kazakh, Indian and Lebanese origin—and founder of a community group that sponsors African refugees, many of them English-speakers; Patrick Donovan, a Ph.D. student in history, consultant in heritage projects and past interim director of the Morrin Centre, Quebec City's English-language cultural centre; Simon Jolivet, a post-doctoral researcher in history and specialist of Quebec's Irish communities; and Rod Macleod, past president of the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network and co-author of an important work on the history of Quebec's (English-speaking) Protestant school boards and communities. Their presentations are described elsewhere in this journal; suffice to say here that these colleagues ably communicated some of the breadth and depth of knowledge and projects covering that rich, complex, intertwined assemblage of ethnic, "racial" and cultural (sub-) communities that use English, whether as their mother tongue or first official language, and that together make up what we call Quebec's official language minority community.

For my part, I used the opportunity of the panel to step back and consider the efforts of the panelists and their peers collectively and as a "public project:" that is, a combined effort to uncover, describe and communicate the historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec outside of Montreal through publicly-accessible initiatives such as publications, research events, exhibits, and so on. My approach was analytic and strategic; I asked, how is the project viewed, resourced, and presented in the public space of Quebec? What are some policy questions to consider?

To do so, I carried out a brief Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis. This strategic planning tool was developed in the 1960s for business applications but other sectors now use it as a "comprehensive way of assessing the positive and negative forces within and without" an organization or project, including community-based ones. I based the analysis on information I have gleaned throughout my career, not new research. It was a small step: preliminary and partial, but nonetheless useful, in what eventually should be a larger process involving field research and broad

participation from across the sector. What follows is a summary of my findings.

## STRENGTHS

In a SWOT analysis, the term "strengths" refers to positive internal factors of the organization or project under study. There are some remarkable strengths within the collective, public project to uncover and share the historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec outside of Montreal.

First, the project has strong *resources*. Outstanding among these are *human resources*. Scores of highly qualified individuals are dedicating their work or volunteer hours to it, including academics, independent scholars, and workers in community organizations and government heritage and cultural department offices. They cannot be listed here but many names are available through the bibliographies and websites mentioned below.

Another strength is *infrastructure resources*. These include dozens of *community groups* devoted specifically to the history and heritage of Quebec's English-speaking communities in all their diversity. Many are members of the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network (QAHN). It provides leadership, coordination, support and advocacy and carries out its own activities including publishing and organizing conferences. Two of the latter were on diversity. There are also *government resources* including federal offices and programs and federally-funded institutions that together provide funds, research and other resources, including the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Canadian Heritage, and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities. The Quebec government provides support through programs such as one to fund physical infrastructure which has been used to help renovate the above-mentioned Morrin Centre, among other sites, and special activities such as some recent Conseil des relations interculturelles research initiatives. QUESCEN for its part collaborates with QAHN and other partners on research events, projects and publications.

An element of this solid infrastructure is effective access to knowledge. They include a wealth of *research institutions* open to the public, including, among many others, the Eastern Townships Research Centre in Sherbrooke. There are also useful *research tools* available. Most valuable are Brendan O'Donnell's bibliographies of sources on English-speaking Quebec. Their extensive "ethnic studies" and "regional studies" sections, divided into many ethnic and geographical subsections, list mainly histories.

The second main strength of the public project being considered are its *products*. These include include

thousands of *publications*, itemized in the above-mentioned bibliographies. There are also many *projects*. Unfortunately, to my knowledge they have not been comprehensively listed, although QAHN's publications list many of them. The projects vary in scope and function but generally speaking they gather and publicly share information. Mentioning three with which I have personally been involved will give a sense of their variety: the 2006 QAHN "Prospecting for Heritage" project produced comprehensive lists of resources including publications, institutions, people and sites related to the history and heritage of English-speaking communities in four Quebec regions; the 2008 Shalom Quebec project produced online and three-dimensional exhibits and research materials on the history of Quebec City's Jewish community; and the McCord Museum's 2009 "Being Irish O'Quebec" exhibit assembled hundreds of artifacts previously scattered in dozens of private homes and public institutions.

These good resources and products represent a solid foundation on which to build.

## WEAKNESSES

At the same time, the public project to uncover and share the historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec outside of Montreal has some internal weaknesses to consider. Listing key weaknesses can help the people involved in the project in setting priorities.

The *resources* have weaknesses. One is at the level of organization: there is a need for more contact and coordination between efforts carried out between the community and academic research sectors. Many more are due to a "threat" mentioned below: inadequate funding. Serious negative effects I have observed in the community sector include a precarious work environment leading to high staff turnover, with concomitant loss of knowledge and expertise, and gaps in the coverage and continuity of the work these institutions carry out. One example among many is the QAHN "Prospecting for Heritage" project, which was not extended and thus covers just four Quebec regions.

Related, but not limited in cause to under-funding are weaknesses in the project *products*. One is that the *publications and projects* available in Quebec's public space do not cover the various ethno-cultural groups evenly. Whereas there are several exhibits and publications on Irish and the Jews, for instance, other groups have received no attention at all. Beyond the availability of external resources, this probably points to differing levels of organization, capacities and interest levels of the communities themselves, and of differing interest levels on the part of researchers.

There are also gaps and weaknesses in the way the publications and projects do cover their subjects. Most exhibits focus on ethno-cultural community "contributions." This is natural enough, given that they are often produced in collaboration with the communities themselves, but it results in less attention being paid to other equally important historical realities, such as problems within the communities or in inter-community relations. Within the *historiography*, the focus tends to be on the historical experience of specific ethno-cultural groups. While these do often discuss positive and negative interactions between the group in question and others, including the majority population, there have been relatively few studies looking specifically at the question of inter-group dynamics, or making cross-cultural historical comparisons. There is also no comprehensive study weaving together the histories of all the different English-speaking communities across the province.

## OPPORTUNITIES

The history-heritage milieu is fortunate to have some valuable external opportunities. A remarkable one is the growing openness in Quebec society to consider and debate the place of citizens and traditions outside the old-stock Francophone culture of French-Canadian origin. Probably the best-known site for debate was the 2008 Bouchard-Taylor Commission involving extensive province-wide public hearings. While the commission did not focus on the English-speaking population, its report recognized that the latter "is fully experiencing Québec's ethnocultural diversity." It also recommended the creation of an oral history program to obtain immigrants' stories; the report notes, "[t]he resulting oral data bank would be accessible to researchers and the general public and would be a valuable addition to our historical heritage." Another site is Quebec's Ethics and Religious Culture program. It aims to allow children to "learn about elements of other religious traditions present in Québec grow and develop in a society in which different values and beliefs coexist."

These provincial government initiatives, and the debates which have arisen over them, represent opportunities for bringing public attention and, it is to be hoped, public resources to uncovering and sharing information about the historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec. In order to do so effectively, those involved in the public project to project to uncover this history can benefit from another opportunity: the growing body of *theory and analysis* on the broader question of Anglophone Quebec identity and sense of belonging.

## THREATS

In a SWOT analysis, the term “threats” refers to external barriers or challenges. The public project under consideration, to uncover and share the historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec, is “threatened” at two levels. One is the complex and challenging socio-political environment in which the project resides. Passions and politics sometimes inflame discussions touching on the historical and current place of the “English” in Quebec. As just one example, I would point to the heated debates over the plan to have a historical re-enactment commemorating the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Quebec in 1759 on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec City. The battle was between the French and English armies, although as some of the people weighing in on the debate pointed out, in fact the latter also included other ethno-cultural groups including Scots. The debate was not always reasonable and the re-enactment plans were scuttled.

Secondly, as noted above, the community-based heritage sector including Anglophone Quebec heritage organizations is under-funded. Witness the recent campaign of the Gaspesian British Heritage Village in New Richmond for funding, to take just one example. Its supporters argued, “[t]his site has importance historically, linguistically, culturally and environmentally; is seriously underfunded compared with the significance the village holds in its core communities; and, is a symbol of cross-cultural outreach.”

These and other challenges point back to opportunities for people involved in promoting the public project of historical diversity of English-speaking Quebec. We can organize, lobby government and otherwise make claim on public attention and resources. In doing so, it would be helpful for us to benefit from international approaches to interculturality, such as European efforts to promote “intercultural history education” which gives “majority-minority dynamics a more prominent place in historical education.” A recent workshop on the subject gave the German case as an example: “German society in the past fifty years has been substantially transformed by a large number of immigrants. History education in Germany therefore needs to examine these migration processes as well as address children and youths whose families do not have a mainstream German experience.”

## CONCLUSION

It is helpful to step back and approach the question of the historical diversity of Quebec’s English-speaking communities strategically, considering it as a public project with internal strengths and weaknesses and

subject to external opportunities and barriers. The present article, while preliminary and superficial, nonetheless affords those of us working or interested in the field a clearer view of areas we can allow to flourish and areas requiring work.

Together, people interested in the project can enrich the public understanding of the history of not just English-speaking Quebec but of the province as a whole, and thus, of how the linguistic minority and its component ethno-cultural groups belong in Quebec. This will require work and imagination. To quote literary scholar Gregory Reid,

Perhaps what the Anglo-Québécois case best demonstrates is what philosopher Charles Taylor, himself an English Quebecer who has upheld Quebec’s right to defend its collective cultural interests, calls the need for “‘deep diversity,’ in which a plurality of ways of belonging would also be acknowledged and accepted.” In fact there are no immediate, viable options other than the ongoing need for invention.

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Note: all websites were consulted in January 2010.

- <sup>1</sup> Blair, Louisa. 2005. *The Anglos: the hidden face of Quebec City*. Québec: Editions Sylvain Harvey. For the list of the ethnic origins of today’s English-speaking population in the city, see volume 2, p. 94; some of the ethnicities are mentioned elsewhere in the books. Note that even this long list is not comprehensive.
- <sup>2</sup> This group is called the Noella Project. For information, see [http://209.160.3.218/noella\\_project.htm](http://209.160.3.218/noella_project.htm).
- <sup>3</sup> [www.morrin.org](http://www.morrin.org).
- <sup>4</sup> See Jolivet, Simon. 2008. *Les deux questions irlandaises du Québec, 1898-1921 : des considérations canadiennes-françaises et irlandaises-catholiques*. Thesis (Ph.D.), Department of History, Concordia University.
- <sup>5</sup> Roderick MacLeod & Mary Anne Poutanen. 2004. *A Meeting of the People: School Boards and Protestant Communities in Quebec, 1801-1998*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- <sup>6</sup> For this work, I drew on a SWOT analysis I did for a project to list heritage resources on English-speaking communities in in four regions of Quebec: “Prospecting for Heritage: Project Report.” Quebec City: Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network, March 20, 2006 (available at the QAHN offices; see [www.qahn.org](http://www.qahn.org)), and two earlier presentations I have made on the subject: one as invited participant, session on “Telling the History of the Cultural Communities in Québec,” organized by the Conseil des relations interculturelles (Québec), at the Association for Canadian Studies annual conference, Quebec City, October 24, 2008; the other entitled “Sharing Authority through Community-Building History: A Study of Recent Heritage Projects within Quebec’s English-speaking communities,” paper presented at the “Sharing Authority: Building Community-University Alliances through Oral History, Digital Storytelling and Collaboration” conference, February 8, 2008, Concordia University, Montreal.
- <sup>7</sup> Kuang-cheng Wang, “A process view of SWOT analysis,” Proceedings of the 51<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting of the International Society for the System Sciences, Tokyo, August 5-10, 2007. Available at <http://journals.iss.org/index.php/proceedings51st/issue/view/7>.



- <sup>8</sup> Val Renault, contributor and Jerry Schultz, editor, "SWOT Analysis: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats," Part B, Chapter 3, Section 14 in the University of Kansas, "Community Tool Box," an online resource available at [http://ctb.ku.edu/en/tablecontents/section\\_1049.htm](http://ctb.ku.edu/en/tablecontents/section_1049.htm).
- <sup>9</sup> For information, see [www.qahn.org](http://www.qahn.org). Especially valuable is QAHN's monthly magazine, the *Quebec Heritage News*, available online. The diversity conferences were The 2007 Montreal Mosaic Heritage Summit and the 2008 Roots Quebec Heritage Summit; for information, see the "Documents" section of the QAHN website.
- <sup>10</sup> For instance, there is historical information in the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages report "Vitality Indicators for Official Language Minority Communities 2: The English-Speaking Communities in Quebec (June 2008)," available online at [www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/html/etudes\\_etudes\\_e.php#OLMC](http://www.ocol-clo.gc.ca/html/etudes_etudes_e.php#OLMC).
- <sup>11</sup> Canadian Heritage funds many heritage groups including some of their research activities.
- <sup>12</sup> Research carried out by the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities occasionally touches on the question of the history of Quebec's English-speaking communities. For instance, see Annie Pilote and Sandra Bolduc, "L'école de langue anglaise au Québec : Bilan des connaissances et nouveaux enjeux. Document d'interprétation rétrospectif (phase 1)," Research report prepared for the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities, October 2007, available online at the CIRLM website: [www.icrml.ca](http://www.icrml.ca).
- <sup>13</sup> This is the "Aide aux immobilisations – Biens et équipements culturels" program. For information, see [www.formulaire.gouv.qc.ca/cgi/affiche\\_doc.cgi?dossier=9971&table=0](http://www.formulaire.gouv.qc.ca/cgi/affiche_doc.cgi?dossier=9971&table=0).
- <sup>14</sup> The Conseil des relations interculturelles (Quebec) has been represented at recent Association for Canadian Studies research events, for instance, and organized a panel on "Telling the History of the Cultural Communities in Québec" at the Association for Canadian Studies annual conference, Quebec City, October 24, 2008.
- <sup>15</sup> For general information on QUESCEN see [www.concordia.quescen.ca](http://www.concordia.quescen.ca).
- <sup>16</sup> Brendan O'Donnell, *Printed Sources for the Study of English-Speaking Quebec: An Annotated Bibliography of Works Printed before 1980* (Lennoxville, Quebec: Eastern Townships Research Centre Series Number 2, Bishop's University, 1985); *Sources for the Study of English-Speaking Quebec: An Annotated Bibliography of Works Published between 1980 and 1990 / Sources pour l'étude du Québec d'expression anglaise: Bibliographie annotée d'ouvrages produits de 1980 à 1990* (Lennoxville, Quebec: Eastern Townships Research Centre of Bishop's University, 1992); *Sources for the study of English-speaking Quebec Volume 3: An annotated bibliography of works published between 1990 and 2008 / Sources pour l'étude du Québec d'expression anglaise Volume 3: Bibliographie annotée d'ouvrages produits de 1990 à 2008* (Montreal: Concordia University, Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities and Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network, 2009). Note: volumes 1 and 2 can be ordered at [www.etr.ca](http://www.etr.ca) and volume 3 is available through the Concordia University bookstore at <http://web2.concordia.ca/Bookstore/>.
- <sup>17</sup> The four regions covered were Lower Saint Lawrence, Gaspé, North Shore and the Mauricie.
- <sup>18</sup> For information, see [www.shalomquebec.org](http://www.shalomquebec.org).
- <sup>19</sup> On display at the McCord Museum 2009 to 2010. For information, see [www.mccord-museum.qc.ca](http://www.mccord-museum.qc.ca).
- <sup>20</sup> Note that QAHN is in preliminary discussions with the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network to develop more such links.
- <sup>21</sup> For instance, I am unaware of publications or projects that look at the English-speaking Philipinos of Quebec City.
- <sup>22</sup> This was the subject of several lively "behind the scenes" discussions between the curators, museum staff, community sponsors and expert advisory committee in the creation of the "Being Irish O'Quebec" exhibit.
- <sup>23</sup> Many studies of the Quebec Irish look at inter-group relations. See, for example, Wayne Timbers, "Britannique et irlandaise : l'identité ethnique et démographique des Irlandais protestants et la formation d'une communauté à Montréal, 1834-1860". Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 2002.
- <sup>24</sup> A few studies of inter-group dynamics are listed in Brendan O'Donnell, *Sources for the study of English-speaking Quebec Volume 3* in the section "Sociology: English-French Relations."
- <sup>25</sup> There are some broad histories, but these do not focus on bringing the different histories together. See, for example, Ronald Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980* (Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985) and Ray Baillie and Diana Baillie's "Imprints" series: *Imprints: Discovering the Historic Face of English Quebec* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 2001); *Imprints II: Discovering the Historic Face of English Quebec—The Eastern Townships* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 2002) and *Imprints III: Discovering the Historic Face of English Quebec: Quebec City & Environs, Saguenay, North Shore, Gaspé* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 2004).
- <sup>26</sup> Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, Québec (Province). Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences. *Building the future: A time for reconciliation: Report*, 2008, pp. 34, 258. Available online at [www.accommodements.qc.ca/documentation/rapports/rapport-final-integral-en.pdf](http://www.accommodements.qc.ca/documentation/rapports/rapport-final-integral-en.pdf).
- <sup>27</sup> Quebec, Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport website, page on Quebec's Ethics and Religious Culture program, [https://www7.mels.gouv.qc.ca/DC/ECR/index\\_en.php](https://www7.mels.gouv.qc.ca/DC/ECR/index_en.php).
- <sup>28</sup> Several such studies are listed in Brendan O'Donnell's bibliographies, *op. cit.*, especially in the "Sociology" sections.
- <sup>29</sup> See Neil Reynolds, "Great Scots, Plains of Abraham really did pay off," *Globe and Mail*, 20 February 2009; "Simon" [blogger], "Steven Harper and the Plains of Abraham, blog of Feb. 13, 2009, available online at <http://montrealssimon.blogspot.com>.
- <sup>30</sup> Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network, *HeritageLine* [newsletter], February 27, 2009. Available online at [www.qahn.org/uploads/qahn\\_document.docFile/HeritageLine%20Master%20List%2020090327.pdf](http://www.qahn.org/uploads/qahn_document.docFile/HeritageLine%20Master%20List%2020090327.pdf).
- <sup>31</sup> Source: "Intercultural History Learning in Poland, Germany, and Ukraine: Transcending the boundaries of the nation state in a time of migration and social change." Workshop by Anna Augustyn, Anne Frank Zentrum Berlin, 9<sup>th</sup> Annual Young SIETAR Congress, October 21, 2007. See [http://de.federaleurope.org/fileadmin/files\\_youngsietar/documents/YS\\_Congress2007/Workshops\\_and\\_speakers\\_presentations.pdf](http://de.federaleurope.org/fileadmin/files_youngsietar/documents/YS_Congress2007/Workshops_and_speakers_presentations.pdf).
- <sup>32</sup> Gregory Reid, "Constructing English Quebec Ethnicity: Colleen Curran's *Something Drastic* and Josée Legault's *L'invention d'une minorité : Les Anglo-Québécois*," *Post Identity* 1, 2 (Summer 1998), p. 81. Reid is citing Charles Taylor, *Reconciling the Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism* (Montreal: McGill Queen's UP, 1993), p. 183.

# OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO ACCESS TO HEALTHCARE IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING ETHNOCULTURAL AND IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

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## ABSTRACT

Drawing on knowledge of the historical evolution of health and social services in Quebec and Canadian studies on accessibility to healthcare for immigrants, this paper provides some reflections for initiating dialogue on this subject in relation to English-speaking ethnocultural and immigrant communities. A training tool designed to sensitize health and social service practitioners to barriers of access within a multiethnic context is also outlined as means of improving accessibility as well as the quality of care.

## INTRODUCTION

The vitality of any community is necessarily linked to the capacity of its institutions to serve and address the needs of its members. This is particularly the case of the health and social services. Present in all stages of life, this sectors plays a key role in community development. In a survey of 3,100 English-speaking Quebecers, conducted for the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN), health care is identified as one of the top three priority issues for the community, 48.9% declaring it as 'Extremely Important' and 44.6% as 'Important' (Jedwab,

2006). Health and social services also constitute a front-line actor in the redefinition and renewal of community boundaries to include new forms of membership. Over the past few years increased attention has been given to the heterogeneity of the English-speaking community in Quebec, particularly in relation to the aging demographic structure of the community, significant socio-economic disparities and its multiethnic character. While recent initiatives have begun to document the accessibility of health and social services for aging English-language speakers and those with low socio-economic status (CHSSN, 2003; Pocock, 2006)<sup>1</sup>, little is known about the

accessibility of services to English-speaking ethnocultural and immigrant communities. Drawing on knowledge of the historical evolution of health and social services in Quebec and Canadian studies on accessibility to health care for immigrants, this paper provides some reflections for initiating dialogue on this subject. In the final part of the paper we discuss a training tool designed to sensitize health and social service practitioners to barriers of access in a multiethnic context.

## AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE ADAPTATION OF QUEBEC HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES TO DIVERSITY

Multiethnic diversity is a defining characteristic of contemporary Quebec society, both in the English and French speaking communities. In 2006, for instance, 11.5% of Quebec's population (20.6% in Montreal) was born outside of the country. Of this number, 50.3% speak both English and French, 17.5% English only and 5% neither English nor French (MICC, 2009). Diversity within the English-speaking community is not only a recent phenomenon, but rather has strong roots in the past. In addition to immigrants of English, Irish and Scottish origins who arrived throughout the settlement period, other English-speaking communities also have a long history in Quebec. The Black Anglophone community, for instance, has been present since the 1700s, the first waves arriving initially as slaves and later as free migrants from the United States and the Caribbean (Williams, 1998). Chinese, Russian, Polish, Rumanian and German nationals formed other important immigration waves in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a result of political and economic repression in their homelands. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Greek, Italian and Portuguese immigrants also joined the ranks of the English-speaking community, followed in the 1970s by numerous other immigrant groups from non-European countries (MAIIC, 1995; Roy & Montgomery, 2003; Legault & Rachédi, 2008).

Despite this early history of diversity, issues relating to multiethnicity have been largely occluded in the organisation of Quebec health and social services until recent years. Like all societal institutions, these services do not develop in a vacuum. Rather, they mirror the organisation and prevailing beliefs of society at any given point in time. Like Quebec society itself, the mainstream health and social service institutions have tended to be organised along ethno-linguistic lines, serving principally the majority English and French-speaking communities. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, few institutions specifically addressed the needs of new

immigrant populations, with the exception of some private companies providing medical care to their immigrant workers and charitable and philanthropic organisations within the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic communities (Jacob, 1992). Generally speaking, however, these organisations operated on the margins of mainstream public health and social service institutions (Jacob, 1992; Fiorino, 1996; Christensen, 2003; Roy & Montgomery, 2003). It is not until the 1980s and 1990s that diversity became a preoccupation for the Quebec government. Within the space of a decade, two major policy papers addressed the issue of accessibility in all public sectors of activity: *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* (1981) and *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble* (1990). With respect to the health sector more specifically, this period was also marked by the establishment, in 1984, of an umbrella association promoting accessibility to health and social services for immigrant populations (*Alliance des communautés culturelles pour l'égalité dans la santé et les services sociaux*, 2006) and the publication of two governmental reports on the same subject.<sup>2</sup> Today, equality of access to the health and social services for persons of all origins is clearly written in the *Act respecting health and social services* which states that resources must be designed "to take account of the distinctive geographical, linguistic, sociocultural, ethnocultural and socioeconomic characteristics of each region (art. 2.5)" and "to foster, to the extent allowed by the resources, access to health services and social services in their own languages for members of the various cultural communities of Québec (art. 2.7)".<sup>3</sup>

## BARRIERS OF ACCESS TO HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES FOR ETHNOCULTURAL AND IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Despite the official acknowledgement of equal access to services, significant barriers still exist. As far as we know, there have been no systematic studies of access to English-speaking health and social services for ethnocultural and immigrant populations in Quebec. Other Quebec and Canadian studies, however, have documented the difficulties facing these populations in general. A series of analyses based on the National Population Health Study have proposed what is known as the 'Healthy Immigrant Effect' (Chen et al., 1996; Pérez, 2002; Ng et al., 2005). These studies suggest that the health status of recently arrived immigrants tends to be better than that of the Canadian-born population, a situation explained in part by the immigration selection process and healthy lifestyle habits of several immigrant communities. This health advantage, however, decreases over

time and their health status converges with that of the overall population. Between 1994 and 2003, for instance, immigrants were more likely to report a change from good, very good or excellent health to fair or poor health than the general population (Ng et al., 2005). Some sub-groups also have higher risk factors than others for perceived low health status, particularly those living in low-income situations or poor housing conditions, groups who have faced significant traumatic situations during the migratory process, such as refugees, and groups historically confronted by discrimination or other forms of exclusion (Ng et al., 2005; Health Canada, 1999).

According to the Quebec health survey, persons of immigrant origin tend to use health and social services to a lesser degree than the general population (Chevalier & Gravel, 2002), a finding which has been corroborated in other Canadian studies (Health Canada, 1999). The under-utilization of services has been attributed to a number of factors. Formal immigration statuses may constitute a barrier for some, particularly for asylum seekers and persons with non-permanent statuses (temporary workers, foreign students, clandestine migrants), who are not covered by Quebec public health insurance and must rely on temporary health programmes, private insurance regimes or pay outright for care (Oxman & Hanley, 2007). The immigration experience itself may also contribute to the under-use of services. In the early stages following migration, insufficient knowledge of existing resources and of the way in which the health system is organised may limit contact with health care services. Also, the initial period following migration is often referred to as the 'survival phase', in which individuals may be more preoccupied with ensuring basic living conditions (housing, employment, feeding their families) and set health preoccupations aside. In a Quebec study of immigrant men and access to health and social services, these types of preoccupations constitute an important factor limiting consultations regarding their health and well-being (LeGall et al., in press). Practitioners may also lack sufficient knowledge about migratory statuses and the migration experience, leading to misunderstandings and misconceptions between practitioners and clients (Roy & Montgomery, 2003; McAll et al., 1997).

Language, of course, is another significant barrier of access to care. From the point of view of the patient, poor knowledge of English or French may mean that they are not able to adequately express their symptoms, talk about past health history or understand diagnoses and treatment options. Bowen (2001) describes several ways in which language barriers may effect the use of health and social services: diminished participation in health prevention and promotion programmes (cancer screening, prenatal and first aid courses); lower use of mental health

services; increased use of emergency services and diminished use of telephone help services; higher risk of diagnostic errors; lesser understanding of health condition and treatment; poorer management of chronic illnesses, such as diabetes and asthma and lesser satisfaction with regards to services. Language barriers can also be examined from an organisational point of view. Where translation services are required, institutions must juggle between the costs of additional resources and the health risks stemming from potential miscommunication. Over and above the question of translation per se, (Battaglini et al., 2005; Battaglini, 2008) has suggested that interventions are generally 2.9% longer with newly arrived immigrant clients. The increased length of interventions is not strictly related to language barriers per se, but also includes other types of miscommunication stemming from divergent understandings of intervention objectives or differing cultural conceptions of health and ways of managing care (Battaglini et al., 2005; Battaglini, 2008). As some have suggested, the language barrier itself cannot be isolated from other factors and must be situated in a broader comprehension of social relations between the host community and ethno cultural or immigrant communities. Stereotypes, preconceptions and prejudice may play into the way in which practitioners and clients interact with one another, creating potential conflicts and undermining the establishment an effective clinical relationship (McAll et al., 1997; Roy & Montgomery, 2003). These barriers and others constitute the substratum of intervention practices in a multicultural context. They often operate unconsciously, thus contributing to the reproduction of exclusionary practices with respect to ethno cultural and immigrant communities. One means of addressing such barriers is through training programmes directed at sensitizing health and social service care professionals to intervention-related issues in working with a multiethnic clientele.

## INTERCULTURAL MODEL FOR TRAINING HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE PROFESSIONALS

The Research and Training Centre (RTC) of the CSSH (Centre de santé et de services sociaux) de la Montagne and its interdisciplinary research team METISS<sup>4</sup> offers a series of intercultural training seminars<sup>5</sup> to healthcare establishments and to community organisations working with a diverse population. These seminars were developed in order to provide practitioners with a tool for clinical problem solving within a context of diversity using a framework which places importance on social factors and barriers



to access to care while adopting a reflexive and critical approach to culture as an explanatory factor.

The initial intercultural training sessions (Kanouté et al., 2002) were co-developed by a group of RTC researchers and practitioners between 1998 and 2000, following a series of monthly, interdisciplinary 'research-training' workshops which brought together nurses, social workers, dental hygienists, psychosocial educators etc.<sup>6</sup> More precisely, the workshops consisted of group discussions aimed at clarifying the various elements involved in challenging clinical cases with highly diverse and mostly immigrant populations. Some dominant themes raised include the following: "tensions or misunderstandings due to diversity, social class differences, gender differences and different understanding of masculine and feminine roles, confusion or misunderstanding on the part of clients with regard to bureaucratic norms inherent in interventions within public services, identity questions tied to the migration process, interdisciplinary tensions between practitioners working with the same clients, etc." (Kanouté et al., 2002) At the end of the process, participants expressed the need for a continuation of such training sessions since they allow practitioners to take time to reflect within a framework which is in proximity to their practice but also removed from it. This experience also revealed the tremendous reflexive and creative capacities present when a team of practitioners engages in a problem solving activity where the focus is placed on mobilising and rendering explicit individual knowledge and practice, within a non-judgemental context. The ensuing training seminars sought to capitalise on the existing reflexivity and problem-solving capacity of professionals. A series of two day training seminars have been developed and thus far offered to more than five hundred health and social care practitioners.

A fundamental principle underlying the theoretical approach of the intercultural training seminars is a rejection of culturalist or essentialist positions in explaining intervention issues as a means of avoiding the creation of stereotypes which are often generated by such approaches.<sup>7</sup> In their day to day interventions, practitioners are not in contact with *cultures* or with *ethnics*. Rather they encounter individual bearers of multiple identities, with culture being one component. The same applies to practitioners. The way an individual identifies with their culture may vary within a given group, since the possibility of choosing certain customs, values and ideas over others exists. This process may evolve over a person's lifetime and be modified by a number of social factors including social class, gender, years of education and the migration process. A practitioner cannot presume to know the client's cultural values, beliefs or a practice simply based on the latter's ethnic origin or

cultural belonging. The contrary also applies to clients in their intervention encounters with practitioners (Kanouté et al., 2007).

A rejection of the culturalist approach does not signify the evacuation of culture as a factor in understanding intervention issues. Rather it cautions practitioners against a systematic reliance of culture as the sole explanatory factor in understanding clinical cases, and this as a means of preventing the propagation of stereotypes and prejudices. As Cogné (et al., 2007) mentions, the ethnicization of health risks or problems, whether based on a cultural or racial bias, not only deforms the understanding of the situation but contributes to existing negative social perceptions in society. As in other studies (Cogné et al., 2007; Fortin & Laudy, 2007), the presumed neutrality of the clinical encounter is called into question and a methodology based on an intersectional model (Yuval-Davis, 2006) for the analysis of clinical cases is proposed. In other words, culture is juxtaposed with other explanatory factors such as the country of origin, the migration trajectory, religions, social class, gender, years of education, degree of familiarity with bureaucratic, organisational, and deontological norms of the healthcare system, as well as knowledge of professional roles and mandates. Similarly, the identity, gender, migration trajectory (if applicable), and the professional status of practitioners is considered (Kanouté et al. 2007). Such an approach not only helps practitioners in gaining a better understanding of beliefs, practices, and at times resistance on the part of clients during the intervention process but it also provokes the former in questioning their own framework.

## CONCLUSION

This short reflection on barriers of access to healthcare is based on literature on immigrants in general as well as a training model for practitioners intervening in a context of diversity, rather than specifically on English-speaking ethnocultural and immigrant communities. This being said, the issue raised concerning the tendency of recent immigrants to under utilize services also holds relevance for members of English-speaking ethnocultural and immigrant communities. This tendency to under utilize services is attributed to numerous factors including migration status and the insertion process within Quebec society as well as language, diverging conceptions of health and illness, lack of knowledge of the healthcare system, and negative social preconceptions and prejudices. Also proposed is an intercultural training model which sensitizes practitioners to existing barriers to healthcare affecting persons of immigrant and diverse ethnocultural origin as a means of improving frontline



interventions. Taking into account existing barriers of access to healthcare and developing tools to improve quality and access of services for English-speaking immigrants, represents a few of the possible measures aimed at contributing to the vitality of the English-speaking community as a whole. This discussion also provides fertile ground for further research. More specifically, little is known about the specific challenges facing English-speaking immigrants in gaining access to healthcare and social services institutions. Little is known either about the way in which practitioners belonging to ethno linguistic minorities live and perceive their professional experience within the healthcare system, nor of the types of strategies, skills and tools they develop in working with a diverse clientele. The same applies to professionals working in community organisations that provide services and resources to diverse populations within a context of recent immigration and diversity. How does the community sector interface with mainstream healthcare and how are existing and emerging challenges identified and dealt with? Finally, on a management level, how do healthcare organisations manage diversity within the context of barriers to access of care? How are specific needs, be it in terms of language, poverty, or other factors, addressed while respecting the principles of equity and quality?

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> In 2009, the Canadian Institutes for Health Research, in collaboration with the Community Health and Social Services Network, organised a symposium on official language minorities, the objective being to stimulate research interest on this theme. Also, the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN) is currently undertaking a project on poverty in the English-speaking community which also addresses the question of access to health care.

<sup>2</sup> Bibeau, G. et al. 1987. *À la fois d'ici et d'ailleurs. Les communautés culturelles et leurs rapports aux services sociaux et aux services de santé*, Québec, Les Publications du Québec. Sirros, E. 1987. Rapport du consultatif sur l'accessibilité des services des établissements du réseau aux communautés culturelles, Québec, Publications officielles.

<sup>3</sup> *Act respecting health and social services*, Government of Quebec: [http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/S\\_4\\_2/S4\\_2\\_A.html](http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/S_4_2/S4_2_A.html), consulted January 5, 2010)

<sup>4</sup> Migration et Ethnité dans les Interventions de Santé et de Service social, Équipe FQRSC en partenariat centre affilié universitaire. [www.csssdelamontagne.qc.ca](http://www.csssdelamontagne.qc.ca)

<sup>5</sup> Current training seminars for practitioners and support staff : « Interculturel I : Les mots pour dire et pour intervenir »; « Interculturel II : Connaître ses clients, statuts, trajectoires et vécus migratoires »; « Séminaire de formation en interculturel : Intervenir par téléphone en contexte de diversité »; For managers and supervisors : « Gérer dans la diversité ».

<sup>6</sup> The 2005 Quebec Health Reform as stipulated by Bill 25 led to the creation of the present day 95 CSSS (Centre des services santé et services sociaux) in the province of Quebec and the reorientation of services around local networks. The CLSC Côte-des-Neiges merged with the CLSC Métro and the CLSC Parc Extension to become the CSSS de la Montagne. Its territories of CLSC Parc-Extension and CLSC Côte-des-Neiges are characterized by a high percentage of recent immigration (62% and 43% respectively) compared to only 28% for the island of Montreal. (Direction de la santé publique. 2006. « Le portrait socio-sanitaire de la population au 31 octobre 2006 » [www.csssdelamontagne.qc.ca](http://www.csssdelamontagne.qc.ca)).

<sup>7</sup> According to this position culture is seen as the totality of shared behaviour among members of society and that cultural groups are fixed entities. Culture is comprised as an ensemble of natural, fixed traits which are transmitted from generation to generation.

# PROMOTING ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES FOR BLACK ENGLISH-SPEAKING FAMILIES AT RISK

**Leith Hamilton** is a community organizer with extensive experience in advocacy, program and policy development in the Black community of Montreal and other minority groups. He is the project consultant to the AFRICAN CANADIAN DEVELOPMENT AND PREVENTION NETWORK and coordinator of its NPI, funded by CHSSN).

## ABSTRACT

This article briefly describes the on-going campaign by a prevention network within the Black English-speaking community to increase access to needed prevention resources to reduce the over-representation of Black youth in the Provincial Youth Protection system by increasing prevention resources in the target neighbourhoods with significant numbers of Black families at risk. The campaign focuses on increasing local capacity to develop best practice prevention approaches, improving partnerships with the public network of social services, and identifying a clinical model of partnership with the CSSS in order to better integrate community-based prevention developments within the Provincial Youth Protection reform. The McGill School of Social Work, Batshaw, and the CSSS Cavendish are cited as important allies in this knowledge development and model building. Finally, this is a case example of how the CHSSN (Community Health and Social Service Network) supports a English language minority community in Montreal to ensure access to appropriate social services and how opportunities exist within the English-speaking community to promote these policy changes.

## IMPROVING ACCESS TO SOCIAL AND HEALTH SERVICES FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING MINORITY COMMUNITIES: THE CASE FOR REFORM IN ADDRESSING HEALTH DISPARITIES

The increasing diversity of the Quebec population has placed demands on mainstream institutions to ensure that services meet the needs of minority populations, especially the health and social service sector. However, there is compelling evidence that race and ethnicity correlate with persistent, and often increasing, health disparities amongst minority populations and this article briefly describes the agenda for reform to address these disparities by a prevention network within the Black

English-community, a group having the unique double status of a language and racial minority in Montreal. Indeed, despite notable progress in the overall health of Quebecers, there are continuing disparities experienced by Black English-speaking youth and their families, compared to the population as a whole. The demographic changes anticipated over the next decade magnify the importance of addressing these disparities in health status. Minority groups currently experiencing poorer health status are expected to grow as a proportion of the total population; therefore, the future health of Quebec as a whole will be influenced substantially by improving the health of these racial, linguistic, and ethnic minorities. A focus on disparities in the health status of minorities, especially the Black English-speaking community is timely and long over-due.

## THE BLACK ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES THE STATUS OF A “DOUBLE MINORITY”, AS A RACE-BASED AND LINGUISTIC MINORITY

A review of the literature suggests that ethno cultural groups, especially the Black English-speaking community in Montreal, are relatively vulnerable to mental health, family neglect, and substance use problems due to pre-migration trauma, economic and social disadvantages, isolation, racism, discrimination and cultural pressures. Evidence further shows that members of ethno cultural communities have a much lower rate of participation in health promotion, prevention and treatment programs, and are less likely to receive needed care than the general population due to systemic and service barriers which include language and cultural factors, discrimination, stigmatizing attitudes and mistrust of mainstream service providers.

Eliminating racial and linguistic disparities in health for the Black English-speaking community in Montreal will not only require enhanced efforts at prevention, promoting healthy practices, and delivering appropriate care by State mandated agencies, but also identifying mechanisms to address systemic barriers, such as discrimination, lack of cultural competence, and bias. This will necessitate improved collection and use of standardized data to correctly identify all high risk populations and monitor the effectiveness of health interventions targeting these groups. Evidence-based practice demonstrates that working in partnership with community groups from the target community, and community-based agencies helps reach intended audience, identify culturally competent strategies and gives more credibility to the initiatives to promote policy, program, and practice reforms

### CASE EXAMPLE: ACCESS TO PREVENTION RESOURCES FOR BLACK ENGLISH—SPEAKING FAMILIES AT RISK

A considerable challenge has been for Quebec Youth Protection services to respond effectively in addressing the unique needs of these populations. In particular, the Black community has found the interventions of these Youth Protection services problematic. One of the most challenging and controversial issues facing the State is the disproportionate representation of ethnic minority children and families, particularly African-Canadian children. It is hard to believe, but true: Black youth make up approximately 6% of the population in Montreal, yet

comprise nearly 22-24% of the numbers of youth placed in the Youth Protection system. These numbers have not changed in over fifteen years, in spite of numerous programs initiated by the agencies involved.

### DISPROPORTIONATE NEED AS A RESULT OF MARGINALIZATION OF BLACK FAMILIES

Some believe the cause of this situation is a complex web of economic and societal factors that extend far beyond the child welfare system. Yet, there are three dominant theories explaining the over-representation of minority children in the child welfare system: 1) the disproportionate need found among minority families; 2) racial bias in child welfare decision making; and 3) family risk and child welfare practice. In addition, the Black community as part of the English-speaking community, faces the difficult challenge of also negotiating access to State sponsored social services, dominated by the French-speaking minority.

### DIFFERENTIAL ACCESS TO PREVENTION RESOURCES FOR MINORITY FAMILIES:

One mechanism to increase access to prevention resources has been efforts by State agencies, such as the Batshaw Youth and Family Center and local CSSS, to promote development of a continuum of community-based family focused resources within the Black community. During the past ten years, there have been efforts to develop community partnerships to reduce the numbers of Black youth in the Youth Protection system. The Black Community Council of Quebec, The Jamaica Association, the Little Burgundy Black Family Support Group, and the LaSalle Boys and Girl's Club are some of the organizations who have participated in these initiatives with Batshaw and some CSSS agencies. Funding for such initiatives usually emerge from the Regional Council (now called Agence de Montreal), focusing on short-term fixes for long waiting lists, or project funds to promote increased collaboration between the social service system and the CSSS. None of these projects have become institutionalized within the child welfare system, in spite of promising results

Yet, the costs to treat the symptoms of the problem are staggering in comparison to the investment in prevention efforts. Millions of dollars have been spent during the past fifteen years on an institutional approach with little improvement in the neighborhood and socio-economic conditions that propel these children into this system. The funding for prevention of community-based approaches has actually dwindled drastically during this same period,

reducing the traditional networks of social supports in the Black community for high-risk families

## EFFECTIVE AND COORDINATED COMMUNITY-BASED STRATEGY TO INCREASE ACCESS TO PREVENTION RESOURCES

Lessons learned from previous efforts to promote reform to reverse the phenomena of over-representation of Black youth in the Provincial Youth Protection system indicated that the Black community must marshal its talents and strengths to push for change. Change must emerge from within the Black community itself. One identified barrier to reform was a need to reduce competition for scarce resources amongst Black agencies, so a plan was identified by the Cote des Neiges Black Community Association to forge a prevention and social development network amongst existing front-line Black community organizations.

The organization which was created to provide the leadership within the Black community to increase access for Black English-speaking families at risk to needed prevention resources is the African Canadian Development and Prevention Network, which was founded over five years ago to promote best practice prevention and social development strategies. The primary mission of the **African Canadian Development and Prevention Network** is to foster public policies, human service reforms, social development, and community supports that better meet the needs of vulnerable families in the Black community. The Network's agenda is grounded on two fundamental convictions: first, there is no substitute for strong families to ensure that Black children grow up to be capable adults. Second, the ability of Black families to raise children is often inextricably linked to conditions in their communities. Our goal is to help neighborhoods, with significant Black populations, build the networks of social, cultural, educational, economic, and psychological supports that promote the healthy development of Black families which is value based, culturally appropriate, and accessible in their language.

## ADAPTING A BEST PRACTICE PREVENTION MODEL TO MATCH LOCAL NEEDS, CULTURE, AND HISTORY

ACDPN, with funding from Health Canada over the past four years, has adapted a best practice family strengthening program in (4) neighbourhoods of Montreal, in partnership with its member organizations

and strategic alliances with Batshaw, local schools, and the CSSS Cavendish. Most importantly, the McGill School of Social Work provided the evaluation and supported a process which identifies the emerging model of community development to replicate a best practice prevention model. Initial evaluation results which involved qualitative and quantitative instruments indicated positive changes in the target families. Presently, ACDPN anticipates funding of over 1.5 million for the next five years to continue to adapt the best practice family strengthening program and to disseminate lessons learned on how to replicate this model to other minority communities. The ACDPN had to next identify a strategy which integrated the prevention development within the public networks of social services, and which promoted sustainability after federal project funding ended. A partnership with the CHSSN resulted in ACDPN being awarded funding to develop a planning process which would build on the 1) success of development of this best practice model of family strengthening, 2) the creation of the network within the Black community, and 3) the emerging partnerships with the public networks of social services to increase access for Black English-speaking families to prevention resources. A brief review of this development follows.

## ACDPN PARTNERSHIP WITH ENGLISH MINORITY LANGUAGE AGENCIES

The partnership between the ACDPN and CHSSN is one of the more recent, significant alliances in the minority community in Montreal for the simple reason that it makes sense for the linguistic agenda, promoted by the English speaking community, be inclusive and involve fully its minorities communities in shaping public policy. It is also evident that it is win-win situation for linguistic and race-based groups within the English-speaking community to coordinate efforts to promote a policy of access to health and social services which encourages the French-dominated State agencies to be more inclusive and culturally sensitive.

With funding support from the Community Health and Social Service Network (CHSSN), the African Canadian Development and Prevention Network (ACDPN) has embarked on a five year plan to increase access for Black English-speaking families in five neighbourhoods of Montreal (Little Burgundy, Côte des Neiges, Notre Dame de Grace, Lasalle, and West Island) to needed prevention resources, often the responsibility of the CSSS. The vision is to continue the development of a best practice model of family strengthening with funding support by federal agencies (anticipated budget over next five years: 1.5 million) and increase the capacity of a



network of front line community-based prevention organizations to adapt, implement, and mobilize a broad base of support for the sustainability of the prevention resources through service ententes with local CSSS.

In addition, CHSSN provides the funding for an evidence—based report which captures a portrait of the Black English-speaking community along with a description of any disparities based upon several indicators of health and McGill School of Social Work offers technical support on identification and development of a model of community development to promote best practice prevention approaches. The evidence-based report will be combined with community forums/consultations to complete a needs assessment in these neighbourhoods, leading to Three Year Prevention Action Plans. Ideally, the Black community will have mobilized a broad base of support and goodwill to make the case with the Provincial government for sustainability and integration of these prevention networks within the public system.

## THE CHALLENGES FACING THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY TO PROMOTE ACCESS

**This brief overview of the process to increase access to State mandated services for Black English-speaking families highlights the significant opportunities**

for strategic partnerships from within the English-speaking community, which bridge the racial, cultural, and historical differences. One cannot underestimate the value of an organization like the CHSSN which focuses on program innovation as a tool for change and building bridges within the English-speaking community (instead of a divisive debate on linguistic identity).

In closing, recognition of the need to reduce the risks factors faced by all vulnerable children, including Black children, can be found in current public and private efforts aimed at strengthening families, building local neighborhood capacity, reinforcing protective factors, and promoting resilience. Yet, the crisis facing Black families at risk, in part, remains byproducts of partially incapacitated communities. Until we dedicate the resources necessary to alter these community structures, over-dependence upon child welfare services will continue to increase despite efforts to improve child welfare practices to minority populations. Community resources—jobs, better schools, social services, health programs, family support, training in community organization skills, and support for resident empowerment should be the focus of a comprehensive multi-focused prevention program. The case example of the ACDPN's effort to develop best practice prevention approaches indicates that there exists within the English-speaking community of Montreal, the goodwill to address the marginalization of Black families at risk.

# TEACHING AND LIVING IN QUEBEC

**Gina Valle** is the editor of the book *Our Grandmothers Ourselves* which examines aging, family and feminism from twenty cultural perspectives. She is the curator of the photo exhibit *Legacies*, which opened Festival Canada in Hong Kong and the new Harbourside Gallery at Pier 21 in Halifax, Canada's Immigration Museum. While Gina lived in Montreal, her PhD work in Multicultural Studies took her into French and English inner-city classrooms where she had the opportunity to work alongside exemplary teachers. Dr. Valle has completed a documentary *The Last Rite*, which looks at death as seen through the eyes of Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. Gina's company Diversity Matters focuses on initiatives that bring diverse ideas and people together. She is a member of the Association of Italian-Canadian Writers (AICW), and a board member of The Italian Canadian Museum (ICM) and The Canadian Ethnic Media Association (CEMA).

## ABSTRACT

This paper will provide an overview of four Quebec educators as they speak about their teaching experiences in Montréal. Their accounts provide interpretations of the challenges that lie ahead for Québec, as the province continues to assert its French-Canadian political, cultural and linguistic identity within Canada, and as it faces an evolving definition of what it means to be a Quebecker, in terms of the multilingual, multicultural, multifaith presence of its immigrants, who live primarily in the large metropolis of Montréal. The teachers' insights regarding teaching and living in Québec provide a number of alternatives. Language is at the core of Québec's identity. Along with culture, ethnicity, geography, and until recently, Roman Catholicism, language embodies the history of Quebeckers and their struggle to survive. This paper will examine how Quebec teachers negotiate this linguistic reality in their classrooms.

Teaching and Living in Quebec Language is at the core of Québec's identity. Along with culture, ethnicity, geography, and until recently, Roman Catholicism. Language embodies the history of Quebeckers and their struggle to survive. Teachers are shaped by powerful social and economic forces, which have an impact on the classroom and the teaching and learning environment.

In this paper, I will provide an overview of four educators as they speak about their teaching experiences in Montréal. Their accounts provide multiple interpretations of the challenges that lie ahead for Québec, as the province continues to assert its French-Canadian political, cultural and linguistic identity within Canada, and as it faces an evolving definition of what it means to be a Quebecker, in terms of the multilingual, multicultural, multifaith presence of its immigrants, who live primarily in the large metropolis of Montréal.

Québec's policy of interculturalism was officially adopted in response to the perceived affront to the province by the federal government's multicultural policy. The federal multicultural policy encouraged Canadians to accept cultural pluralism, while Québec's

response was a policy of interculturalism, which recognized the acceptance of immigrants within the context of the province's distinct identity as a Francophone community, and the paramount importance of the French language and culture.

## QUEENIE

Queenie was born in Jamaica and came to Canada to pursue her studies in commerce in Montréal. She began teaching in 1976, and in 1992 became principal at the school where she currently works.

*I'm an Anglophone. I've never been any good at languages, even though I've tried. I took French in Chicoutimi, Jamaica and here in Montréal, but I just can't speak French. I understand about 75% of what I hear. Not being able to speak didn't stop me from sending our children to French immersion. They're fluent in both languages.*

Queenie recognizes that her inability to speak French has limited her opportunity for promotion in the field of business, and later in teaching. When she saw

interesting job postings in the *Montreal Gazette*, she wanted to apply, but never did because fluency in French and English was a prerequisite. Later, when she became principal at the English school where she currently works, she inherited a French immersion program which had started two years earlier.

*When this program was first started, there was a lot of animosity. You'd hear, 'The English teachers are losing their jobs and the French are coming in'. You see, it's an English school that offers a French immersion program. Most of our parents are primarily Anglophones, with some Allophones.*

*I feel really comfortable encouraging French immersion. I try to give the children as much support as possible. I try to explain to the parents that this [Québec] is home, and this is best for their children in Québec. My limitations shouldn't stop others from doing what is best for them. I wish I could speak French. It certainly isn't because I don't want to or haven't tried.*

*Often, I have to remind the French teachers to send their correspondence to the parents in English, otherwise the parents get upset because they don't understand what the teacher is trying to tell them. We are, after all, a school serving the English community.*

Despite the resistance that Queenie faced when she continued to offer and develop the French immersion program in her Anglophone school, she nevertheless believes that she is providing her students with an education that accurately reflects the direction the province will eventually take, with the status of French assuming even greater importance. Queenie recognizes that her inability to speak French has closed doors for her professionally, and would like to offer her students a future different from hers by giving them the opportunity to feel comfortable speaking and living in French in Québec. Interestingly enough, in order to avoid confrontational discussions with the parents in her school, Queenie has taken on a conciliatory role between the French teachers and the Anglophone parents. Her constituents are the parents, and although she may not always agree with them, she continues to ensure that all necessary information and services are available in English, even though she encourages French immersion in every aspect of her school.

## SORIN

Since Sorin arrived from the former Yugoslavia in 1974, he has been teaching in Montréal, and primarily in the 'classe d'accueil'. He has known bilingualism all his life as a Romanian in Yugoslavia, and has learned from his own experience that bilingualism can bring personal enrichment. Apart from school, Sorin does not have

much contact with Anglophones or Francophones, because once the summer holidays arrive, he returns to Yugoslavia to visit his family, so in essence his colleagues are his friends.

*J'ai grandi baigné dans le bilinguisme parce que je suis originaire de la Yougoslavie mais je suis roumain. Lorsque je suis venu au Canada, c'était un progrès par rapport à ce que j'avais connu dans mon pays; par contre, si quelqu'un vient d'une grande ville comme Paris ou Londres, je ne suis pas certain que Montréal représente alors un progrès.*

*Pour moi, il est très enrichissant de tomber sur une ville avec des gens d'origines aussi diverses et qui proviennent d'un aussi grand nombre de pays. Prenez cette école par exemple, qui compte 64 nationalités. Dans mon pays, je connaissais des Allemands et des Hongrois mais je ne suis jamais beaucoup entré en contact avec eux comme je suis ici entré en contact avec des gens de nombreuses nationalités. En raison du fait que nous avons tellement de contacts, on est obligé de connaître un peu l'autre. J'essaye d'amener les enfants à tenter de connaître un peu les autres.*

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*For me, it is very enriching to be in a city with people of so many diverse cultures. Look at this school, for example, with 64 nationalities represented here. Where I come from, I knew Germans and Hungarians, but I never had much contact with them like I have with so many nationalities here. Because we have so much contact, we cannot help but know a bit about each other. I try to teach this to the students. What I mean is, I try to encourage the kids to get to know one another.*

*I grew up immersed in bilingualism, because I grew up in Yugoslavia, but as a Romanian. When I came to Canada, it was an improvement upon what I had known in my country, but if someone comes from a big city like Paris or London, I'm not sure if Montréal would be an improvement.*

Sorin hopes that his students will fall in love with the French language, the way he did. He encourages his students to speak French because he wants them to integrate into Québec society as quickly as possible. Sorin believes that the best way to integrate is to speak the language and express oneself well in that language.

*Je ne veux pas forcer les élèves à apprendre le français. Je veux qu'ils aiment le français, qu'ils tombent en amour avec la langue comme je suis moi-même tombé amoureux de cette langue lorsque j'étais en Yougoslavie. Je veux qu'ils s'expriment en français en toute confiance et alors ils vont tirer plaisir du fait de parler la langue.*

*On fait aimer la langue au lieu de l'imposer. Je connaissais des gens dans mon pays qui ont été contraints d'apprendre le hongrois à l'époque de l'empire austro-hongrois. Ils l'ont appris à la perfection, littéralement, d'un point de vue grammatical. Ma grand-mère, par exemple, a appris le hongrois et le parle maintenant parfaitement. Elle n'a par contre jamais aimé parler le hongrois parce qu'on lui défendait de parler la langue qui était la sienne.*

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*I don't want to force the students to learn French. I want them to enjoy French, to fall in love with the language, like I fell in love with it when I was in Yugoslavia. I want them to have confidence expressing themselves in French, and then they will enjoy speaking the language.*

*I want to make them love the language rather than impose it upon them. I knew people back home who were forced to learn Hungarian during the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They learned it to perfection, literally, grammatically. My grandmother, for example, learned Hungarian flawlessly. She never liked speaking Hungarian, though, because they didn't allow her to speak her own language.*

When students speak their first language, Sorin asks them about it. He tells them he wants to hear how their language sounds. The students are unquestionably pleased

with such a request and are fascinated when there are similar sounds from one language to the other.

*Certains de mes élèves parlaient le persan un jour et je leur ai demandé de répéter lentement ce qu'ils venaient de dire. Nous avons découvert qu'un mot persan veut dire la même chose en roumain. Les élèves adorent ce genre de choses. Lorsque nous parlons de la culture et de la société québécoise, j'encourage les élèves à me parler de leur pays – en quoi il est semblable, en quoi il est différent.*

*Plusieurs élèves parlent l'anglais et c'est pourquoi j'indique parfois dans une dictée l'équivalent anglais de certains mots français (par exemple «is» pour «est» et «and» pour «et»). Je ne suis pas opposé à l'idée de recourir à l'anglais de cette manière si cela me permet d'offrir une explication de ce genre.*

*Lorsque j'en ai la chance, j'insiste sur la beauté de la langue française. C'est de cette manière que j'encourage les élèves à parler français. J'imagine qu'un Québécois dirait que je prépare les élèves pour le Québec. Je dirais que je prépare plutôt les élèves pour le monde. Je voudrais leur faire aimer la langue, par des poèmes, la littérature, la musique. Il n'est pas possible d'imposer une langue. Regardez ce qui est arrivé aux autochtones, à leur culture et leur langue.*

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*Some of my students were speaking Iranian one day and I asked them to repeat slowly what they had said. We discovered that a word in Iranian means the same thing in Romanian. The kids love this. When we talk about Québec society and culture, I encourage the kids to tell me about their country—what is the same, what is different.*

*Several students know how to speak English, so sometimes English words crop up in the dictation, like 'est' and 'et.' So I write 'is' and 'and' and it seems to help them out. I have no problem using English if I need to explain a point like that.*

*Whenever I can, I come back to the beauty of the French language. That is how I encourage the students to speak French. I guess a Quebecois would say they're preparing the kids for Québec. I would say I'm preparing them for the world, really. I want them to love the language by learning poems, literature, music. You can't impose a language. Look at what happened with the First Nations people, with their culture and language.*

Sorin's keen interest in his students' first language and culture is refreshing. By demonstrating such an interest, he is able to make a link between the students' lived experiences to life in Québec and speaking French. In essence, Sorin believes that if his students appreciate the elegance of the French language and gain confidence in speaking it, they will be more motivated to live and work in French. According to Sorin, the focus should therefore be on the student and the language, rather than on linguistic maintenance and its political implications. He wholeheartedly encourages the development of a curriculum in which children develop an interest in wanting to learn French and in making it a part of their life.

## JOHN

John, whose parents were originally from Guyana, was born and raised in Montréal. It has now been over twenty years since John began teaching English to high school students. He learned French in the streets of inner city Montréal, so as a result, his 'street' French is far better than his 'book' French. However, he still feels most comfortable communicating in English.

*English is my first language, and I figure that if I want to impart knowledge to students, I'd better do it in my own language. Although I'm in an English school, there is a French stream and I hear French in the halls. I speak French in the staff room to the French teachers. It's a matter of being respectful.*

John's daughter is bilingual. When she was young, John and his wife wanted the best for her and therefore decided to send her to a bilingual school. John thinks that *Bill 101* is unfortunate, since, as a mandatory law, it has the ability to alienate people. Furthermore, he believes that with *Bill 101*, Québec is creating 'Bill 101 kids' whose future may not be as promising because of their limited mobility in society.

*If a culture is strong it is going to survive—it will stand on its own. When new immigrants come to Québec, they should be given the choice. Perhaps the students can*

*begin with five months to a year in the French system, and then five months to a year in the English system. The parents and kids could make a decision after the first few years they're here. I think it could work because it is not so Draconian.*

*You see, unless these kids learn English, they are stuck in Québec. When the parents come to Québec, many of them can speak some English. So what starts to happen is that the parents become more mobile, in a way, because they can speak English, whereas their children are less mobile only knowing French. Quite the irony! Usually it's the kids [of immigrants] that are more mobile than the parents, right? In Québec, it's the other way around. I call these kids 'the Bill 101 kids.' There's a lot of drawbacks with them only knowing French. They should learn both languages.*

After the 1995 Referendum, John followed the media coverage on how Québec intended to address its political and linguistic situation. He believes that the value of his house has decreased considerably and he is concerned about his pension. Québec is his home, where he was born and where his family lives. In the last few years, John has taken the time to become more informed about the political and linguistic situation in Québec, although he has always experienced its realities. He wanted to become better informed, but grew weary of the inflammatory representations in the media. So, he decided to join the executive of a provincial political party to become better informed as to what people were really saying and what was happening behind the scenes.

*I was looking to get a handle on the situation without media involvement. After the Referendum, I decided that worrying was going to do me no good, so I became proactive, as best I could. This is my home. When I was in Toronto this summer, I realised how much I missed hearing French in the streets, how Toronto has become so American. Montréal is still unique that way in North America. It's my home.*

John advocates that all Quebecers should have the freedom to choose the language in which they conduct their working lives, rather than have this mandated by the government. He also believes that learning only French is disadvantageous to the social mobility of Québec students. Although John sees great value in learning both French and English, the global importance of English leads him to question how many Allophones and new Quebecers would choose to attend school and pursue their studies in French were it not obligatory.

## SARAH

Sarah was born in northern Québec, as were both her parents. She considers herself an Anglophone, even



though her mother is French-Canadian. For over ten years, Sarah has been teaching Moral and Religious Education to high school students in a French school. Oftentimes, discussions in her class turn to the debate on tolerance and what it means to live in a tolerant, democratic society. In Sarah's discussion with her students, tolerance emerges as a contentious issue that is quite fragile in our society.

*Cela me dérange lorsque les gens disent que les Canadiens sont tolérants et que le Canada est une société tolérante. La tolérance est présentée comme étant la valeur suprême des Canadiens. Cela reflète une étroitesse d'esprit et n'est pas du tout l'indice d'une réflexion approfondie.*

*Je demande à mes étudiantes et étudiants s'ils désirent être perçus simplement comme une «personne tolérante». Qu'en est-il du fait d'être une personne accueillante et compréhensive? La différence entre la personne qui est tolérante et celle qui ne l'est pas tient à peu de choses et lorsque les temps sont durs, qu'il s'agisse de problèmes socio-économiques ou des conflits politiques, la tolérance est à la baisse. Un tel changement d'attitude peut survenir très soudainement.*

*It upsets me when people talk about Canadians being tolerant and Canada being a tolerant society. Tolerance is held up as a supreme Canadian value. It is short-sighted and not indicative of any serious reflection [on the matter].*

*I ask the students "Do you want to identify yourself as just a 'tolerant person?' How about as an accepting person, or an understanding person? The difference between being tolerant and not being tolerant is very small, and when we go through hard times—socio-economic hard times or political battles—we become less tolerant. This change in attitude can happen very quickly.*

Sarah also talks to her students about issues of identity and to what degree their first language and culture play a role in shaping their identity while living in Québec. The citation below demonstrates the complexity

of the identity issue with regards to Allophone students, and why it is important for Sarah to broach the discussion on tolerance in Canadian society.

*Mes étudiants et étudiantes, qu'ils soient immigrants ou allophones, me disent qu'ils ne veulent pas devenir des Québécois parce qu'ils n'ont pas l'impression de faire partie du Québec. Ils ne se sentent pas acceptés ici. C'est pourquoi je reviens souvent à cette question de la tolérance parce que chaque fois que les Québécois font des déclarations ou manifestent leur intolérance envers les immigrants, ceux-ci font encore moins confiance aux Québécois.*

*My [immigrant, Allophone] students tell me they don't want to be Quebecers because they don't feel a part of Québec. They don't feel accepted here. That is why I often come back to this question of tolerance, because every time Quebecers make statements or demonstrate their intolerance towards immigrants, the immigrants distrust Quebecers even more.*

Although Sarah enjoys teaching in a French school, she reminds me that at the first school where she taught, there was a French Committee that would inquire if she spoke English in class and if she made spelling mistakes in French. In essence, she believes that such a 'Comité de francisation' does little to encourage French instruction in schools, for each school should be able to approach the subject in a way suitable to its community and its students.

*Le Comité aspire à être différent de ce qu'il est. Ils désirent franciser les immigrants et les allophones et en faire des francophiles et non pas seulement des francophones. Ils veulent les amener à tomber en amour avec la langue française et d'une certaine manière c'est précisément ce que l'école parviendra à accomplir. Ces étudiants et étudiantes viennent ici avec leur propre identité et leurs propres expériences et ils sont contraints d'apprendre une nouvelle langue. L'école pense être capable de les*

amener à aimer cette nouvelle langue. C'est pourquoi ils veulent que les étudiants et étudiantes s'expriment uniquement en français et qu'ils fonctionnent uniquement en français et lorsque les choses ne se passent pas comme cela, l'école perd son calme. Mais tout cela est très irréaliste.

Le fait de surmonter les résistances à une culture est semblable au fait de surmonter des idées sexistes ou racistes. Il doit exister un désir véritable d'embrasser la culture et la langue. Lorsque vous voulez embrasser une culture, c'est le signe d'une ouverture fondamentale. Il y a un amour de cette culture, vous êtes attirés par elle, vous établissez des amitiés. Il n'est pas possible d'imposer une langue ou une culture contre le gré de quelqu'un. Les élèves doivent découvrir la langue et la culture au contact de la littérature, du cinéma, de la musique, et non pas de la manière prévue par un Comité.

L'intégration ne sera vraiment possible que s'il existe de plus grands contacts entre les immigrants et la culture francophone. Je suppose que cela signifie continuer à faire ce que nous faisons déjà mais sur une plus grande échelle. Les allophones eux-mêmes ont des préjugés au sujet des Québécois francophones. Les amis et l'amitié rendent possible des liens positifs. Lorsque vous rencontrez des gens d'une autre culture et que vous les appréciez, vous voulez embrasser leur culture et leur langue.

D'une certaine manière, mes étudiants et étudiantes allophones ne se sentent pas les bienvenus. Pour commencer, on ne leur permet pas d'étudier dans la langue de leur choix. C'est la loi. Donc, dès le début, ils commencent sur un mauvais pied et la résistance ne va qu'en augmentant. J'ai appris le français au contact de mes amis qui, pour la plupart, sont francophones de naissance.

Je pense que l'important est de susciter une émotion chez ces jeunes. Vous pouvez insister et implorer mais le fait est que le français n'est pas la langue qui prédomine. La culture anglaise est tellement prédominante au sein de notre

école. Je n'arrive pas à le croire. Il y a des étudiants et étudiantes francophones qui nous arrivent sans parler l'anglais mais qui sont bilingues lorsqu'ils nous quittent et ce phénomène n'est pas dû exclusivement aux cours d'anglais comme langue seconde.

L'anglais devrait être une culture secondaire alors qu'elle est en fait la culture dominante. La langue française et la culture française sont imposées aux allophones mais en réalité l'anglais prédomine. C'est la langue de la culture populaire, de la musique, de la technologie et il ne faut pas se le cacher, son influence est énorme.

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*The Committee wants to be something that it is not. They want to francize the immigrants and the Allophones and turn them into francophiles, not just Francophones. They want them to fall in love with the French language and somehow school will make that happen. These students are coming with their own identities and their own baggage and they're forced to learn a new language. The school thinks that they're going to be able to make them love it. So they want them to speak only French all the time, and function only in French all the time, and when that doesn't happen, the school gets very upset. But all of this is quite unrealistic.*

*Overcoming resistance to a culture is like overcoming sexist or racist ideas. There has to be a willingness and an emotional movement towards the culture and the language. When you want to embrace a culture, there is a fundamental openness there. There's a love of it, an attraction to it, you build friendships. You can't force a language or a culture on someone. The students need to discover the language and the culture through literature, movies, music, and not according to what a committee wants.*

*In order for integration to be more effective, there has to be greater contact between immigrants and the French culture. I guess it's doing what we're already doing on a grander scale.*

*Allophones themselves have prejudices about the Francophone Quebecers. Positive contact could be nurtured through friends and friendships. When you meet people from another culture and you like them, you want to embrace their culture and language. Somehow, my Allophone students don't feel welcomed. To begin, they are not able to study in the language they choose. It's the law. So, from the beginning, they're off to a bad start and a resistance builds from there. The way I learned French was through my friends, most of whom have always been French.*

I think it's going to work on an affective level with these kids. You can insist, implore, but the reality is that at our school, it is not French that is the dominant language. There is such a dominance of the English culture in our school. I can't believe it. There are Francophone students that come to our school and don't speak English, and when they leave us they are bilingual, and the ESL classes can only help to a certain extent.

English should be the sub-culture, but in actual fact it is the real culture. The French language and culture is imposed on the Allophones, but in reality English predominates. It is the language of pop culture, music, technology, and let's face it, that's a pretty strong influence.

Sarah tries to reconcile learning French with the notion of tolerance and asks her students to reflect on the way in which they want to live in Quebec. In the end, she encourages her students to be critical thinkers regarding their choices and their emerging identity as new Quebecers. According to Sarah, unless Quebecers demonstrate a genuine interest in welcoming and accepting immigrants to Québec, Allophones and neo-Quebecers will learn French with resistance. The 'fundamental openness' Sarah speaks of echoes the same approach that Sorin encourages: have the students discover the history, culture and language of Quebec through music, literature, movies and, most importantly, through authentic, congenial rapport with Quebecers.

The teachers' insights regarding teaching and living in Quebec provide a number of alternatives. Although Queenie does not speak French, and John speaks only 'street' French, they each chose (was this a choice or was it a product of bill 101?) to send their children to French immersion schools, knowing that their children's opportunities in Quebec would be limited were they to remain unilingual. Each of the teachers advocates the importance of being bilingual in Quebec, and is intent on providing

their children with greater opportunities to live well in Quebec, in Canada, and abroad.

When the discussion turns to their students, the educators also speak openly of the importance of learning French, but differ somewhat in their reasons regarding why and how French should be taught. Queenie does not want the future prospects of her Anglophone students to be limited in Quebec because they did not have the opportunity to learn French. Sorin would like to see his students fall in love with French, and discover the beauty of the language, as he once did. He also believes that only when his students learn French well, will they become fully integrated into Quebec society. By teaching his students French, he maintains that he is also preparing them for the future. John states that Allophone students should learn both French and English, without being forced to study only French. He also believes that if Allophone students only learn French, it will limit their opportunities to live and work elsewhere in Canada. Sarah indicates that although her Allophone students learn French because they are required to do so, they fully recognize the importance of English in media, technology, travel, and popular culture, and therefore learn English on their own.

In the end, although each teacher's position reflects their distinct vantage point, each believes that it is in their students' best interest to be bilingual. Whether the teachers or students are Francophone, Anglophone, or Allophone, whether or not they continue to reside in Quebec, they will have a more promising future if they are able to express themselves aptly in both French and English. With life in Montréal being bilingual, it is no surprise that these educators encourage their students to become bilingual so they may participate fully in their society.

# LES COMMUNAUTÉS ANGLOPHONES PEUVENT-ELLES CONSTITUER UNE PART DU CAPITAL D'ATTRACTION ET DE RÉTENTION DES IMMIGRANTS DANS LES RÉGIONS DU QUÉBEC ?

**Michèle Vatz Laaroussi** est docteure en psychologie interculturelle et professeure de travail social à l'Université de Sherbrooke. Ses recherches portent sur l'immigration et l'action sociale avec les immigrants. En particulier elle s'intéresse aux dynamiques familiales dans l'immigration et aux dynamiques locales face à la diversité culturelle en dehors des grands centres cosmopolites. Elle est la responsable du Réseau international de recherche sur l'immigration en dehors des grands centres. Ses dernières recherches portent sur la mobilité géographique et sociale des familles immigrantes et réfugiées au Québec et au Canada. Elle est l'auteur de l'ouvrage : *Le familial au cœur de l'immigration : les stratégies de citoyenneté des familles immigrantes au Québec et en France* (L'Harmattan, 2001) et du livre « *Mobilités, réseaux et résilience : le cas des familles immigrantes et réfugiées au Québec* » (Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2009). Elle participe à plusieurs études sur l'immigration dans les communautés linguistiques minoritaires et elle s'intéresse au capital d'attraction et de rétention des immigrants dans les régions du Québec et à la place que les communautés anglophones pourraient y prendre. Elle est membre du Centre d'Études Ethniques des Universités de Montréal (CEETUM) et co-coordonnatrice du domaine Collectivités d'accueil pour le centre Métropolis du Québec.

## RÉSUMÉ

Ce texte propose une réflexion sur la place des communautés anglophones dans le capital d'attraction et de rétention des immigrants dans les régions du Québec. Intégrant des études ultérieures sur les communautés francophones hors Québec et un portrait des communautés anglophones et de leurs caractéristiques dans les régions du Québec, il permet une première approche nuancée de cette question. L'exemple de la région des Cantons de l'Est permet d'illustrer les différents types de capital, social, économique, culturel, qui peuvent être portés par ces communautés. En conclusion de nombreux défis sont identifiés autour des questions de visibilité et de représentation de ces communautés anglophones dans les instances régionales québécoises s'intéressant à l'immigration.

Ce texte propose une réflexion à partir de deux recherches en cours dans le cadre du Centre Métropolis du Québec. La première porte sur le capital d'attraction et de rétention des immigrants dans trois collectivités régionales du Québec et vise à modéliser les diverses dimensions de ce capital (Vatz Laaroussi, Gallant, Poirier et al., 2009-2011). La seconde, à partir des mêmes concepts, interroge la place des communautés anglo-

phones dans les infrastructures d'accueil et d'intégration des immigrants dans quatre régions (Vatz Laaroussi, financement Citoyenneté Immigration Canada, 2009-2011)<sup>1</sup>. Les 4 collectivités régionales visées dans ce projet sont la région de Québec qui compte 1,8 % d'Anglophones, les Cantons de l'Est avec 8 % d'Anglophones, Chaudière Appalaches dont 1 % d'Anglophones et finalement la Gaspésie avec 10,2 % d'Anglophones. Ces régions ont été

volontairement choisies en dehors de Montréal qui présente une problématique et un portrait fort différents avec 32,7% d'Anglophones. L'analyse proposée est aussi issue des travaux et recherches menés dans les dernières années auprès de communautés francophones hors Québec (Belkhodja, 2008). C'est pourquoi notre réflexion articulera deux champs de recherche en pleine expansion, celui des communautés linguistiques minoritaires avec celui de l'accueil et de l'intégration des immigrants en dehors des grands centres.

Toutes les études effectuées à ce jour démontrent que l'emploi est la clé de voûte de la régionalisation de l'immigration mais que les mesures actuelles pour mieux cibler les immigrants qu'on attire ne suffisent pas toujours à les retenir. Plusieurs villes ont maintenant une politique municipale face à la diversité, et il est clair que celle-ci ne peut s'actualiser et se développer que dans des partenariats avec les secteurs économiques et sociaux régionaux. L'ensemble des régions se sont donné des services pour l'accueil et l'établissement des immigrants. Les communautés francophones hors Québec ont elles- aussi des politiques et des mesures visant l'accueil et l'intégration d'immigrants dans leurs collectivités locales. Mais en ce qui concerne les communautés anglophones au Québec, l'intérêt est nouveau et peu de recherches ont abordé leur articulation avec l'immigration en région.

## UN CADRE THÉORIQUE EN CONSTRUCTION

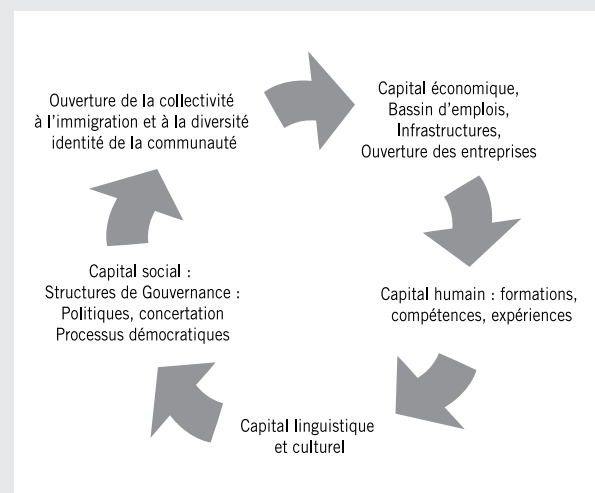
Ces divers travaux nous permettent de cibler trois concepts clés pour définir le cadre théorique de notre réflexion. Le premier est celui de communauté linguistique minoritaire, le second est élaboré autour du capital d'attraction et de rétention des immigrants et le troisième s'articule au développement des communautés.

*Les communautés linguistiques minoritaires au Canada* représentent un concept à géométrie variable et aux frontières floues. Par contre dans notre cadre conceptuel, toutes ces communautés entretiennent un type particulier de rapport aux immigrants et à la diversité. Ainsi elles présentent des problématiques différentes selon la communauté francophone ou anglophone et le contexte hors Québec ou au Québec. Hors Québec, la communauté Francophone veut attirer des immigrants pour conserver la langue, les services en Français, l'école. Les questions qui se posent à cette communauté sont celles de la masse critique, de l'identité et de l'inclusion. Au Québec, par contre, la communauté Anglophone veut participer à l'attraction des immigrants pour faire partie du capital local, conserver ses services et développer la vitalité de la communauté. Ses principales questions sont celles du développement et de l'intégration à la communauté majoritaire. Ainsi qu'on se situe avec l'une ou

l'autre de ces communautés en région au Canada, les convergences reposent sur l'accessibilité des services dans la langue minoritaire, sur le développement de la vitalité démographique et économique de la communauté, sur la résilience, ainsi que sur les stratégies mises en œuvre par les immigrants entre les deux communautés. Par contre les divergences sont aussi importantes en particulier autour des enjeux entourant la fréquentation scolaire (essentielle pour les communautés francophones hors Québec, réglementée par la loi pour les communautés anglophones au Québec), le rapport majorité-minorité, les ponts tissés entre les communautés, ou encore en ce qui concerne la perception des immigrants comme appartenant exclusivement ou non à une communauté minoritaire.

**Le capital régional d'attraction et de rétention des immigrants** se définit pour sa part autour des dimensions du capital décrits par les sociologues (Pearce, 2008). On peut ainsi parler du capital **économique** qui recouvre les infrastructures, le bassin d'emploi, le transport, le parc de logement, les milieux de formation, etc... Le capital **social** s'articule sur les liens sociaux, les concertations régionales, les collaborations, les réseaux ou encore l'appartenance. Quant au capital **culturel**, fort important pour les communautés minoritaires, c'est celui du patrimoine culturel, de l'histoire de la diversité, de la langue et de sa préservation, du bilinguisme potentiel, de l'école et du parascolaire. Finalement le capital **humain** renvoie à la formation, aux compétences, aux expériences, mais aussi à l'état de santé des populations locales, immigrants compris.

**FIGURE 1. Statistically significant ( $p < 0.05$ ) differences in mean phonetic measures among ethnic groups examined in the PME project.**





*Le développement des communautés* est maintenant un concept très regardé par les promoteurs de politiques tant au niveau local que régional, provincial et fédéral (Pronovost et Vatz Laaroussi, 2010). Il met de l'avant plusieurs dimensions telles que la vitalité des communautés et la résilience des collectivités locales dont on sait qu'elle se développe par le soutien, les opportunités, l'adaptation et l'engagement (Torjman, 2008). En ce qui concerne le développement des collectivités locales par et avec l'immigration, les études (Quimper, 2006) démontrent aussi qu'il ne peut s'effectuer que par des innovations tant économiques que sociales.

Le schéma ci-dessous permet d'intégrer les diverses dimensions du capital régional d'attraction et de rétention des immigrants en région. Ce schéma sera utile pour analyser la place des communautés anglophones dans ce capital.

## UNE ÉTUDE DE CAS : LA COLLECTIVITÉ RÉGIONALE DE SHERBROOKE

### LE PANORAMA

Afin d'illustrer le potentiel de ce modèle théorique, nous présentons ici une première étude de cas effectuée dans la collectivité régionale de l'Estrie qui compte en 2006, 23 580 anglophones pour 269 743 francophones soit 8 %. Dans la communauté anglophone (Klimp, 2007), on constate un déclin absolu de toutes les classes d'âge sauf des 50-65 ans et des plus de 80 ans qui sont en augmentation. On y note de bas niveaux de scolarité, d'emploi et de revenu chez les plus jeunes ainsi qu'un faible taux de bilinguisme chez les plus âgés. On relève ainsi dans cette région des difficultés économiques et sociales pour la communauté anglophone qui se manifestent entre autres par un taux élevé de soins non rémunérés (personnes âgées et malades) : près de 50 % de plus dans la communauté anglophone que dans la communauté francophone. De plus dans la région, les femmes anglophones sont moins insérées sur le marché du travail que les femmes francophones, le taux de revenus moins élevé chez les anglophones que chez les francophones (de 25 000 \$ à 23 700 en 2001). Ainsi on peut identifier un manque de développement socio-économique pour cette communauté en Estrie.

Regardons du côté des immigrants en Estrie maintenant. Au Québec en 2006, 77,6 % de l'ensemble des personnes immigrées (toutes langues maternelles confondues) connaissent le Français contre 67,7 % l'Anglais et 50,3 % qui connaissent à la fois le Français et l'Anglais. Plus spécifiquement on décompte 29,46 % d'immigrants dans la communauté anglophone de la périphérie de Montréal incluant les cantons de l'Est. En Estrie, parmi les

immigrants admis entre 1998 et 2007 et encore présents en 2009, on dénombre 21,4 % qui connaissaient à leur arrivée le Français seulement, 8,8 % l'Anglais seulement, 21,6 % le Français et l'Anglais et 44,2 % ni le Français, ni l'Anglais (MICC, 2009).

Ainsi 30 % de la population immigrante aurait pu bénéficier de la présence de la communauté anglophone en Estrie au moins durant la première période de leur installation.

Les chiffres sont encore plus forts en milieu rural puisqu'on y note proportionnellement plus d'immigrants anglophones par rapport à la majorité francophone. Ainsi à Memphrémagog, c'est 7,7 % de la population qui est immigrante dont 1/3 anglophone. Dans la MRC de Brome Missisquoi, pour 6,5 % d'immigrants, la moitié ont l'Anglais comme première langue officielle (Jedwab, 2008). On voit donc, pour les communautés anglophones comme pour les communautés francophones minoritaires, une problématique spécifique qui concerne les immigrants en milieu rural.

### QUELQUES PISTES CONCERNANT LA PARTICIPATION AU CAPITAL D'ATTRACTION ET DE RÉTENTION

Reprenons maintenant les diverses composantes de notre modèle circulaire. Les questions concernant le capital socio-économique d'abord se formulent comme suit : les communautés anglophones peuvent-elles participer au capital socio-économique en termes de bassin et d'opportunité d'emploi, de formation et de promotion professionnelle pour les immigrants ? Quelle est leur infrastructure ? Est-elle connue et investie par les immigrants ?

Dans la région de Sherbrooke, une première approche montre l'existence de projets de formation professionnelle pour les jeunes ainsi qu'un site de recherche d'emploi pour les anglophones, le tout développé par l'Association des Townshippers. On identifie aussi des emplois éventuels dans les services aux personnes âgées anglophones. Par contre tous nos acteurs clés mentionnent la difficulté à faire circuler l'information et leur difficulté à toucher les nouveaux immigrants.

Regardons du côté du capital linguistique et culturel. Quel est l'apport de la communauté anglophone de l'Estrie sur ce plan ? Notons d'abord la présence importante des établissements d'éducation dans la région. L'Université Bishop's et le Collège Champlain donnent la possibilité aux francophones et allophones d'accéder à des cours d'Anglais en plus des programmes académiques qu'ils offrent. De jeunes immigrants de diverses origines, en particulier d'Ex-Yougoslavie, du Maghreb et du Brésil, semblent fréquenter ces structures. Mais il s'agit plutôt de la deuxième génération arrivée dans la région alors qu'ils étaient très jeunes.

Par ailleurs ces communautés représentent-elles un historique et un patrimoine de diversité dans la collectivité locale? Ce patrimoine de la communauté anglophone paraît très important en Estrie du fait de l'histoire régionale: on y trouve des théâtres, des musées, des bibliothèques, des artistes, des auteurs nombreux et célèbres enracinés localement. La Revue d'Études des Cantons de l'Est dirigée par le Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est à l'Université Bishop's est un bon exemple de cette vitalité culturelle et académique mais là encore on peut se questionner sur la diffusion de ces médias culturels en particulier auprès des communautés immigrantes.

Face à la situation locale, on peut aussi se demander si ces communautés peuvent être une porte d'entrée pour des migrants provenant de régions du monde non francophones, en particulier pour les réfugiés? En Estrie le nombre de réfugiés reste très important : ils représentent près de 43% des immigrants présents en 2009. Et ces réfugiés proviennent souvent de pays dont la seconde langue est l'Anglais comme le Bouthan, le Népal, l'Irak ou l'Afghanistan. La communauté anglophone aurait sans doute une place à prendre dans l'accueil et l'installation de ces populations mais les acteurs clés notent encore le manque d'informations données à ces réfugiés concernant les structures qui pourraient leur être utiles.

Arrêtons-nous maintenant au capital social. Ces communautés anglophones offrent-elles en Estrie des opportunités sur le plan de la gouvernance en termes de partenariat, de concertation tant pour l'attraction que pour l'intégration et la rétention des immigrants? Leurs structures locales sont-elles pertinentes pour ces enjeux? Font-elles partie des concertations actuelles et comment ce potentiel pourrait-il être investi localement et régionalement?

On note d'abord de fortes structures communautaires dont plusieurs sont ouvertes aux personnes immigrantes. Par exemple les centres pour femmes comme le Lennoxville and District Women's Centre et le Centre des femmes immigrantes sont très actifs et intéressés à accueillir de nouvelles arrivantes. Par ailleurs les immigrants et peut être plus spécifiquement les réfugiés pourraient au moins à leur arrivée bénéficier des points de service en santé en Anglais en attendant qu'ils aient pris leurs cours de français. Cependant on note là encore l'invisibilité de ces structures pour les immigrants et leur non reconnaissance dans les instances régionales. Elles semblent absentes des concertations actuelles autour de l'attraction et de la rétention des immigrants en Estrie.

Finalement quel est le degré d'ouverture des populations de ces communautés anglophones minoritaires à l'immigration et aux immigrants en Estrie? Comment leurs institutions, leurs ONG, leurs médias influencent-ils

la représentation des membres de ces communautés quant aux immigrants? Peut-on parler d'un degré d'ouverture différent de celui des populations locales francophones majoritaires et comment se manifeste-t-il? Pourrait-il participer au capital socio-communautaire de ces collectivités régionales? Nos premières rencontres avec des acteurs clés de la communauté anglophone des Cantons de l'Est montre leur intérêt et leur souhait à s'ouvrir comme pont pour les nouveaux arrivants vers la collectivité régionale. Par contre il est clair que cette ouverture parfois relayée par des médias locaux comme le Record, journal régional, et par les institutions culturelles, n'est pas forcément connue et partagée par les citoyens de la communauté anglophone dont plusieurs sont âgés, monolingues et peu habitués à la diversité culturelle. On retrouverait ici une problématique de sensibilisation semblable à celle des petites communautés francophones hors Québec et aussi à celle des régions du Québec moins traditionnellement exposées à l'immigration.

## POUR CONCLURE : DES PONTS À CONSTRUIRE ET À RENFORCER

Nous pouvons ainsi à partir de l'exemple de la région de l'Estrie procéder à un bref panorama de la place des communautés anglophones dans l'attraction et la rétention régionale des immigrants au Québec. Nous constatons d'abord que ces communautés ont, selon les régions étudiées, des situations contrastées sur le plan démographique et économique. On note aussi l'influence de leur poids relatif. Elles ont de plus des places diversifiées dans les concertations locales et régionales. Bien que peu importante en nombre la communauté anglophone de Québec semble plus représentée dans les instances de concertation que celle de Sherbrooke, pourtant proportionnellement plus nombreuse. Par contre jusqu'en 2009, elles semblent très peu présentes dans les concertations sur l'immigration. Le principal point commun qui ressort d'une première analyse est le manque de reconnaissance et de légitimité qu'on leur accorde localement en ce qui concerne l'attraction et la rétention des immigrants dans les régions du Québec.

Ainsi partant des études effectuées auprès des communautés francophones hors Québec, des réalités politiques et régionales du Québec et de la situation des communautés anglophones dans diverses régions du Québec, il nous paraît important d'insister sur trois dimensions qui sont aussi des pistes pour favoriser la participation de ces communautés anglophones dans l'accueil et la rétention des immigrants en région. La première est celle de la participation des communautés linguistiques minoritaires aux infrastructures de concertation, d'accueil et d'intégration; la seconde

repose sur la visibilité et la légitimité régionales accordées à cette participation ; finalement la troisième piste repose sur la représentation qu'ont les populations immigrantes de ces communautés et sur les modalités par lesquelles elles les investissent. En suivant ces pistes, tant sur le plan des politiques que de l'action, on pourrait impliquer les communautés anglophones dans les stratégies locales concernant l'immigration, considérer ces communautés dans le capital local d'attraction et de rétention, et par là même améliorer les concertations locales et régionales. Finalement, comme le demandent les acteurs clés des communautés anglophones rencontrés, il est important de soutenir les liens entre les immigrants et ces communautés pour créer de nouveaux ponts entre les communautés anglophones et les communautés locales au Québec.

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## NOTE

<sup>1</sup> Cette recherche s'effectue en partenariat avec le Quebec Community Groups Network qui nous a transmis plusieurs des données présentées ici.

# INTEGRATION THROUGH EMPLOYMENT

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## ABSTRACT

Employment is a key factor in the integration of immigrants into a community, and in turn, the integration of immigrants whose first official language is English is a key factor in strengthening the vitality of the English-speaking minority. This is especially true in the Eastern Townships, which after decades of youth outmigration, has a comparatively low number of persons aged 18–44. This essay describes four recent initiatives by Townshippers' Association in the Eastern Townships of Quebec which are aimed at helping English-speaking minority youth, including immigrants, gain employment; [www.topportunity.ca](http://www.topportunity.ca), Make Way for YOUth, Theatre Townships and the Health & Social Services Human Resources Development Project—Brome-Missisquoi and Haute-Yamaska.

## INTRODUCTION

### EASTERN TOWNSHIPS ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

The region historically known as the Eastern Townships is a largely rural area east of Montreal and south of Quebec City. It encompasses the cities of Sherbrooke, Granby and Drummondville, and all of the Estrie administrative region, and adjacent MRCs (Municipalité régionale de comté) in the Montérégie, Centre-du-Québec and Chaudière-Appalaches regions.

The Townshippers' Association, a non-profit non-partisan organization founded in 1979, has the mission of promoting the interests of the English-speaking community in the historic Eastern Townships, strengthening its cultural identity, and encouraging the full participation of the English-speaking population within the community at large.

Approximately 42,000 persons in the Townships have English as their first official language spoken (FOLS-E), comprising 6% of the total population. This minority population is scattered across the territory, with the highest concentration of English speakers in the MRCs of Brome-Missisquoi and Memphrémagog, at 24% and 18%, respectively, of the population (Canada Census, 2006).

Overall, the Townships English-speaking minority is missing its middle generation, aged 18–44. In this age range, it has proportionally fewer persons than in the French-speaking majority, and those who remain have, on average, lower levels of education, employment and revenue than do their French-speaking counterparts or English-speaking elders (Floch & Warnke, 2004). Within this context, Townshippers' Association gives particular importance to strategies addressing youth, employment and in-migration of English speakers.

Recognizing the right of free movement, and the natural tendency of many young people to explore the world, expand their horizons and follow perceived opportunity, the philosophy underlying Townshippers' strategies does not contain the word "retention." Instead, our focus is on opening doors of opportunity for young people already living here, those who have left the region but who would prefer to return if economically feasible, and those who are interested in moving here from elsewhere. Our community research showed us that many English-speaking teenagers felt that economic and employment opportunities were lacking in the Townships, despite a very attractive quality of life and their high level of bilingualism (Brault, Garber, Karpenko & Kishchuk, 2005).

Ironically, the Eastern Townships contain a number of very active economic sectors offering employment and entrepreneurial opportunities. We drew a link between attitude and action: if disheartenment and disengagement are powerful barriers to perceiving opportunity and pursuing it, then perceiving attainable opportunity could be a powerful antidote to these attitudes. We anticipated, therefore, that connecting English-speaking youth, newcomers and potential newcomers to relevant opportunities would help motivate more people in these groups to become engaged in the region's economic, social and cultural life.

Among these target groups, new immigrants are of special interest, because their barriers to getting jobs are the greatest, yet their attitudes may be the most optimistic. Given the depleted numbers of the English-speaking minority, integrating immigrants whose first official language is English could help strengthen its vitality. The Townshippers' Association is working with partners to develop an initiative specifically targeting immigrants who are more comfortable in English than in French, and we are hoping for financial support for this initiative in the coming months. This initiative will build upon our current initiatives aiming to inform English-speaking youth about employment and entrepreneurial opportunity in the Townships.

### INITIATIVES TO FOSTER INTEGRATION THROUGH EMPLOYMENT

The following are brief descriptions of four recent or current initiatives at the Townshippers' Association focusing on integration through employment. They are: a website [www.topportunity.ca](http://www.topportunity.ca), Make Way for YOUTH—Estrie, Theatre Townships, and the Health & Social Services Human Resources Development Project—Brome-Missisquoi and Haute-Yamaska.

#### **[www.topportunity.ca](http://www.topportunity.ca)**

The [www.topportunity.ca](http://www.topportunity.ca) website is a gateway to various employment, entrepreneurial and educational opportunities in the Townships, as well as other initiatives by Townshippers' Association. Information is offered in English, with links to relevant resources, whether they exist in English or French. The site describes the top 40 job prospects in the Townships, based on demand, including careers requiring university, CEGEP, high school or vocational education. For each of these top 40 prospects, the site lists training or educational programs that provide entry level qualifications and sources of financial support for students.

The site also features weekly postings of job openings which require English, entrepreneurial resources and

success stories. These openings can be posted by employers, but the majority are selected, translated and posted, with permission, by a Townshippers' staff member.

This strategy has the advantage of high visibility for anyone with an internet connection—youth, immigrants, perspective newcomers and others, worldwide. If you google “jobs” and “Eastern Townships,” [www.topportunity.ca](http://www.topportunity.ca) is one of the top resources to come up. Traffic in 2008 was 28,000 unique visitors. We are told that high school orientation counsellors in the Townships refer students to Topportunity as a resource to help them map their career and educational paths after graduating.

### MAKE WAY FOR YOUTH

Make Way for YOUTH—Estrie, is the only project for English speakers in Quebec among more than 60 *Place aux jeunes* projects that foster migration by young graduates aged 18-35 into rural regions. This movement also aims to prevent the exodus of rural youth to urban centres, encourages the social engagement of rural youth, facilitate the employment of youth in rural areas, sensitizes youth and their significant others as well as decision makers to the impact of the youth exodus, and stimulates the creation of new enterprises in rural areas.

Each year, the project offers 42 hours of exploratory activities for new or soon-to-be graduates from outside the region. They are introduced to community leaders, prospective employers, entrepreneurial opportunities, and quality-of-life factors that respond to their career and personal interests. Past activities have included networking events in local communities, participating in Townshippers' Day, learning about new rural opportunities based on new technologies, visiting businesses, touring job fairs, snowshoeing, theatre, and so on.

The Make Way for YOUTH migration agent also offers individual support to persons wanting to settle in the region. Support can include job search coaching, referrals to entrepreneurial support resources, finding housing, schools for children, and more. The agent also posts job openings which require English language skills, cultural events and recreational activities in the region on [www.accrodesregions.qc.ca](http://www.accrodesregions.qc.ca), the vast resource website of *Place aux jeunes en region*, and carries out activities in schools to inform teenagers about employment opportunities in the region.

Challenges in carrying out this project include, inevitably, raising the funds required to do so: A minimum of \$8,000 is required in addition to the support offered by *Place aux jeunes en region*. In addition, extra time, energy and finances are required to carry out a visibility strategy in universities and other educational settings frequented by English speakers and which are not targeted by the Quebec-wide *Place aux jeunes* communications. Finally,



our experience has been that the *Place aux jeunes* model, while extremely effective, does not account for certain characteristics peculiar to the English-speaking minority. Among these are its population distribution and its members' identification with the Eastern Townships as a whole rather than the Estrie administrative region.

The strength of this approach lies in the personal contact and support offered by the migration agent, community members and mentors, targeting persons who are most likely to act on perceived opportunity to integrate into the Townships English-speaking minority and community at large. These include a high proportion of immigrants. Almost 50% of the 2008-2009 participants in Make Way for YOUth—Estrie were from outside Canada, representing no less than 14 different countries (Tables 1 & 2). In this context, our migration agent has found that helping gifted and well-educated young immigrants obtain employment in the region is extremely difficult. Barriers may include unconscious biases based on ethnicity, religion, culture or language.

However, one of the most rewarding discoveries of this project has been the readiness of local community members to rally to welcome the potential newcomers from other countries and other parts of Canada, and the excellent collaboration our agent has experienced with French-speaking *Place aux jeunes* migration agents who share our territory.

## THEATRE TOWNSHIPS

Through the Youth Employment Strategy (Skills Link Program) of Service Canada, Townshippers' Association carried out two Theatre Townships projects, created and led by Christopher Freeman, Artistic Director. These project aimed to help youth aged 16-30 overcome barriers to employment, develop employability skills and knowledge, and promote education and skill development as being key to labour market participation.

How it worked: A group of young people who were underemployed were selected, and enabled to form a theatre troupe. As a team, they researched and wrote original theatre pieces, designed sets and constructed them, rehearsed and produced their theatre pieces, marketed them, sold tickets, and fundraised. All these initiatives, achieved through teamwork, build an important employability skill base for jobs in any field. In addition, through case management and workshops, each participant developed job search skills and a career action plan.

Theatre Townships—Mansonville had 10 participants over a 24-week period in 2008. Theatre Townships—Stanstead had 8 participants over a 20-week period in 2009. Among the 18 participants in the two projects, 15 successfully completed the employability program;

3 left early in order to return to school or get a job; 1 completed an internship and subsequently was employed in the career of her choice. At project end, almost all the participants reported having achieved a significant re-orientation in their career path, and either had jobs or had returned to school (Table 3).

A challenge inherent in this approach was the time-consuming administrative requirements of the funding agency, and rather stringent funding rules. It is difficult to anticipate every contingency in an emergent project such as this one, where new theatre pieces were being created and produced. Unavoidable costs were incurred which were not covered by the funding, even though the overall budget was well respected.

We also discovered that employers are wary of offering internships—even though salaries would be fully reimbursed—because they perceived participants as “problem” youth, by virtue of their taking part in an employability project.

The greatest reward of this approach was to see a group of creative youth gain a sense of direction, self-confidence and hope for the future. The intensive attention and skilled interventions by the group facilitators, as well as the team-work and mutual support among group members were, we believe, key factors.

**Health & Social Services Human Resources Development Project—Brome-Missisquoi and Haute-Yamaska.** The Townshippers' Association also leads a fourth employment initiative, which recruits English-speaking health and social services professionals to work in institutions in the Brome-Missisquoi and Haute-Yamaska MRCs. Similar projects exist in the Estrie region, led by the Centre hospitalier universitaire de Sherbrooke (CHUS), and in the Thetford Mines area, led by the Megantic English-speaking Development Corporation (MCDC). All three initiatives are part of the province-wide Training and Human Resources Project of McGill University, supported by Health Canada and enjoying the collaboration of the Quebec government ministries of health and education and many health and social service institutions in areas of Quebec where more bilingual personnel are needed.

Briefly, our coordinator recruits bilingual students who are interested in exploring career opportunities in the western part of the Eastern Townships, and arranges internship or externship (summer jobs) placements for them. He acts as a broker between the educational programs responsible for establishing internships for their students, and institutions who are seeking bilingual personnel. He ensures adequate supervision is in place, and arranges transportation and living facilities for the interns, orients them to the region, and supports them in their job search.

Based on existing needs for health and social services personnel among institutions in the area, interns have included students in the fields of speech therapy, social work, nursing and physiotherapy. An annual initiative of this project is to bring a group of five speech therapy interns and their supervisor from McGill University to the Eastern Townships School Board for a 6-week speech therapy clinic in Cowansville. The coordinator also collaborates in an initiative to recruit family doctors for the area.

One of the challenges is to reach busy students in urban-based institutions with the message that they can do an all-living-expenses-paid internship in a rural environment with a great quality of life. Another is to fit out-of-town internships into the schedules of the educational programs which sometimes require students to pursue part-time internships and coursework simultaneously, rather than dedicating a separate block of time to internships.

This initiative depends largely on the collaboration of a wide array of partners—and progress in this area has been excellent. The results have been good: In total, 21 internships or externships were arranged between 2006 to 2010. Obviously, this project benefits both the English-speaking minority and the community at large in two ways: First, by attracting young, educated newcomers to the community, and second, by addressing the desperate demand for skilled, bilingual health and social service professionals in the region and, in particular, by improving the chances of services in English being available to those in need.

## CONCLUSION

Historically, English speakers in the Eastern Townships come from relatively diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, compared to the French-speaking majority. This, along with the experience of being a minority, uniquely equips this community-within-a-community to help welcome new immigrants into our region. Townshippers' outreach to new immigrants who have learned English in their country of origin can be advantageous to the community at large, through easing the adjustment period while they master French.

Reaching out to persons whose first official language spoken is English seems an obvious means of maintaining the minimum vitality of our community, both in terms of population numbers as well as in terms of cultural identity and vitality. Another potential asset that new immigrants bring to our community is a sense of optimism and willingness to invest their efforts into the region.

We at Townshippers' Association anticipate capitalizing on future contributions from English-speaking immigrants towards the development of our minority community, enabling the English-speaking community to better contribute to the cultural and economic vitality of the Townships community at large. Central to this overall aim are our initiatives to integrate both English-speaking youth and new immigrants into our community through connecting them to employment opportunities.

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# SHATTERING THE MONOLITH: SHOWCASING THE DIVERSITY OF QUEBEC CITY'S ENGLISH- SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Born in Quebec City, **Patrick Donovan** worked as Director of Programmes and later as Executive Director at the Morrin Centre from 2004 to 2009. He served as a volunteer for many heritage organizations, namely as Vice President of QAHN (Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network) and on the heritage committees of the *Conseil des monuments et sites du Québec*. As a research fellow of the *Fonds québécois de recherche sur la société et la culture*, he is presently pursuing doctoral studies at Université Laval on the history of intercultural relations in Quebec City.

## ABSTRACT

This article examines how the Morrin Centre, a new heritage and culture organization in Quebec City, is shattering preconceived ideas about a monolithic English-speaking community. Three forms of diversity within the community are examined, namely inter-regional, ethnic/cultural, and socio-economic. By integrating this exploration of diversity into its programmes, the Morrin Centre is fostering a more complex sense of identity, belonging, and attachment. The article concludes by examining some of the challenges, which are shared by other official-language minority organizations working on a regional scale.

In the past few decades, the English-speaking community in Quebec City has moved from a perspective of mere survival to take on a more proactive role. A poignant example is the transformation of the then struggling 180-year-old Literary and Historical Society of Quebec into the vibrant new Morrin Centre. Before this revitalization, a yellowed sign printed in neat gothic calligraphy over the donation box in the Society's library said "With your help we can survive." Soon, through the leadership of energetic board members and determined staff, the goal was not mere survival but raising five million dollars to restore the building and set up a new cultural centre. Personnel grew from a few underpaid part-time community members aided by dedicated volunteers to nearly a dozen full-time staff.

I joined this new growing team in 2004. At that point, Quebec City's English-speaking community had secured its health, social service, community advocacy, and educational organizations. The Morrin Centre had

the potential to become a culture/heritage magnet but the wonderful old building, situated in the heart of the old city, was in desperate need of restoration. Originally built as the city jail, it served this purpose from 1808 to 1868. After this date the building was transformed into Morrin College, a Presbyterian-run educational institution affiliated with McGill University that closed around 1900. One wing housed the library of the aforementioned Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Canada's oldest learned society. In addition to preserving this history, our new mission involved presenting the culture and heritage of the English-speaking community. Where to start?

"The good thing," I said to then executive director France Cliche, "is that we're independent, not under any pressure to present a vision of French and English working hand-in-hand as 'founding peoples.' We can tell the story of Anglophones like it is, without any controversial political agenda."

“But we want to be controversial,” countered France. “We want to challenge prevailing myths.”

After several discussions, we found that we were on the same wavelength—challenging prevailing myths, being controversial, and “telling it like it is” were one and the same. But the challenge of presenting the community in the face of so many different visions remained. And what prevailing myths should we challenge? Not the one about “founding peoples” because, let’s face it, nobody really buys it, especially not when the First Nations are welcomed into to the discussion. No, the prevailing myth was the idea of Quebec’s Anglophones as a self-assured ethnic monolith, “les Anglais,” with their heritage of privilege and wealth amassed through exploitation of Francophone “porteurs d’eau.” A caricature, to be sure, but one that still holds sway to varying degrees, even among Anglophones themselves who are not always aware of their own history. We needed to show the underlying diversity, the complexity beneath all the simplistic definitions.

## THE UNDERLYING DIVERSITY

This myth of a single Anglophone “bloc monolithique” that spans the province is revived at almost each election (or referendum). Commentators point to quasi-monolithic voting behaviours in a few Montreal West End English-speaking enclaves, and then break off into broader generalizations about Anglophones in Quebec. But is it fair to liken Montreal Anglophones garrisoned off in English-speaking municipalities to those thinly spread out in overwhelmingly Francophone Quebec City, along the Gaspé peninsula, etc.? If anything, many Anglophones outside Montreal have tried to affirm their difference, and not just in terms of voting behaviour. The most striking public manifestation of this involved the disassociation of many community organizations from the increasingly sectarian Montreal-based Alliance Quebec before the turn of the millennium. When the Morrin Centre carried out oral history interviews among Quebec City Anglophones in 2008, this idea of a community seeking to emphasize its integration and differentiate itself from the shadow of Montreal recurred frequently. This also came out in Louisa Blair’s research for her history of Quebec City’s Anglophone population, leading her to conclude that the population was “more likely to be bilingual, more integrated into the French-speaking majority and more likely to see the collective aspirations of French speakers.” This integration is seen in the city’s English schools, where French is, more often than not, the language spoken in the schoolyard. Is all this solely a result of demographics, or do other factors contribute to these differences? This

remains a question to be studied. What matters is the fact that a great regional diversity within English-speaking Quebec exists and is often unacknowledged.

Another way to shatter the monolith is to look at ethnic and cultural diversity within the community. This is perhaps more obvious in Montreal than in Quebec City. According to the 2006 Census, 16.5% of the population of Montreal is made up of visible minorities compared to only 2.3% in Quebec City. However, a closer look at Quebec City’s English-speaking population still reveals that “les anglais” is a wholly inaccurate label. For one, the English-speaking population has historically been largely Irish, more so than elsewhere in the province—69% of Quebec City’s English-speaking population was Irish in 1871, representing a little over a quarter of the total city population. Most were Irish Catholic, forming their own Churches, schools, and community institutions. In light of the struggles for Home Rule and independence for Ireland back in Europe, they would probably have resented the idea of being confounded with the English. Never mind the fact that “les anglais” leaves out the Scottish, Welsh, Jewish, Greek, Chinese and American populations that spoke English in Quebec City who, until the revision of educational laws in the 1970s, were forced into the English-language Protestant school system because Catholic French-language schools excluded them. More recently, this diversity has increased through immigration from former British or American colonies such as India and the Philippines, where English is commonly taught. However, the cultural ancestry that most Quebec City Anglophones have in common today is probably French Canadian, a result of centuries of intercultural marriages with the Francophone majority. On the one hand, older cultural identities live on in varying degrees, some people still affirming their Irishness after four generations in Quebec. On the other, integration fosters affinity with Francophone culture, leading to an Anglophone community far too complex and diverse to be reduced to a monolith.

The third form of diversity worth mentioning is socio-economic diversity. Raising this issue strikes at the heart of one of the most enduring myths, namely that Anglophones have a heritage steeped in wealth. Some people have a more subtle view, aware of the thousands of underpaid Irish famine migrants who worked as long-shoremen in Quebec City’s port in the mid-nineteenth century. However, even this view often has the English and Scottish playing the role of wealthy bosses surveying workers from their country estates atop the heights of Sillery. In fact, 80.7% of Anglo-Protestants in the province in 1871 were farmers, artisans, servants, or common labourers compared to 89.6% of French Canadians and 82% of Irish Catholics. Sure, these statistics show that

Anglophones were more likely to earn more and be in positions of power, but those positions were few and far between. It makes little sense to imagine the Scots and English as wealthy bosses when over 80% were quite far removed from the upper echelons of power.

What we're left with after this brief exploration is a diverse community: socio-economically diverse, culturally diverse, and with great regional diversities as well. The fact that the English-speaking community eludes easy definition is seen as a liability to some. Why not see this diversity as an asset? Now that we know the myth-breaking message, let's get back to the Morrin Centre and see how we have tried to break through the stereotypes through concrete actions.

## GETTING THE MESSAGE ACROSS

Being located in the heart of Old Quebec in a unique heritage building has certainly allowed the Morrin Centre to draw in visitors and get our message across. One of the main ways this is achieved is through heritage tours and educational programmes, drawing in thousands of visitors and students in the last year alone. There is so much history between the old jail cells, library and old classrooms that talking about the community as well could easily overwhelm the 45-minute attention span of most visitors to historic sites. So, instead of addressing all this separately, we work the message of diversity into the tour. Some of the English names engraved on the walls of the former jail allow people to see that Anglophones were not always "the bosses." This is also where Anglophone and Francophone political prisoners were imprisoned during the anti-colonial Patriote Rebellions of 1837-38, showing that Anglophones are not always on the side of the English. Then it's up to the College hall, where visitors learn about the religious divide that once separated the educational system into a culturally diverse range of English-speaking communities. And so on...

The message of diversity also finds its way into our other initiatives. It is an underlying concern when planning our programme of cultural activities, notably the two-day "Roots" and "Shalom Quebec" conferences on cultural diversity in 2008 and the projected one-day conference on socio-economic diversity in 2011, not to mention our regular calendar of historical, cultural, literary, and political talks. Annual events like the Celtic Festival, which drew in 6,500 participants last September, stress the common threads running through this diversity. This festival cuts across perceived divisions by showing the shared Celtic heritage of Anglophones in the British Isles and Francophones across the channel in Brittany. Furthermore, online exhibitions, oral history projects, our Society Pages (quarterly review), and all

other outreach activities are geared toward shattering simplistic monolithic visions of Anglophones to show the underlying diversity.

## CHALLENGES

Heritage and culture organizations like the Morrin Centre play an essential role in reaching out to the broader population through tangible initiatives like the ones mentioned above. This is crucial in fostering a sense of identity, belonging, and attachment. In fact, studies by Marie-Odile Magnan in Quebec City have shown that a lack of Anglophone cultural institutions and activities is one of the reasons mentioned by youth who leave the region.

Unfortunately, the primary challenge for many of these organizations is funding. The Morrin has done better than most because of strong municipal support and the help of well-endowed local foundations. However, it still faces a high staff turnover because it cannot measure up to the wages offered elsewhere in the region. In the past few decades, the English-speaking community in the province has developed strong umbrella organizations that are well-funded and supported by the government. However, federal funding programs do not provide operational funds for the local groups working under these umbrellas. Funds for non-umbrella groups can only be obtained through project grants, which require new innovative projects every year and do not allow for the repetition of a successful project. There is a solution: greater state support for culture and heritage organizations, ensuring sustainable organizations both at the umbrella level and below.

For more information about the Morrin Centre's programmes and rental venues, see [www.morrin.org](http://www.morrin.org).

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# THE CHALLENGES OF DIVERSITY AND IMMIGRANT RETENTION IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBEC

**Rita Legault** is the Director of Communications and Public Relations for the Quebec Community Groups Network which brings together 32 regional and sectoral organizations from across Quebec. The Network supports the development of Official Languages Minority Communities in Quebec and plays a pivotal role in facilitating the development of a constructive and positive relationship between all levels of Government, the English-speaking communities of Quebec, its members and its partners.

## ABSTRACT

Because English-speaking Quebec is a minority within a French-speaking majority that is national minority facing demographic decline, the Official Language Minority Community in Quebec faces unique challenges when it comes to community renewal. Historically, Quebec's English-speaking community has played a fundamental role in the process of integrating immigrants from diverse backgrounds into Quebec society. While renewal is still of critical importance to the development and vitality of the English speaking communities of Quebec, talk of integration into our community at this juncture is politically sensitive. Immigration policy in Quebec is exclusively aimed at renewal and retention for the French-speaking majority. In that context community leaders have to find creative ways to ensure that immigrants whose first official language spoken is English can identify with and attach to the English-speaking community while successfully integrating into Quebec through school and work. This article discusses the situation of Quebec's English-speaking community and the challenges it faces when it comes to demographic vitality and the importance of population renewal in official language minority communities.

Attracting and retaining immigrants is important to all Quebecers as collective demographic challenges require that the province identify means to better integrate newcomers to Quebec. The Quebec Community Groups Network understands this important challenge and shares with fellow Quebecers the desire for Quebec society to be culturally and economically dynamic. But the path to integrating English-speaking immigrants into Quebec is filled with potential roadblocks.

Historically, the arrival of new immigrants has played a fundamental role in shaping English-speaking Quebec, particularly in Metropolitan Montreal where the diversity of the population is a defining characteristic of the English-speaking community. The English-speaking community values the diversity arising from immigration and generally views newcomers as making significant

cultural and economic contributions to the community and in turn to Quebec society.

In a brief to the National Assembly committee on Immigration in 2007, the QCGN noted the English-speaking community has developed considerable experience in the process of integrating individuals from diverse backgrounds into Quebec society. And it argued that immigrants whose first official language spoken is English can identify with the English-speaking community while successfully integrating into Quebec society.

"Quebec's English-speaking communities well understand the importance of speaking the French language as reflected in the considerable increase in the percentage of Anglophones that report an ability to speak the French language. By extension, we see too the need

for new arrivals to speak the French language is a necessary step towards successful integration. Furthermore, this reality is well understood by those immigrants coming to Quebec whose first or second language is English. That said, we believe the adoption of the French language on the part of immigrants whose principal language is English can be achieved while they maintain identification with the English-speaking community. Indeed, we believe that the sense of community belonging represents an important dimension of successful integration. It is on this basis that the English-speaking community wishes to work with partners across Quebec in ensuring that immigrants can successfully meet the conditions of integration. To do otherwise and potentially work at cross purposes risks encouraging immigrants to contemplate a move elsewhere—also known as secondary migration—which would represent a loss for both Quebec society and its English-speaking communities.”<sup>i</sup>

There is ongoing concern in some quarters that new immigrants will integrate into the English-speaking community putting further demographic pressure on French-speaking Quebec. That fear, when added to concerns about the future of the French language, makes the integration of immigrants who speak English an even more sensitive issue. That was made clear in April 2010 when Parti Québécois MNA Pierre Curzi worried over Allophones choosing English over French and causing a dramatic increase in the number of English-speakers in Quebec. Using 2006 Census figures and methodology that has been questioned by some statisticians, Mr. Curzi argued that English is becoming more appealing than French in Montreal and he calculated that Montreal will only be 43 per cent francophone within six years. The report, prepared by researchers in his office, predicted not only that English could become the dominant language in Quebec’s largest city by 2016, but that would have dire consequences on the rest of the province because of Montreal’s role as the province’s economic and cultural engine.<sup>ii</sup>

A plethora of political pundits in Quebec, including Alain Dubuc and André Pratte of *La Presse*, note that other important factors are at play. Both opinion writers remarked that the large number of Francophone families moving to the suburbs in recent years has reduced the number of French-speaking Montrealers. Mr. Dubuc also commented that the progress of French cannot and should not be measured simply by counting the number of immigrants who abandon their own language in favour of French at home and that it must include the number of immigrants who speak French at work, at school, in businesses and in the streets.<sup>iii</sup> André Pratte is even more unequivocal calling Mr. Curzi’s report apocalyptic and noting that it is absurd to say English is more

predominant when the number of English-speakers in Quebec is dropping.<sup>iv</sup>

While a significant portion of Quebec’s intelligentsia does not support the alarmist view of some sovereigntists as it relates to immigrants and the English-speaking community, it is clear that mainstream Quebecers are concerned about the future of the French language and ensuring that new immigrants adopt the French language. Ideally the English-speaking community could be seen as a bridge for newcomers who speak English to learn the French language.

It is important to note that language and community are distinct issues. The French language faces a continual threat from the English language, but not from the English-speaking Communities, some of which are in danger of disappearing. As André Pratte aptly points out “...since Bill 101, more and more immigrants have taken French as their second language. But French speakers still feel their language, their culture is threatened. Why? Because English is everywhere! Look at the signs: Future Shop, Krispy Creme, Home Depot. Look at the movies, listen to the songs: Anglo-American culture dominates the world, for better or for worse. And in Quebec, that means it is still difficult to buy a computer with a French-language keyboard, or a French-language computer game. Of course, Quebec Anglophones are not responsible for this situation. But the dominant position of English in the world makes it difficult for francophone Quebecers to believe Quebec Anglophones are a threatened minority. Most Francophones ask: How can you say you’re a threatened minority, when your language is spoken and sung everywhere around you? You have English schools, English universities, soon a major new English hospital, English TV stations and the Internet? Personally, I see the concerns Anglophones express for the future of your community in a different light. I see it as a proof of love for Quebec. Sure, you might have all the TV programs you need in your own language. But you want more, need more than programs coming from New York or Toronto. You want programs that reflect who you are. And you are Québécois.”<sup>v</sup>

Since 1978, when the federal government devolved powers to the province, immigration policy in Quebec is about renewal and retention for the French-speaking majority which is in demographic decline. Using the terms renewal and retention in reference to the English-speaking community is considered political anathema. The Quebec-Canada Accord, known as the Cullen-Couture Agreement<sup>1</sup>, came on the heels of the failure of the Meech Lake Accord which attempted to bring Quebec into the Constitutional fold.

For political reasons, the federal government has preferred to keep clear of immigration issues in Quebec.

That has made it next to impossible for Citizenship and Immigration Canada to fulfill its responsibilities under Part VII of the Official Languages Act.<sup>2</sup> The dichotomy between the Official Language Minority Communities in English-speaking Quebec and Francophone communities in the rest of Canada is clear when you take a look at recent efforts by federal politicians, departments and officials to fulfill those obligations.

In 2002, the Standing Committee on Official Languages of the House of Commons explored the subject of immigration in a study based on section 41 of the Official Languages Act. In May 2003, the Committee tabled its report, *Immigration as a Tool for the Development of Official Language Minority Communities*. The report contains 14 recommendations dealing with a question that the Committee considers to be a high priority for Official Language minority communities. The focus was on Francophone communities outside Quebec. "Clearly, Francophone minority communities are not receiving a large enough proportion of Francophone immigrants to ensure their demographic renewal," commented Mauril Bélanger, Chair of the Committee which asked a number of departments and agencies to intervene in the various phases of the immigration process in order to advance the vitality and development of official minority language communities. The Committee remarked that it expected that all new federal-provincial-territorial agreements on immigration to mention the commitment of the signatories to promote linguistic duality and enhance the vitality of official minority language communities. That did not apply to the earlier Accord signed with Quebec which contains no obligation to promote the vitality of English-speaking Quebec.

In March 2002, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) established the Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee with a mandate to come up with strategies to increase the number of French-speaking immigrants in Francophone minority communities and to facilitate their integration. That led to the *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*.<sup>3</sup> Later, in March 2005, the Steering Committee completed another document entitled *Towards Building a Canadian Francophonie of Tomorrow, Summary of Initiatives 2002-2006 to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*.

Under the assumption that English-speaking Quebec has already largely benefitted from immigration, little attention was paid to the needs of the English-speaking official minority language community in Quebec. Yet renewal is of critical importance to the development and vitality of English-speaking community of Quebec. The goal of the QCGN is to encourage politicians and policy

makers to consider this fundamental issue as the Standing Committee on Official Languages undertakes a new study on Immigration in Official Language Minority Communities this spring.

While other provinces are growing, the population of Quebec is stagnating and its failure to attract and retain immigrants is a major factor in that losing equation. A recent study by Groupe Cirano showed that while Quebec today welcomes immigrants who are more educated, more proficient in French, and younger than was formerly the case, it struggles to integrate them into the workforce. The Cirano study, co-authored by Brahim Boudarbat and Maude Boulet, reports that Quebec receives fewer immigrants and that it has a hard time retaining those who settle in this province upon arriving in Canada and note the provincial government will have to favour the integration of immigrants into the workplace if it wants them to stay here.<sup>vi</sup>

Immigrants, particularly entrepreneurs, tend to move west once they have obtained their landed immigrant status, report Boudarbat and Boulet who explain this is largely because immigrants who come to Quebec are half as likely to find a job as those who move to western provinces that are expanding. In 2006, the unemployment rate for new immigrants was 11.2 per cent—twice the rate of Quebecers and twice the rate of immigrants who chose to establish themselves in provinces like Ontario and British Columbia. Recent immigrants, that is those who arrived within the last five years, were hardest hit by unemployment with 19.3 per cent unable to find work compared to 11.7 per cent in the rest of Canada. Yet immigrants that are selected by Quebec are more educated and more qualified and many come from French-speaking countries and are fluent in French.<sup>vii</sup>

In the Annual Report of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages entitled *Two Official Languages, One Common Space: 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Official Languages Act*, Commissioner Graham Fraser dared to tackle the issue of renewal of the English-speaking communities in Quebec head on.

Mr. Fraser notes that Quebec's English-speaking communities have had many years of experience in immigration and integration and in managing diversity. "Although the situation varies greatly from one region to another, some members of the English-speaking communities have many years of experience in integrating newcomers and managing cultural diversity."<sup>viii</sup>

The Commissioner remarked that our community assists English-speaking newcomers in learning French, in finding jobs, and in ensuring they integrate into Quebec society while maintaining their attachment to the English-speaking community. He also notes the English-speaking community would benefit from being able to

share our experience in immigration and taking into account diversity, and would benefit from participating in public debates on the issue. “Moreover, it would be important for English-speaking community organizations to obtain the resources they need to continue working on integrating newcomers and helping them realize their full potential in Quebec,”<sup>viii</sup> Mr. Fraser added.

“We want to renew our community not by soliciting new immigrants but by retaining diverse newcomers who speak English,” says QCGN Director General Sylvia Martin-Laforge, noting that, from a policy perspective, it is easier to view the issue through the lens of respectful integration and cultural diversity, than focusing on immigration in the English-speaking community. That, she argues, opens the door for Citizenship and Immigration Canada to support the vitality of the English-speaking official language minority community in Quebec while respecting provincial jurisdiction.

In his opening remarks for the “Exploring Diversity in English-Speaking Quebec” symposium that began in Montreal on May 22, 2009, QCGN President Robert Donnelly noted that cultural diversity is a demographic fact in Quebec society, and this trend will only increase in the future.

Mr. Donnelly recalled that during the Bouchard-Taylor Commission hearings last year the QCGN stated that the debate on the cohabitation of different communities was essential and that it should focus on the equilibrium between the rights of the majority and the rights of the minority. “We believe it is vital that we

understand who makes up our minority communities, and that we understand what their values and their needs are.”<sup>ix</sup> During the commission, the QCGN also highlighted the ways in which immigration positively affects society and reminded the commission that English-speaking community is recognized by many as being progressive in the way it has dealt with our changing community.

“Quebec needs immigrants,” said Mr. Donnelly. “The continued vitality of our province, and—within that—of the English-speaking community, greatly depends on immigration. In 2006, immigrants to Quebec for whom English was the only official language they knew upon arrival represented nearly 20 per cent of the total provincial immigration. This was up from just under 16 per cent in 2002. This proportion exceeds the share of Quebec’s English mother-tongue population, which stands at just under 10 per cent. Considering the important percentage of immigrants that are English-speakers, we see that it is inevitable that English-language institutions will be involved in the process of managing diversity.”<sup>x</sup>

“English-speaking Quebec is only as strong as the sum of its many parts and we recognize that mutual support is needed. It’s all about connectivity between communities to ensure that English-speaking Quebec and its diverse components parts have a strong, cohesive voice to advocate for its needs and concerns,”<sup>xi</sup> Robert Donnelly concluded.

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- <sup>1</sup> This milestone agreement, which gave Quebec exclusive responsibility of choosing immigrants, declared that immigration to Quebec must contribute to the province's cultural and social development and provided the province with a say in the selection of independent—class immigrants (skilled workers and businessmen with their dependents) and refugees abroad. In addition, the agreement allowed the province to determine financial and other criteria for family-class and assisted—relative sponsorship. Selected applicants are issued a “certificat de sélection du Québec” before Citizenship and Immigration Canada issues the actual visa.
- <sup>2</sup> Under that section of the Act, the federal government has responsibility to promote linguistic duality and enhance the vitality of official language minority communities.
- <sup>3</sup> Released in November 2003, the Framework outlines the issues related to Francophone immigration, as well as the long-term objectives, medium-term results and short-term measures.
- <sup>i</sup> Immigration: A perspective from Quebec's English-speaking communities, a brief prepared by the Quebec Community Groups Network in collaboration with Jack Jedwab for the special National Assembly Committee on Immigration, 2007.
- <sup>ii</sup> As quoted in the French press *Le grand Montreal s'anglicise*, Pierre Curzi [http://pierrecurzi.org/sites/pierrecurzi.org/files/Le\\_grand\\_Montreal\\_sanglicise\\_-\\_avril\\_2010.pdf](http://pierrecurzi.org/sites/pierrecurzi.org/files/Le_grand_Montreal_sanglicise_-_avril_2010.pdf).
- <sup>iii</sup> *Les angoissés de la langue*, Column by Alain Dubuc published on April 9, 2010.
- <sup>iv</sup> *Un peu de recul*, Editorial by André Pratte published on April 10, 2010.
- <sup>v</sup> *Bridging the Two Solitudes*, excerpts from a speech by André Pratte delivered at the first research conference on the English-speaking communities of Quebec held at the Université du Québec à Montréal on Feb. 25, 2005 and published in R.Y. Bourhis (Ed.) *The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival*. Montreal, Quebec: CEETUM, Université de Montréal.
- <sup>vi</sup> *Immigration au Québec : Politiques et intégration au marché du travail*, co-authored by Brahim Boudarbat and Maude Boulet © Groupe Cirano.
- <sup>vii</sup> *Annual Report 2008–2009: Two Official Languages, One Common Space: 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Official Languages Act*, © Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 2009, Cat. No.: SF1-2009, ISBN: 978-0-662-06825-9.
- <sup>viii</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>ix</sup> *Understanding Diversity in Montreal*. Montreal, May 22, 2009, Opening remarks by Robert Donnelly, President, Quebec Community Groups Network.
- <sup>x</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>xi</sup> *Ibid*



# MULTIPLE IDENTITIES AND SOCIAL COHESION IN QUEBEC: IMPLICATIONS FOR QUEBEC ENGLISH SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

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## ABSTRACT

This article shows that Québécois Anglophones and Immigrants who are Francophone and Anglophone have multiple identity profiles which differ from those of the dominant Québécois Francophone majority in Quebec. The study also shows that while Anglophones and Allophones feel threatened by the dominant Francophone majority, the latter feel more threatened by all minority outgroups. Other results show that bilingual and trilingual Allophones suffer income disadvantages ranging from 34% to 12% relative to unilingual Francophones, even when controlling for level of education and years of work experience in Quebec. Results suggest that Québécois Francophones remain imbued more with the psychology of a besieged minority than a dominant majority feeling responsible for its vulnerable minorities.

Personal and social identities provide individuals with a positive self-esteem, a sense of personal continuity, a framework of meaning through which people can understand the world, a way of distinguishing the self from others as individuals and as group members, and a sense of security and solidarity with members of the ingroup. Shared social identity can nourish group trust and altruism through connections of cultural, ethnic and linguistic similarity, thus contributing to social cohesion. However, shared social identity can also be used to glorify the ingroup, nourish fear of outgroups, mobilize intergroup rivalry through the demonization of outgroups defined as diluting or contaminating the authenticity of the ingroup on linguistic, ethnic or religious grounds.

With the polarization of “us-them” categories often nurtured by nationalist ideologies, comes the tendency to essentialize the content of ingroup vs outgroup characteristics and values, to disparage outgroups on the basis of their category memberships and social identities. These processes along with competition over scarce resources, such as jobs and housing, help account for the development of prejudice and discrimination against outgroups such as immigrants and national minorities.

However, people also belong to multiple social identities by virtue of their age, gender, occupational status and group memberships based on language, ethnicity, religion and national origin. For instance in the Quebec setting, there is no fixed hierarchy in which a person will

always feel more strongly Anglophone than Muslim or Federalist. Different social identities will light up or switch off depending on the social context and the immediate situation in which people find themselves. Thus while a doctor may identify most as an Anglophone when working in Montreal, he may identify most as a Quebecker when attending a professional conference in Toronto, and feel most Canadian when travelling as a tourist in the USA. Thus multiple identities are situated and contextualized, although individuals do struggle to harmonize and integrate their multiple social identities within a coherent sense of the self. Through immigration and the growing recognition of national minorities and first nations, the reality of multiple group identities is the rule rather than the exception in most nation states of the world.

The issue of multiple group identities is especially salient for the English speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ) who, as declining minorities, are faced with a dominant majority of Québécois Francophones who share French as a mother tongue and whose ethnically mixed ancestry is nevertheless constructed as being predominantly French Canadian and Catholic in background since the days of “La Nouvelle- France”.

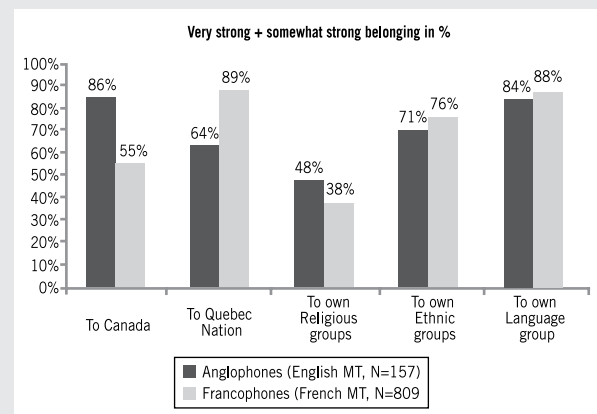
From a ruling economic elite up to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Anglophones of Quebec have dropped to the status of a linguistic minority whose ethnic boundaries have become more permeable by including not only the old stock Scottish and Irish historical constituents but also immigrants rejected by the French Canadian and Catholic elites of the 19<sup>th</sup> and mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## SENSE OF BELONGING AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

The multiple identities of Quebec Anglophones and Francophones were explored in a recent survey designed by Jack Jedwab, Director of the *Association of Canadian Studies*. The Leger poll was conducted with a representative sample of the Quebec population made up of French (N= 809) and English (N=157) mother tongue (MT) respondents sampled in Montreal and across the province.

As can be seen in Figure 1, results show that more Anglophones feel they strongly belong to Canada (86%) than do Francophones (55%). Conversely more Francophones (89%) have a strong sense of belonging to the Quebec Nation than do Anglophones (64%). Importantly, as great a proportion of Anglophones declared they had a strong feeling of belonging to their own language group (84%) as did Francophones (88%). Thus the vast majority of Quebec Anglophones and Francophones identify strongly with their own language group in the province. Likewise the majority of both Anglophones (71%) and

**FIGURE 1. Anglophone and Francophone sense of belonging to multiple social identities**



Francophones (76%) strongly identify with their respective ethnic group. Finally, more Anglophones (48%) identified strongly with their religious group than did Francophones (38%). These results suggest that the 2008 hearings on religious ‘reasonable accommodations’ held by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission may not have focused on the most important element of group identification for the Quebec population. No wonder so many testimonials dealt more with language, ethnic and national identity than with religious considerations.

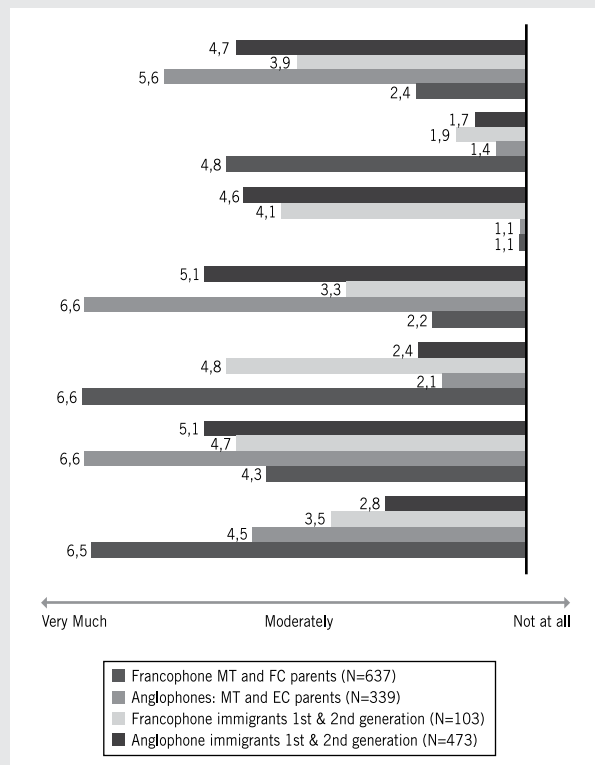
The Department of Canadian Heritage conducted a large survey of attitudes towards Canada’s Official Languages published in 2006. The survey of the Canadian population included a sample of English mother tongue respondents residing in Quebec (N= 567) and a sample of French mother tongue Canadians (N= 1506) living in the rest of Canada (ROC). Results obtained with Francophones in the ROC showed that the vast majority of Francophones (76%) strongly identified with their Francophone community in their own region and also felt it was very important for them to be part of their Francophone community (81%). Importantly, results also showed that the majority of Quebec Anglophones (74%) strongly identified with their regional Anglophone community and also felt it was very important for them to be part of their own Anglophone community in Quebec (74%). Clearly, Anglophones in Quebec are as loyal and committed to their own distinct language community as are Francophones in the ROC. From a public policy perspective these linguistic identification results suggest that it is as imperative for the federal and provincial governments to maintain and develop the vitality of Anglophones in Quebec as it is to do so for Francophone communities across the rest of Canada.

Multiple identity studies were also conducted in Quebec with samples of Anglophone and Francophone mother tongue college students, as well as Francophone and Anglophone first and second generation immigrants attending CEGEPS on Montreal Island. These survey studies, though not representative of the overall Quebec population, had the advantage of controlling for the socio-economic status and educational level of students who represent the next generation of decision makers in the Province. Results presented herein are selected from more extensive questionnaires monitoring the acculturation orientations of host community and immigrant students attending French and English language CEGEPS in Montreal by Bourhis and colleagues. The students who took part in the studies were: 1) Anglophones (N=399) born in Quebec with English as a mother tongue and with both parents born in Quebec with English as their L1; 2) Francophones (N=637) born in Quebec with French as a mother tongue and with both parents born in Quebec also with French as a first language (L1); 3) first and second generation Anglophone immigrants with English as a mother tongue (N=473); 4) firsts and second generation Francophone immigrants with French as a mother tongue (N=103). Using a seven point scale, students rated how

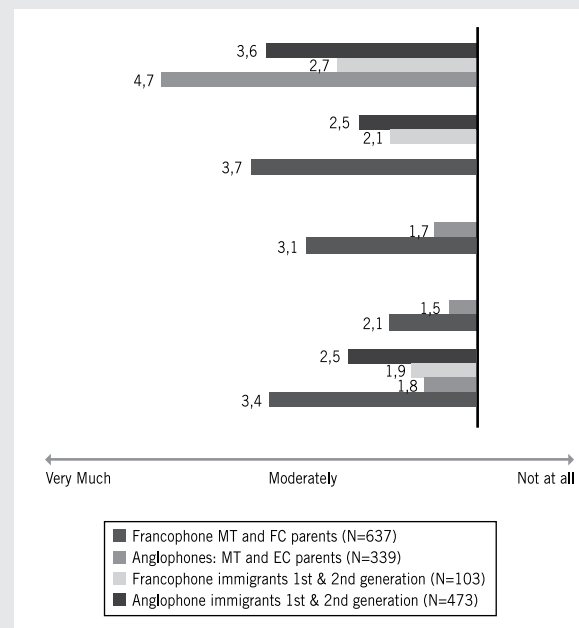
much they identified (7 = very much, 1 = not at all) with each of a series of group identities including: Québécois, Canadian, Francophone, Anglophone, immigrant, sovereignist, and federalist.

As can be seen in Figure 2, Québécois Francophones and Anglophones as well as Francophone and Anglophone immigrants show contrasting multiple identity profiles that have consequences for ethnic group relations in Quebec. Quebec Anglophones identify very strongly as Canadian (6.6), Anglophone (6.6) and federalist (5.6), moderately as Québécois (4.5) and not at all as sovereignist (1.4). Québec Francophones identify very strongly as Québécois (6.5) and Francophone (6.6) and moderately strongly as sovereignist (4.8); moderately as Canadian (4.3) and only a little as federalist (2.4). Francophone immigrants identify moderately strongly as Canadian (4.7) and Francophone (4.8), moderately as immigrant (4.1) and federalist (3.9). However Francophone immigrants, though attending French colleges, identify moderately weakly as Québécois (3.5) and Anglophone (3.3) and little as sovereignist (1.9). Anglophone immigrants identify moderately strongly as Canadian (5.1), Anglophone (5.1), immigrant (4.6) and federalist (4.7) but very little as Québécois (2.8), Francophone (2.4) and least as sovereignist (1.7). Thus, Quebec Anglophones as well as immigrants of Anglophone and Francophone background share in common their identification as Canadian and federalist and their rejection of Quebec sovereignty. As

**FIGURE 2. Multiple Identities of Montreal College Students in Montreal**



**FIGURE 3. Feeling of threat from presence of various groups in Montreal**



members of the dominant majority group in the Province, Québécois Francophones identify twice as strongly as sovereignists than as federalists, thus sustaining the reproduction of the classic 'two solitudes' on the political front in Quebec.

Immigrants identify less as Québécois than as Canadians suggesting that it is more difficult for them to gain a sense of belonging within the Francophone host majority than with the Anglophone minority in the Province. Studies have shown that host communities have an important role to play in the integration of immigrants. Members of host communities who endorse integrationist acculturation orientations towards immigrants are more likely to attract immigrants within their community than host communities who endorse less welcoming orientations such as assimilationism, segregationism and exclusionism. Acculturation studies with college students have shown that Québécois Anglophones tend to endorse more welcoming acculturation orientations towards immigrants than do Québécois Francophones.

## FEELINGS OF THREAT FROM THE PRESENCE OF OUTGROUPS

The same four groups of college students then rated how threatened they felt by the presence of various ethnic groups in Quebec including immigrants in general, 'valued' and 'devalued' immigrants, as well as host majority Québécois Francophones and host minority Québécois Anglophones. For Francophone students the 'valued' immigrants were those from France while 'devalued' immigrants were visible minority Haitians. Note that both these French-speaking immigrants contribute to the French speaking majority in Quebec. For Anglophone respondents the 'valued' immigrants were those from Britain while the 'devalued' ones were visible minority Sikhs from the Punjab in India.

As seen in Figure 3, feelings of threat were generally low on the seven point scale, though the following trends emerged. Compared to the three groups of minority students, Francophone host majority respondents felt more threatened by the presence of *all* outgroups in the province. Notably, Québécois Francophones felt more threatened by the presence of Québécois Anglophones (3.7) than by French immigrants from France (2.1). Anglophone host minority students did not feel threatened by the presence of immigrants in general (1.8), immigrants from Britain (1.5) or Sikhs from India (1.7) but did feel threatened by the presence of the Québécois Francophone majority (4.7). As seen in Figure 3, Francophone and Anglophone immigrants did not feel threatened by immigrants in general (1.9 & 2.5) or by

Québécois Anglophone host minority members (2.1 & 2.5). However, Anglophone immigrants felt more threatened (3.6) than Francophone immigrants (2.7) by the presence of Québécois Francophones.

Taken together, Québécois Anglophones and immigrants of both French and English background share in common their feeling of threat from the dominant majority in Quebec, namely Québécois Francophones. On the symbolic front, it is the case that Anglophones and immigrants remain painfully aware of the former Quebec Prime Minister statement that the sovereignist vote was lost in the 1995 referendum because of 'money and the ethnic vote'. In a follow-up interview in 1997, Jacques Parizeau clearly identified those he blamed for the referendum defeat: the Jews, the Greeks and the Italians, and this despite the fact that 40% of the Québécois francophone majority also voted against separatism in 1995. Subsequent nationalists campaigns blamed immigrants and Anglophones for not speaking French at home and being the cause of the decrease in the proportion of Québécois Francophones on the Island of Montreal through the slogan "Nous perdons Montreal" (We are losing Montreal). Though ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity is high amongst English-speaking communities of Quebec, the feeling of being 'singled out' as part of the problem rather than as part of the solution in the public discourse, contributes to a sense of common fate when issues of language, ethnic and religious identities are made salient by influential segments of the Francophone majority.

Why do Québécois Francophone majority students in our studies feel more threatened by the presence of 'others' than do minority group members such as Québécois Anglophones, Allophones and immigrants of French and English background? It must be recalled that the Québécois nationalist movement has long nurtured feelings of insecurity as regards the position of the French language in Quebec, a security represented as being undermined by the presence of linguistic outgroups such as Quebec Anglophones, English-speaking immigrant and Allophone minorities in the Province. Nationalist movements have a vested interest in nurturing feelings of threat from the presence of 'exogenous' groups as such sentiments reinforce feelings of ingroup solidarity, boost loyalty to the ingroup cause and mobilize action against perceived rival outgroups and enemies. The Quebec nationalist movement nurtures a sense of linguistic insecurity despite the fact that over 93% of the Quebec population declared a knowledge of French in the Canadian census (1991 to 2006) attesting to the success of the Charter of the French language (Bill 101) in establishing French as the only public language of Quebec society. This sense of linguistic insecurity is nurtured

despite the decline in the English mother tongue population of the province from 9.2% in 1991 to 8.2% in 2006. However, nationalists highlight the fact that the French mother tongue population dropped from 82% in 1991 to 80% in 2006, while noting the commensurate rise in proportion of Allophones in the province from 8.8% of the population in 1991 to 11.9% in 2006, an inevitable result of immigration trends in the province. Nationalists also bemoan that Québécois Francophones remain a threatened minority of 23% in Canada and of only 2% in North America.

That Québécois Francophone students also felt threatened by the presence of Francophone immigrants from Haiti shows that feelings of threat can be generalized to any outgroup, even those contributing to the French speaking majority in Quebec. Thus Québécois Francophones can feel threatened by the presence of Haitians because their 'devalued' position is related to another dimension of difference, namely their visible minority status. Other studies have shown that as with other Canadians, Québécois Francophones tend to hold prejudicial attitudes towards outgroups, especially towards visible minorities and Arab Muslim immigrants.

## ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL COHESION

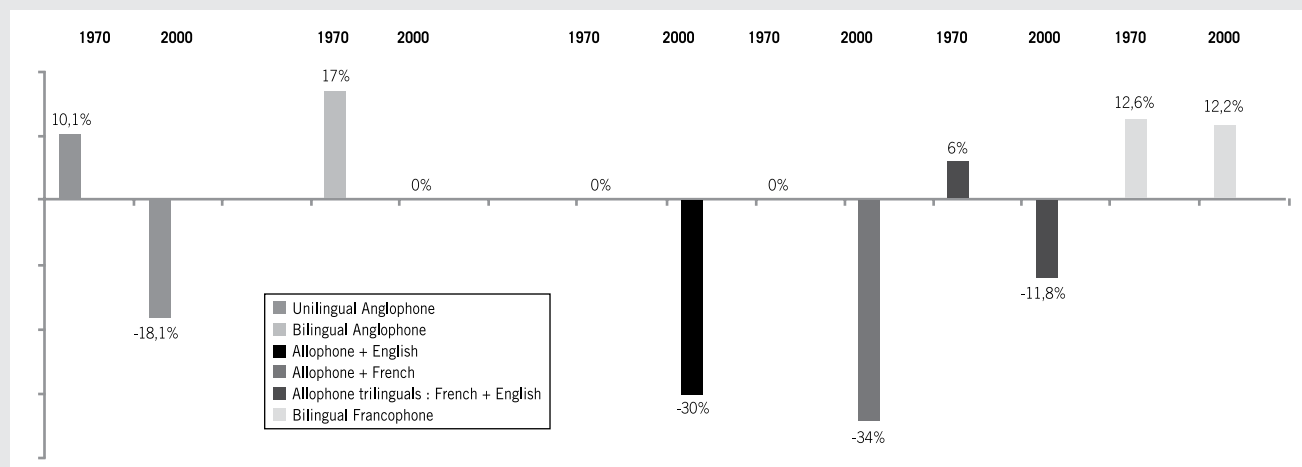
By virtue of their control of the state through the government, the public administration and the economy, dominant host majority members play an important role in the successful economic, linguistic, cultural and political integration of immigrants. Of these interrelated domains of integration it is economic inclusion which

contributes most to the successful integration of immigrants. The economic inclusion of first and second generation immigrants facilitates their linguistic, cultural and political integration thus contributing to the social cohesion of multiethnic societies. Conversely, non recognition of foreign credentials and work experience, chronic underemployment and systemic income disadvantage relative to host majority employees may contribute to mistrust, acculturative stress, frustration, anger, mental and physical breakdown, ethnic separatism, criminality, and the erosion of social cohesion.

What can be said of the economic integration of Allophones and Anglophones depending on their language skills within the Quebec economy? Historically, the election of pro-independence governments, two referendums on Quebec separation, fiscal policies and the *francisation* of the Quebec workplace contributed to the departure of many Anglo-Canadian business firms in the 1970s and 1980s. The resulting outmigration of Anglophones and the cumulative effect of Bill 101 eroded the demographic and institutional vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. However, these same trends can be credited for improving the position of the Francophone majority relative to Anglophone and Allophone minorities in the province.

Analyses of the ownership of the Quebec economy using employment data from the censuses and Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey documented the growth of ownership of Quebec's economy by Francophone firms from 47% in the 1960s to 67% in mid 2000. Such studies also showed a decline in foreign ownership of Quebec's economy by 26 % between 1961 and 2003, while Anglophone Canadian ownership declined by 44% during the

**FIGURE 4. Income differentials of Anglophones and Allophones relative to unilingual Francophones (horizontal line) in Quebec: 1970 vs 2000. (Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt, 2007)**



Controlling for level of education, years of experience in Quebec, number of weeks worked on labour income.



same period. Using census data and controlling for level of education, years of labour market experience and number of weeks worked on labour income, Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt (2007) used the labour income of unilingual Francophone men to calculate the percent advantage of being unilingual or bilingual in the Quebec workforce in 1970 and 2000. The horizontal line in Figure 4 represents the income baseline of unilingual Francophones calculated in 1970 and 2000.

As can be seen in Figure 4, while a unilingual Anglophone had a 10.1% income advantage over a unilingual Francophone in 1970, by 2000 Anglophone unilinguals had an 18.1% income disadvantage relative to unilingual Francophones. While bilingual Anglophones had a 17% income advantage over a unilingual Francophone in 1970, this advantage was reduced to a zero effect by 2000. The income position of Allophone men relative to Francophone unilinguals declined substantially from 1970 to 2000 in Quebec. While English-speaking Allophones (bilinguals) had zero advantage in 1970, they suffered a -30% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. While French-speaking Allophones (bilinguals) contribute to the French speaking majority in Quebec, they gained 0% income advantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 1970, and were suffering a -33.9% income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. Finally, while French-English Allophones enjoyed a 6% income advantage over Francophone unilinguals in 1970, such trilingual Allophones were suffering a -11.8 % income disadvantage relative to Francophone unilinguals in 2000. In contrast, bilingual Québécois Francophones, as members of the Quebec majority, maintained their income advantage over unilingual Francophones: 12.6% in 1970 and 12.2% in 2000. In Commenting on their findings, Vaillancourt and colleagues noted that “The socioeconomic status of francophones in Quebec has increased substantially since 1960, whether one uses as an indicator mean labour income, returns to language skills, or ownership of the Quebec economy. The relative status of francophones within Quebec itself is under no immediate threat, though one might see a relative decline in the socioeconomic status of all Quebec workers in the North American context if policy makers fail to address concerns about productivity issues.” (p. 11)

Given that the goal of the Vaillancourt study sought to document the economic fate of the dominant Francophone majority, little attention was devoted to the negative consequences of income disadvantages suffered by Allophone and Anglophone minorities in the Province. While the Quebec Government is adopting incentives to improve the recognition of foreign job experience and credentials for first and second generation immigrants

and Allophones, autonomous professional corporations resist such measures in the name of quality control for the general population while in fact being more concerned with the protection of their historical corporate membership. Likewise, while cases of systemic income disadvantage experienced by Allophones and visible minority employees should be promptly treated by the Quebec Human Rights Commission, systemic under funding of such institutions by the Government limit the scope and speed of their interventions.

Taken together, results presented in this overview attest to the challenges of better integrating immigrants and Allophones within Quebec's two founding host communities. Allophone and immigrant minorities can be blamed by some for integrating within the Québécois Anglophone host minority while being blamed by others for integrating within the Francophone majority. Multiple identities remain an adaptive option for Allophone and immigrant minorities integrating linguistically within both host communities while maintaining their own cultural and linguistic identities within their transnational globalised networks. However, the income disparities suffered by both bilingual and trilingual Allophone minorities remain a cost to be paid for settling in a divided society whose dominant host majority remains imbued more with the psychology of a besieged minority, than a majority feeling responsible for its vulnerable minorities.

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# DIVERSITY, INTEGRATION AND BELONGING: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR OUR SCHOOLS, OUR COMMUNITY

**David Birnbaum** is the Executive Director of the Quebec English School Boards Association, the public voice of Quebec's nine school boards serving some 110,000 students in 320 schools, vocational and adult education centres across Quebec. He is the former Executive Director of Alliance Quebec, having served in that role for almost a decade. He was also a journalist at The Gazette, Executive Director of Canadian Jewish Congress, Quebec Region, founding director of Quebexpertise—a non-profit consulting service for English-speaking newcomers to Quebec, and former spokesman for the old Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. In his various professional capacities, David has coordinated and participated in meetings with six Quebec Premiers, one Canadian Prime Minister and numerous federal, provincial and municipal leaders. David and his partner, Hélène Charbonneau have two children, Zoë, 16, and Vincent, 12.

## ABSTRACT

Are we English-speaking Quebecers the second of two solitudes or a *partenaire à part entière* in the future of this province? The following essay offers a personal exploration on how Quebec's linguistic minority and, particularly, its school network, is answering that question. In the distinct and evolving context of Quebec and its ever-present concern about the survival and strength of the French language, how is the English-speaking minority finding its place? How is it responding to the demands of diversity in its schools? Is this a source of conflict or hope for our future cohabitation in Quebec? Perhaps, a little of both.

Are we English-speaking Quebecers the second of two solitudes or a *partenaire à part entière* in the future of this province? That existential question—and the spectrum of potential answers to it—perhaps best situates the daily reality of the English-speaking community of Quebec. Hugh MacLennan's classic might be approaching its 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary but there are still vestiges of English and French Quebecers living in parallel and sometimes clashing universes. At the same time, compelling examples abound of a real and inclusive partnership, a full partnership, in our communities, in our schools.

How does this daily dichotomy play out? How do the mutual responses of English- and French-speaking Quebecers to diversity help decide how far we've progressed on this spectrum? I'm pleased to have been invited to offer some general impressions on the matter as it pertains to Quebec's schools, necessarily shaped by my

job experience but offered humbly as purely personal reflections. My credentials for pronouncing on the subject? Gérald Leblanc, a passionate and provocative nationalist commentator who used to write in *La Presse*, once coined a description of the “evil troika” of anglophone Quebec. Its members, according to Leblanc, were Alliance Quebec, The Gazette and the former Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. Leblanc might have added a fourth, the Quebec English School Boards Association, which is the public voice of the nine elected English school boards across the province. I happen to be the only individual to have worked for all three points on this axis of evil. I now serve as Executive Director of the presumptive fourth.

We English-speaking Quebecers can hardly help but be confronted regularly with questions about who we are, how we fit in and where we want to go. Sometimes, there

are comforting answers, sometimes less so. I only offer the above personal background to show that, over the years, I have been lucky enough to get paid to consider the questions and the answers. That doesn't mean I have come up with better ones, just that it's been a little harder for me to ignore the subject!

The editors of this magazine invited contributing writers to think about English-speaking Quebec and “**diversity**”, “**integration**” and “**belonging**”. Those subjects are probably tougher to evaluate than reading, writing and ‘rithmetic but they are important measures of our progress and our place here...of the future health and vitality of our English school network and our English-speaking community across Quebec.

First, our collective response to **diversity**, I think, says something important about who we are as a community; second, our ability to **integrate** into Quebec's francophone majority will surely help determine our future health and vitality; third, our joint sense of **belonging** should give us a credible reading on our continued level of interest in actually being a *partenaire à part entière* in Quebec's future.

Diversity: Quebec's English public school network brings together a dispersed and varied population of some 110,000 students. It is a portrait of diversity. In fact, the primary shared characteristic of our students is probably a government-issued certificate of eligibility to English schooling. Other than that, our students come from many cultures, speak English but often another language—increasingly French—at home and generally flout any remaining Quebec stereotypes about WASPS, wealth and privilege. About three-quarters of them live in Montreal and surrounding communities, where they and their families participate in a daily melding of nationalities and practices. It has always been thus, even more so for the generations of students who preceded the adoption of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) in 1977.

There were over a quarter-million students in English schools then, when no certificate of eligibility was required and many newcomers to Quebec chose English schooling for their children. That has all changed now but the general practice of embracing diversity as a defining characteristic of our English school system has not. As Quebec has evolved, its English-speaking community has been bound by an elastic and largely unstated self-description. That stands us in contrast to our francophone *concitoyens*, whose penchant for self-assessment and analysis seems to know no bounds. We can understand it but our own daily diet doesn't depend upon those kinds of calories.

Our schools, students and staff have no particular immunity to intolerance, no antidote for prejudice or jealousy. Human nature includes those unfortunate

tendencies, and they have had their ample place in Quebec's reasonable accommodation debate. There is a key difference, however: for us non-francophone Quebecers, it is so much easier to look at the concept of diversity as a positive challenge rather than a potential threat. The English language is not in any danger; the French language is, or is, at least, often seen to be. Some of us English-speaking Quebecers are more acutely affected by and aware of our status as a minority in Quebec. Others negotiate their lives in school and beyond without much thought paid to the demo-linguistic dance that is always centre-stage in Quebec. Either way, what does collectively distinguish us from Quebec's francophone majority is that we are largely spectators in the tug of war that is often portrayed as pitting shared Quebec values and traditions against those expressed by its increasing cultural diversity. While most of us understand and empathize with the preoccupation of protecting the French language and culture in Quebec, let's face it, a visceral connection to that cause doesn't really occur unless one is, in fact, French-speaking.

The often-messy psychodrama over reasonable accommodation is not really our fight. Sure, there have been points of friction in English schools about who gets off for which religious holidays, positions staked out on the wearing of the kirpan in school, or requested exemptions from co-ed gym classes. But, for English-speaking Quebecers, those points don't get sharpened into battles between defending Quebec's common French language and granting accommodations for cultural and religious particularities. Generally, the conflicts get settled in English schools, through voluntary and mutual adjustments, negotiated by school principals and parents, staff and students.

The Courts have provided some jurisprudence and successive governments have drawn up guidelines and protocols. In the end, our schools have found ways to adapt. Yes, addressing diversity can be a challenge, but one that fits into the English-speaking Quebec reality without calling its core into question. The diversity is part of that core, not in opposition to it.

I would suggest that this different perspective colors our distinct approach to issues of diversity, which are inevitably shaded with layers of political and social meaning in Quebec. Two recent examples: Quebec's *Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sports* published a regulation last winter proposing to allow some widened flexibility in the scheduling of the school day. Clumsily, the Minister initially neglected to note publicly that this change was at least partly instigated by a need to render legal the operation of a small number of Hasidic Jewish private schools, the change allowing them to add school hours on Sunday to complete the prescribed Quebec

curriculum. The entirely predictable reaction: collective outrage in French Quebec about an “accomodement déraisonnable”—and general bemusement in English-speaking Quebec. For most in our community who looked a little closer, this solution seemed a fairly reasonable, if poorly-choreographed compromise.

The second example offers a reminder, I think, that our community’s home address is right here and that is where we want it to be. We are not just anglo-Canadians who happen to live in the province: When Vancouver’s Olympics open with an otherwise majestic ceremony that gives a back-of-the-hand to Quebec and French Canada, the English-speaking Quebecers I know are angry, insulted and disappointed. It’s a missed opportunity to show that Quebec belongs. On this point, we are in full solidarity with French Quebec. While I can’t offer any empirical evidence in these two examples, I do think they paint a picture of our community’s collective approach to diversity in the Quebec context.

**Integration.** Studies persistently show our English-speaking minority, particularly our children, making exponential progress. Growing numbers of English students are writing and succeeding on French mother-tongue exams at the end of high school. Preparing our kids for a future in Quebec is at the heart of every English school board’s mission statement. While it is an impediment to the future health of an English school

network in Quebec, some 13,000 students who are eligible for English schooling are now registered in French schools. The minority-language community of Quebec has learned the drill: mastering French is not an advantage, it’s simply essential.

**Belonging.** It’s not a perfect equation but when the volume of sovereignist rhetoric goes up, the collective comfort level of English-speaking Quebecers goes down. Polls and anecdotes about our intentions continue to indicate that up to a third of us suggest we won’t be in Quebec in five years. Actions speak louder, of course, and the numbers leaving never come close to matching those intentions. Still, a headline about an anglo merchant visited by a language inspector with a measuring tape, a trial balloon about barring English CEGEPs to new Quebecers... and the delicate balance between belonging and ambivalence becomes once again more uncertain.

Ultimately, that uncertainty is entirely tolerable. Most of us would probably say it’s just part of the contract if you live here. Like horns honking in New York, fog hanging in London, it can be irritating but uncertainty is hardly life-threatening. We’ve all heard that intolerant epithet thrown at minorities of any color, religion or language: “If you don’t like it here, why don’t you go somewhere else!” The fact is, most of us could. But, we don’t want to.

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