

# **The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival**

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## Preface

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*« La démocratie ce n'est pas la dictature de la majorité, c'est le respect des minorités »*

Albert Camus

The goal of this book is to provide a current portrait of the group vitality of the English-speaking Communities of Quebec. The enduring stereotype about the Anglophones of Quebec is that it is a pampered minority whose economic clout is such that federal or provincial support for the maintenance and development of its institutions is hardly necessary. This view of the privileged status of Quebec Anglos is widely held not only by the Francophone majority of Quebec but also by many leaders of Francophone communities across Canada. On the few occasions that Anglophones in the rest of Canada (ROC) spare a thought to the Anglophones of Quebec, either this idealised view of the community prevails, or they are portrayed as residents of a linguistic gulag whose rights are trampled on a regular and ongoing basis.

We cannot blame Francophone minorities outside Quebec for envying the institutional support and demographic vitality of the Anglophone minority of Quebec. Why should Francophone minorities outside Quebec feel they have to share precious federal resources with Quebec Anglophones who are doing so much better than themselves on the institutional support front? The first obvious response is that government support for official language minorities is not a zero-sum game and that evidence based needs should be sufficient to justify the maintenance and development of both Francophone and Anglophone communities in Canada and Quebec. The second complementary response is that the institutional support achieved by the Anglophones of Quebec during the last two centuries can be used as a benchmark goal for the further development of Francophone minorities across Canada. The combined efforts to maintain and develop the vitality of the Francophone communities outside Quebec and of the Anglophone minority within Quebec, contribute to the linguistic and cultural diversity of Canadian and Québécois societies.

But what is the current vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec? Taken together, the chapters in this book tell a sobering story about the decline of this historical national minority in Quebec. On the status, demographic and institutional support fronts, Quebec Anglophones are declining, especially in the regions of the province but also in the greater Montreal region. Though much of the chapters are devoted to documenting the ups and down of this decline, some effort is made in each chapter to propose options and strategies to improve and revive the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec. We hope this book, along with past and future ones, will be used by Quebec Anglophones as a tool to develop their community vitality in the present and for the sake of future generations. It is also hoped that this book will inspire Quebec decision makers to pay more attention to the vitality needs of Quebec Anglophones, a minority community who contributed so much to the social, cultural and economic development of Quebec society.

Finally, a word of thanks is owed to all those who made this book possible. The editor and chapter contributors wish to thank in particular the following: the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM), the Quebec Community Group's Network (QCGN), the Department of Canadian Heritage, and the dedicated staff of the Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CEETUM) at the Université de Montréal.

# EMERGING TRENDS IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF ENGLISH SPEAKING QUEBEC : THOSE WHO LEFT AND THOSE WHO STAYED

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*“The ultimate goal of the Charter of the French language was to insure that more and more Francophones seize power in business, that they become the directors and CEOs, and that the Québécois economy be at last controlled by them.” Camille Laurin, 1998<sup>2</sup>*

## I. Introduction

Canadian research studying the socio-economic status of Quebec citizens from the years of Quebec’s Quiet Revolution until today has been largely preoccupied with the status of its French-speaking majority. Less attention has been given to the impact of this shift in status upon Quebec Anglophones, those citizens who are identified, and identify themselves, with the language minority communities who co-exist alongside the Francophone majority and are profoundly affected by the social policy and public institutions designed largely on its behalf. This chapter considers trends in the socio-economic stratification of the Quebec population with a focus on changes in the situation of its English-speaking minority communities across the province. The beginning of this research trajectory is located with such classics as the Milners’ study in the 1970s which examines income disparities and concludes that: “the French Canadian within Quebec is greatly disadvantaged”. Low levels

of education, underemployment and the tendency to be employed in low-paying industries were characteristics which, during that era, were more present among Francophones when compared to Anglophones, thereby rendering them “an oppressed majority” (Milner and Milner, 1973: 67).

This is followed by the literature of the 1980s and early 1990s where the rise of a French-speaking middle class and the concomitant increased control of Quebec’s economy and public institutions by this group is well documented (Fournier, 1984; Renaud, 1984; Shapiro & Stelcner, 1987). For example, looking at the trend from 1970 to 1980, Shapiro and Stelcner were able to confirm that the earnings disparities between Quebec Anglophones and Francophones had been “substantially reduced, if not eliminated, over the decade” (Shapiro & Stelcner, 1987: 98). This change is attributed, at

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<sup>1</sup> The views expressed here are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the Department of Canadian Heritage.

<sup>2</sup> Comment by Camille Laurin, the architect of Bill 101, interviewed in December 1998, a year before his death. The original quote in French read: « Le but ultime de la Charte de la langue française, c’était que de plus en plus de francophones prennent le pouvoir dans les entreprises, qu’ils en deviennent les cadres et les dirigeants, et que l’économie québécoise soit enfin contrôlée par eux ». (Picard, 2003, p. 247-248)

least in part, to language legislation interventions, such as the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) adopted in 1977 as the first legislative act of the newly elected Parti Québécois government (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 1984, 2001; Corbeil, 2007).

As seen in the Camille Laurin citation offered at the beginning of this chapter, Bill 101 was in part designed to respond to language-based economic disparity by increasing the use of French in commerce, business and the professions, and as a long term consequence, improve the socio-economic position of the Francophone majority in the province. These provisions are likely to have played a role in the increased demand for French speakers and the recruitment of Francophones into high-wage occupations. An interesting case in point is the much cited expansion of the state bureaucratic apparatus during Quebec's modernization and the high number of French speakers who were recruited to fill new positions when compared to non-Francophones. Between 1960 and 1971 the number of people employed in Quebec's public and para-public sectors increased from 36,000 to 350,000, thus increasing government employees from 2% to 15% of the total labour force in the province (Renaud, 1984:151).

As early as the mid 1990s a Quebec government commission mandated to assess the position of French in Quebec arrived at the following conclusion concerning the improved position of Francophones in the provincial economy:

*“The sociolinguistic situation of Francophone workers in the early 1970s was largely corrected by the adoption*

*of Bill 101 in 1977, a language law viewed by its authors as a measure to restore “social justice”, though other factors in Quebec also contributed to this correction. Income disparities suffered by Francophones have been reduced from 16% to 3%. French mother tongue speakers are taking their rightful place in the provincial labour market. We can no longer pretend that the labour market is structured such that French predominates at the bottom of the ladder, that bilingualism prevails in the middle ranks, and that English dominates at the top” (Quebec, 1996, p 70-71). Free translation<sup>3</sup>.*

Most recently, reports like that of the Commission des États généraux (Quebec, 2001) observe the improved state of the French language and French speakers across Quebec. A recent study for the C.D Howe Institute provides ample evidence of the reversal of the economic inequalities that have long been a central issue in the language conflict in Quebec and Canada (Vaillancourt, Lemay & Vaillancourt, 2007). Today, evidence tells us that in forty years the tables have been turned and French-speaking citizens are now an advantaged majority within Quebec with respect to level of income, employability and decision-making power within its institutions (Vaillancourt & Vaillancourt, 2005). It may be concluded that Camille Laurin, as the father of Bill 101, achieved his goal of empowering the Québécois as the dominant majority of the province. It follows from this that the time, now overdue, has come to shift from a preoccupation with strategies for “empowering the majority” to consideration of the “quality of the power” the Francophone majority exercises, and seeks to exercise, as the result of its political and economic success.

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<sup>3</sup> Original citation in French : “On voit que la situation dans laquelle se trouvaient les travailleurs francophones au début des années 1970, qui avait amené les auteurs de l'énoncé de politique de 1977 (loi 101) à en faire une « question de justice sociale » a été largement corrigée, ce qui peut être attribué aussi à d'autres facteurs que la Charte. Les disparités salariales défavorables aux francophones ont été réduites de 16% à 3%. Les travailleurs de langue maternelle française occupent de plus en plus leur place sur le marché du travail. Et on ne peut plus prétendre que celui-ci est structuré de sorte que le français domine au bas de l'échelle, que le bilinguisme s'impose au palier moyen et que l'anglais domine au faite de l'échelle » (Quebec, 1996, p. 70-71).

The portrait of Quebec's English-speaking communities provided in this chapter should facilitate dialogue regarding the place of linguistic and cultural minorities within Quebec society, now that Francophones have asserted themselves as the dominant majority in the province. In line with the political values and norms that prevail in Western societies, dominant majorities must also consider the rightful place of their minorities in all spheres of society including employment and promotion in private business and public administration. Change in the established social hierarchy brings about the need to think through the new limits and possibilities that restructuring entails for both the dominant majority and its linguistic and cultural minorities. In his insightful essay, Raymond Breton foresaw that the eventual achievement of majority status by Quebec Francophones would require redefining its collective identity in such a way "as to incorporate the people of non-French origins who are legally members of the polity" (Breton, 1988: 98). While as a subordinated majority, organizing its collective identity around the French language and culture was an effective means of mobilization for national empowerment, Breton predicted that Francophones as an arrived dominant majority could "run into serious problems of legitimacy and loyalty unless it permits and supports full participation of minorities in its economy and polity and does not make them feel alien, as not having the 'right stuff', as second class citizens" (Breton, 1988:98).

Some ten years later, Salée observed that the impression held by non-Francophones and new Quebecers is that "they are strangers in their own house". In his words, "They are invited to partake in la nation Québécoise but according to terms and parameters upon which they have little or no control. They can be in the nation, if they wish; somehow, they will never really be of the nation" (Salée, 1977: 9). For some forty years our focus has been on the struggle of Quebec's majority to become maître chez eux. The time has come for the master to consider the situation of those who,

in the course of the struggle, have been cast into the role of strangers in a house to which they have a rightful claim as citizens. In this chapter, we examine the persistent perception of Quebec's Anglophone communities as a privileged elite minority enjoying superior socio-economic status when compared with the Francophone majority of Quebec. Current evidence suggests this portrait is increasingly out-of-step with the lived realities of Quebec's minority-language population.

The chapter examines the inter-regional dimensions of socio-economic status and the selective nature of Anglophone out-migration over the past generation, which has contributed to a bi-modal population profile of the Quebec Anglophone group which is over-represented at both the lower and upper ends of the socio-economic spectrum. The chapter will consider the emergence of a growing under-class in the Anglophone population which is noticeably characterized by a sizable visible minority, immigrant group in urban settings. In rural settings this Anglophone underclass emerges as a somewhat marginalized, "left-behind" community.

The analyses presented in this chapter are drawn from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Canadian Census, considering variables such as age, language, education levels, labour force participation, and income. The analyses are also based on the participation of Anglophones in various industries, occupational groups and in the Quebec public administration.

## **2. Socio-economic characteristics of Quebec Anglophones**

For the purpose of this chapter on the relative economic position of Quebec Anglophones, we consider selective comparisons between four language collectivities in Canada: the two majority collectivities are made-up of Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones living outside Quebec in the rest of Canada (ROC); while minority

communities are Francophones living in the rest of Canada (ROC) and Anglophones living in Quebec.

Socio-economic status is generally measured in terms of income and labour force participation which in turn are understood to be heavily influenced by educational status. An examination of the relative socio-economic status of Quebec Anglophones quickly reveals a puzzling phenomenon. On the one hand, Quebec Anglophones exhibit a higher tendency to be at the upper end of the educational spectrum: they are 17% more likely than other Canadians to hold a post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree. They also have the lowest tendency to be without a high school graduate certificate: 14% less likely when compared to the Canadian national average. However, it is the Quebec Anglophones who show the highest level of unemployment among Canada's four language collectivities. In the section that follows, we will seek to explain this phenomenon

by examining the generational and regional dimensions of socio-economic status.

## 2.1 The unemployment rate of Quebec Anglophones.

According to the 2001 Census, Quebec Anglophones experienced the highest level of unemployment among Canada's official language collectivities, at 9.4% compared to the national average of 7.4% for all Canadians and 8.0% for Francophone Quebecers. Quebec Anglophones were also more likely than other Canadians to be out of the labour force so there is evidence of a double gap in terms of labour force participation. Using the Relative to National Index, (rni), which compares the characteristic of a given population with that found in the entire Canadian population, we find that the rni for unemployment among Quebec Anglophones was 1.12 in 2001, which means that their unemployment rate was 12% higher than the Canadian national average in relative terms.

Table 1: Quebec Anglophone Unemployment Rate in percentage (%), by Region and Age Cohorts

Unemployment Rate of Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities Shown as a percentage (%) by Age Group, for Administrative Regions, Quebec, 2001 Census					
Region	Total Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie - Îles-de-la-Madeleine	29.2%	35.9%	30.5%	27.7%	0.0%
Bas-Saint-Laurent	20.0%	18.2%	20.3%	15.9%	0.0%
Capitale-Nationale (Quebec City)	7.6%	16.4%	6.5%	6.6%	7.7%
Chaudière – Appalaches	7.1%	21.9%	4.4%	3.8%	25.0%
Estrie	8.1%	16.9%	6.0%	7.3%	5.3%
Centre-du-Québec	6.1%	16.3%	5.4%	2.8%	100.0%
Montréal	7.6%	13.9%	7.6%	5.3%	5.8%
Montréal	9.6%	14.4%	9.6%	7.6%	4.8%
Laval	7.3%	10.3%	6.3%	7.7%	7.0%
Lanaudière	8.7%	18.7%	9.0%	5.0%	18.2%
Laurentides	9.2%	16.3%	8.5%	7.7%	3.2%
Outaouais	7.9%	14.6%	7.1%	5.6%	11.6%
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	15.1%	29.2%	11.5%	16.4%	0.0%
Mauricie	11.1%	15.7%	15.2%	5.8%	0.0%
Saguenay - Lac-Saint-Jean	17.1%	23.5%	17.0%	17.8%	0.0%
Côte-Nord	30.9%	40.9%	32.2%	26.5%	66.7%
Nord-du-Québec	16.6%	27.4%	16.3%	9.0%	0.0%
Total Quebec Province	9.4%	14.9%	9.3%	7.4%	5.6%

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

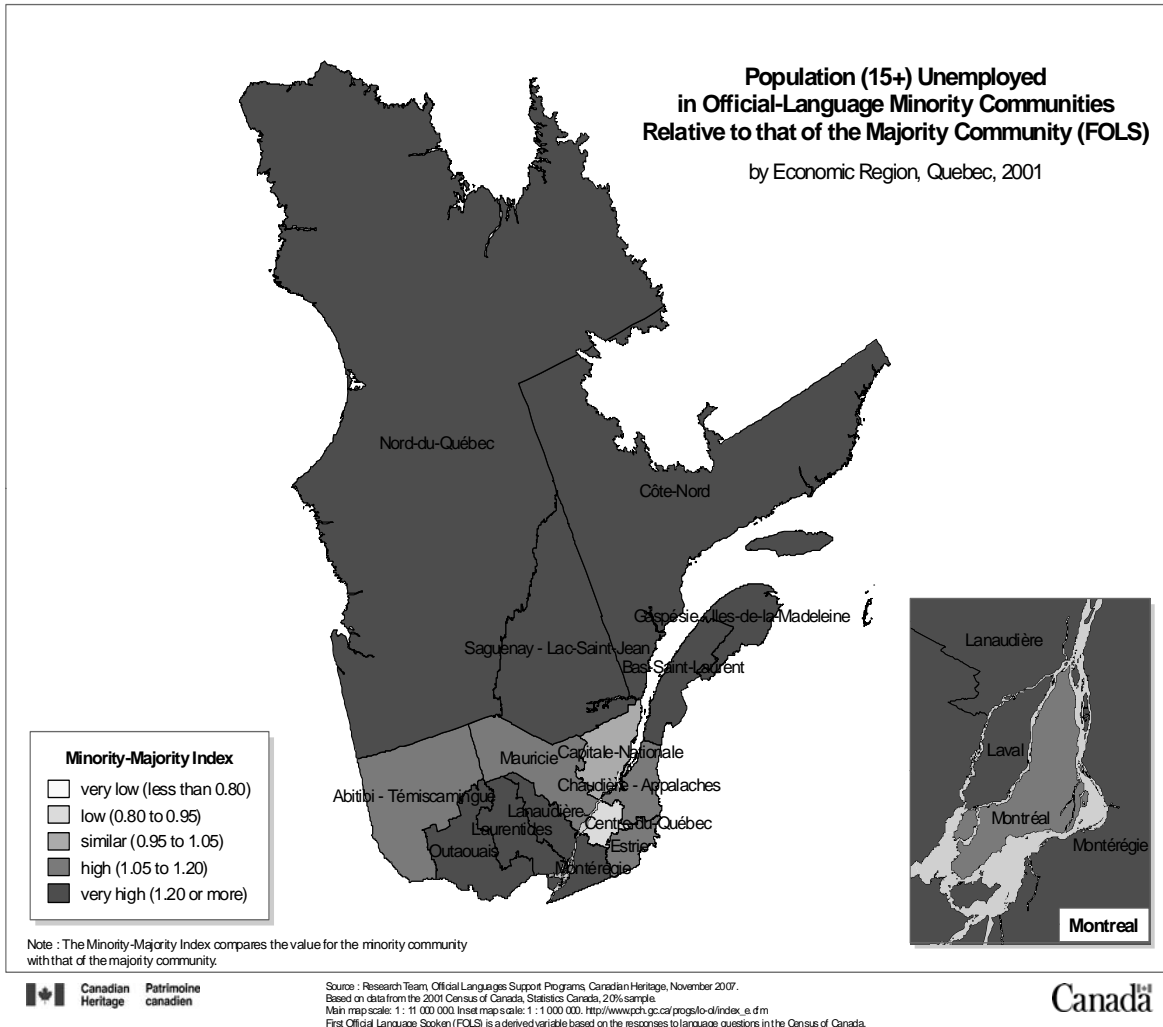
Notes: Anglophone: Language definition is English first official language spoken (fols) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Closer analysis of census data also reveals important regional differences in the tendency of Quebec Anglophones to participate in the labour force. As Table 1 illustrates, in seven of seventeen administrative regions we find double digit unemployment among Anglophone regional communities, while in three of those we find unemployment rates in excess of 20% (Côte-Nord, Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Bas-Saint-Laurent).



As Map 1 and Table 2 demonstrate, although region matters, unemployment rates are not simply explained by regional factors. In the accompanying map, the unemployment rate is expressed as a minority-majority index which compares the rate for the minority Anglophone community to that of the majority Francophone community across

Anglophone minority group than for the Francophone majority in most regions across Quebec. Note that the mmi is the minority-majority index which compares a characteristic of the minority with the majority with whom it shares a territory. In our case in this chapter, we usually compare the fate of the Anglophone minority in



generations in the regional Quebec communities. Most areas on the map show substantially higher rates of unemployment (greater than 20% in relative terms) in the minority Anglophone group than in the majority Francophone group.

As seen in Map 1, we find that the unemployment rate in 2001 is higher in the

Quebec with that of the Francophone majority in the province. As seen in Table 2, the minority-majority gap in unemployment rates is particularly high for Anglophone populations in Côte-Nord (mmi=2.09), Bas-Saint-Laurent (1.51), Laval (mmi=1.38), Laurentides (mmi=1.35) and the Outaouais (mmi=1.33). However note that in Centre-du-Québec, the unemployment rate is

Table 2: Quebec Anglophone unemployment rate by Region and Age cohorts: Minority-Majority Index

Unemployment Rate of Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities shown as a Minority-Majority Index by Age Group, for Administrative Regions, Quebec, 2001 Census					
Region	Total Pop 15+	5-24	5-44	5-64	65+
Gaspésie - Iles-de-la-Madeleine	1.34	.17	.55	.24	0.00
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.51	.99	.78	.17	0.00
Capitale-Nationale (Quebec city)	1.00	.26	.99	.02	0.72
Chaudière – Appalaches	1.18	.49	.87	.63	2.57
Estrie	1.19	.40	.09	.27	0.60
Centre-du-Québec	0.85	.45	.88	.43	15.06
Montérégie	1.29	.30	.52	.08	0.70
Montréal	1.06	.14	.08	.06	0.57
Laval	1.38	.97	.54	.72	0.81
Lanaudière	1.29	.65	.56	.83	2.33
Laurentides	1.35	.53	.46	.16	0.53
Outaouais	1.33	.36	.46	.10	1.32
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	1.08	.33	.91	.31	0.00
Mauricie	1.10	.88	.73	.66	0.00
Saguenay - Lac-Saint-Jean	1.25	.98	.38	.71	0.00
Côte-Nord	2.09	.56	.48	.04	3.46
Nord-du-Québec	1.23	.31	.34	.73	#DIV/0!
Total Quebec Province	1.17	.15	.30	.06	0.61
Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.					
Notes: Anglophone: Language definition: English is first official language spoken (fols) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.					

lower for Anglophones than for Francophones, while in the Capitale-Nationale (Quebec City), the rate is the same for both linguistic groups.

When the age cohorts of Anglophones are examined in Table 2, it becomes clear that the unemployment gap is greater among the younger cohorts than for the older groups. The minority-majority index or mmi = 1.15 for the 15-24 years

group and mmi = 1.30 for those aged 25-44). In eleven of seventeen administrative regions we find an mmi greater than 1.30 for the 25-44 cohort which is essentially the younger half of the Anglophone working population, which does not bode well for the economic prospects of the English-speaking minority in the province.

Table 3a: Quebec Anglophones out of the Labour Force in percentage (%), by Region and Age Cohorts

Out of Labour Force Rate of Quebec Anglophone Regional Communities Shown as a percentage (%) by Age Group, for Administrative Regions, Quebec, 2001 Census					
Region	Total Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Gaspésie - Îles-de-la-Madeleine	38.1%	34.8%	16.1%	38.0%	96.5%
Bas-Saint-Laurent	52.9%	60.5%	27.7%	44.4%	95.9%
Capitale-Nationale (Quebec city)	41.5%	25.0%	25.7%	42.6%	85.2%
Chaudière – Appalaches	37.3%	44.4%	16.9%	28.2%	92.6%
Estrie	28.8%	28.8%	8.3%	30.7%	87.7%
Centre-du-Québec	44.4%	47.4%	18.1%	34.6%	91.6%
Montréal	39.8%	36.1%	20.9%	36.0%	93.5%
Montréal	38.0%	44.2%	16.4%	30.8%	91.5%
Laval	36.6%	44.1%	19.1%	27.7%	88.6%
Lanaudière	31.4%	37.8%	13.9%	27.4%	90.0%
Laurentides	40.4%	44.6%	17.8%	35.5%	96.9%
Outaouais	40.7%	42.9%	17.1%	32.0%	90.5%
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	32.9%	37.1%	14.7%	30.5%	89.6%
Mauricie	43.7%	59.4%	19.4%	38.8%	91.7%
Saguenay - Lac-Saint-Jean	51.1%	58.3%	24.7%	45.2%	96.0%
Côte-Nord	44.7%	49.2%	29.5%	37.8%	91.2%
Nord-du-Québec	39.6%	58.4%	16.3%	37.0%	96.5%
Total: Quebec Province	37.0%	44.1%	18.3%	29.3%	89.7%

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

Notes: Anglophone: Language definition: English is first official language spoken (fols) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

## 2.2 Anglophones who are out of the labour force.

As can be seen in the bottom row of Table 3a, more than one-third (37%) of Quebec Anglophones aged 15 and over were out of the labour force in 2001. In some regions of the province over half the Quebec Anglophone population aged 15 and over was out of the work force in 2001: this was the case in the Bas Saint-Laurent (52.9%) and in the Saguenay Lac Saint-Jean region (51.1%). As regards Anglophones in the younger working age population (age 25-44), over a quarter were out of the labour force in Côte-Nord (29.5%), Bas Saint-Laurent (27.7%) and even in Quebec City (25.7%), the provincial capital and hub of the Quebec Public Administration, the biggest employer in the Province.

Table 3b: Quebec Anglophones out of the Labour Force, by Region and Age Cohorts, Shown as a Minority-Majority Index

Out of the Labour Force of Quebec Anglophone Regional communities Shown as a Minority- Majority Index by Age Group, by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001 Census					
Region	Total Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Total: Quebec Province	1.05	1.17	1.38	0.90	0.95
Gaspésie - Îles-de-la-Madeleine	1.16	1.01	1.42	1.11	0.99
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.01	0.54	1.67	1.17	0.89
Capitale-Nationale (Quebec City)	1.03	1.20	1.42	0.84	0.97
Chaudière – Appalaches	0.84	0.78	0.77	0.99	0.93
Estrie	1.28	1.36	1.57	1.09	0.98
Centre-du-Québec	1.12	0.99	1.73	1.11	0.99
Montréal	1.19	1.30	1.44	1.04	0.97
Montréal	1.01	1.23	1.29	0.89	0.95
Laval	0.96	1.12	1.33	0.95	0.96
Lanaudière	1.18	1.16	1.30	1.05	1.02
Laurentides	1.25	1.23	1.37	0.97	0.97
Outaouais	1.05	1.15	1.27	0.93	0.95
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	1.13	1.28	1.16	1.07	0.96
Mauricie	1.21	1.33	1.54	1.18	1.00
Saguenay - Lac-Saint-Jean	1.09	1.06	1.68	0.97	0.95
Côte-Nord	1.05	1.17	0.93	1.05	1.02
Nord-du-Québec	1.14	1.13	1.68	0.92	0.91

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

Notes: Anglophone: Language definition: English is first official language spoken (fols) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

A closer examination of the “out of the labour force” data across generations does reveal some troubling indications for the Quebec Anglophone minority. Table 3b shows that the younger half of the Anglophone working population (persons aged 25-44) were 38% more likely than their Francophone counterparts to be out of the labour force in the province as a whole (mmi = 1.38). On a regional basis, Anglophones aged 25-44 were most likely to be out of the labour force compared to the Francophone majority in the following regions: Centre-du-Québec (mmi=1.73), Saguenay – Lac Saint-Jean (mmi = 1.68), Nord-du-Québec (mmi= 1.68), Bas Saint-Laurent (mmi= 1.67), Estrie (mmi = 1.57) and Gaspésie - Îles-de-la-Madeleine (mmi=1.42). This

younger Anglophone working age population was also more likely to be out of the work force than Francophones even in city regions such as Montreal (mmi= 1.29) and Laval (mmi= 1.33). Anglophones in this work cohort were less likely to be out of the labour force than Francophones in only one of the seventeen regions of Quebec, namely Chaudière-Appalache (mmi= 0.77). As seen in Table 3b, Quebec Anglophones in the 45-65 age cohort were more likely to be out of the labour force than Francophones in all seventeen regions of the Province. Clearly the out of work force profile of Quebec Anglophones is precarious in all regions of the province including the city regions of Montreal and Laval.

### 2.3 The income of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec.

The relative earnings of Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec has garnered much interest in both academic and political circles, especially since the disadvantaged socio-economic status of Francophones in Canada was brought to public attention, most notably in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Bilingualism in the 1960s (Laurendeau-Dunton Commission). For the most part, analyses of income and language groups have focused on the average wages of workers, with many focusing on the wages of male workers (Vaillancourt, 1992; Vaillancourt & Touchette, 2001).

The choice of mean income versus median income as the income indicator has an important influence on the relative income situation of language groups. According to the 2001 census, the mean income of Quebec Anglophones was \$32,518, which is significantly higher than the \$29,140 reported by Quebec Francophones<sup>4</sup>. However, when we examine the median, the mid-point income where half the population earns more and half earns less, we find that the

Anglophone minority have a slightly lower median income (\$20,612) than that of their Quebec Francophone counterparts (\$20,924). Although both mean and median income have their place in the analysis of socio-economic status, another way of looking at the data is to consider the income strata in which members of a particular linguistic collectivity are located. This approach is useful in understanding the status of a community since it reveals the proportion of persons in various income slices.

As can be seen in Figure 1, when compared to their Francophone counterparts through a minority-majority index, Quebec Anglophones are substantially over-represented in the highest income grouping (\$75k plus), but are also over-represented at the lower end of the income spectrum, being 10% more likely to be “without income”. The Anglophone minority are also more likely to have low incomes relative to the Francophone majority: they are 17% more likely to have earned under \$2k, 10% more likely to be in the \$2-5k range and 7% more likely to be in the \$5-7k range. While the classic stereotype of the rich Anglophone is supported by their over-representation in the + \$75k income group, this pattern is also undermined by the observation that just 6% (42,758 individuals) of the Anglophone group enjoys that high income status, while 25% of Quebec Anglophones earned less than \$7k in 2001 (181,100 individuals).

As Table 4 illustrates, the tendency to be without income is not constant when comparing Anglophones to Francophones across generations or between regions. For Quebec as a whole, older Anglophones (45-64 and 65+) are 10% less likely than their Francophone peers to be without income (mmi .90). However, the Anglophone younger cohorts, particularly the 25-44 cohort, are more likely to be without income relative to

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<sup>4</sup> Figures reported for median income are for FOLS single responses (either English or French) as persons with dual English-French FOLS not apportioned to the English FOLS and French FOLS groups as is normally done due to the nature of the data available. Given that the median and average income figures for the dual English/French FOLS group are lower (\$17,241 and \$24,821 respectively), the relative position of the English FOLS group would be reduced relative to its French FOLS counterpart.

Figure 1 – Quebec Anglophone Population by Income Groups, Minority-Majority Index

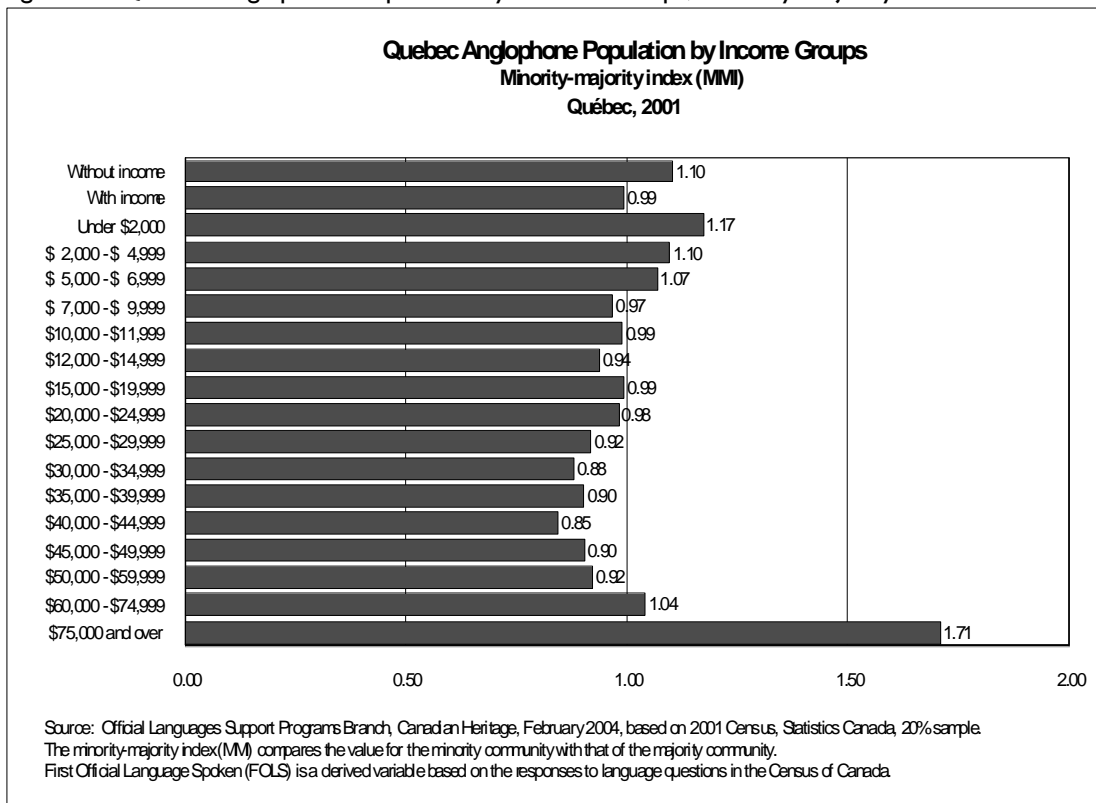


Table 4: Quebec Anglophones without income by region shown as Minority-Majority Index

Quebec Anglophone Communities Without Income					
Shown as a Minority- Majority Index					
by Age Group, by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001 Census					
Region	Total Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Total: Quebec Province	1.10	1.10	2.29	0.90	0.90
Gaspésie - Îles-de-la-Madeleine	1.13	1.12	0.42	1.16	n.d.
Bas-Saint-Laurent	0.52	0.00	0.00	0.69	0.00
Capitale-Nationale (Quebec City)	1.11	1.23	2.09	1.14	0.00
Chaudière – Appalaches	0.59	0.94	1.40	0.13	0.00
Estrie	1.20	1.38	2.64	1.12	0.00
Centre-du-Québec	0.94	1.16	2.52	1.87	0.00
Montérégie	1.28	1.31	2.29	1.13	0.56
Montréal	1.26	1.20	1.62	1.18	1.13
Laval	1.15	1.17	1.69	1.05	0.00
Lanaudière	1.06	1.24	1.32	1.37	0.00
Laurentides	1.16	1.27	2.20	0.97	0.00
Outaouais	1.09	1.13	1.56	0.89	1.48
Abitibi – Témiscamingue	0.89	1.19	0.46	0.65	n.d.
Mauricie	1.38	1.63	3.34	1.73	0.00
Saguenay - Lac-Saint-Jean	1.32	1.32	6.79	1.34	0.00
Côte-Nord	1.05	1.29	0.33	0.92	0.00
Nord-du-Québec	0.79	0.81	0.69	0.27	0.00

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

Notes: Anglophone: Language definition is English first official language spoken (fols) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Table 5: Quebec Anglophones with Low Income (< \$20K) shown as Minority-Majority Index

Quebec Anglophone Minority Communities With Low Income (<\$20K)					
Shown as a Minority- Majority Index					
by Age Group, by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001 Census					
Region	Total Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Total: Quebec Province	1.02	0.99	1.16	1.04	0.82
Gaspésie - Îles-de-la-Madeleine	1.08	0.94	1.25	1.12	0.90
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.16	1.20	1.23	1.32	0.87
Capitale-Nationale (Quebec City)	0.96	0.97	1.15	0.96	0.81
Chaudière – Appalaches	0.89	1.14	0.89	0.93	0.85
Estrie	1.11	0.95	1.26	1.26	0.86
Centre-du-Québec	1.07	1.12	1.22	1.12	0.98
Montréal	0.99	0.99	1.12	1.00	0.83
Laval	1.12	0.98	1.23	1.35	1.03
Lanaudière	0.99	0.91	1.08	0.90	1.01
Laurentides	1.04	0.98	1.12	1.01	0.85
Outaouais	1.07	0.99	1.23	1.10	0.90
Abitibi –Témiscamingue	1.05	0.98	1.12	1.21	0.82
Mauricie	0.86	0.87	1.16	0.81	0.62
Saguenay - Lac-Saint-Jean	0.95	0.74	1.15	0.92	0.81
Côte-Nord	1.16	0.91	1.21	1.28	1.16
Nord-du-Québec	1.25	1.11	1.38	1.21	1.01

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

Notes: Anglophone: Language definition is English first official language spoken (fols) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Table 6: Quebec Anglophones with High Income (>\$50K) shown as Minority-Majority Index

Quebec Anglophone Communities With High Income (>\$50K)					
Shown as a Minority Majority Index					
by Age Group, by Administrative Region, Quebec, 2001					
Region	Total Pop 15+	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Total: Quebec Province	1.16	1.33	1.02	1.19	2.50
Gaspésie - Îles-de-la-Madeleine	0.91	0.00	0.81	1.02	1.33
Bas-Saint-Laurent	1.04	0.00	0.23	1.58	3.12
Capitale-Nationale (Quebec City)	1.40	0.00	1.23	1.45	1.39
Chaudière - Appalaches	1.67	0.00	1.44	1.55	3.05
Estrie	0.89	0.96	0.72	0.92	1.77
Centre-du-Québec	1.30	0.00	1.17	1.24	2.23
Montréal	1.06	0.82	1.00	1.09	1.62
Montréal	1.18	1.12	1.01	1.21	2.22
Laval	0.77	0.26	0.74	0.77	1.03
Lanaudière	1.21	0.00	1.22	1.13	1.87
Laurentides	1.12	2.09	1.03	1.17	2.37
Outaouais	0.99	1.28	0.90	1.04	1.73
Abitibi - Témiscamingue	1.32	0.00	1.37	1.19	4.67
Mauricie	1.31	0.00	1.06	1.24	3.36
Saguenay - Lac-Saint-Jean	1.42	0.00	1.00	1.45	2.72
Côte-Nord	0.48	0.00	0.53	0.52	0.66
Nord-du-Québec	0.38	0.34	0.30	0.62	1.09

Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, 20% sample.

Notes: Anglophone: Language definition is English first official language spoken (fols) which is derived from three questions on the Census of Canada.

Francophones (mmi 2.29). On a regional basis, we find higher than normal minority-majority gaps, with more Anglophones than Francophones who lack income, especially in regions such as Montérégie, Montreal, Mauricie, Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean and Estrie.

While the rate for low income (less than \$20k) is similar among Anglophone and Francophone groups in Quebec (mmi=1.02), Table 5 shows that this low income profile is rising across generations for Anglophones relative to their Francophone peers. Anglophones in Quebec aged 25-44 were 16% more likely to show low income than Francophones in the same age group (mmi 1.16). On a regional basis, the tendency to show low income relative to Francophones is more pronounced for Anglophones in Côte-Nord, Nord-du-Québec, Estrie, Bas-Saint-Laurent and Laval.

On a provincial basis, Table 6 shows that Quebec Anglophones are substantially more likely than their Francophone counterparts to report high incomes, with a 16% greater likelihood of earning at least \$50k annually. This characteristic is more pronounced in the older cohorts than the younger cohort and varies across regions. The gap between Anglophones and Francophones is advantageous for the Anglophone group in the Chaudière-Appalaches, Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean, Capitale-Nationale, Abitibi-Témiscamingue, Mauricie and Centre-du-Québec regions. At the other end of the spectrum, Anglophones in the Côte-Nord, Estrie, Laval, Nord-du-Québec and Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine regions were less likely than their Francophone counterparts in these regions to fall in the higher income ranges.

#### 2.4 The occupational status of Anglophones and Francophones.

Figure 2 shows the Quebec Anglophone presence in different occupational groups expressed using the minority-majority index. When the occupations of Anglophones and Francophones

Figure 2: Anglophone presence in the Quebec labour force, by Occupation, Minority-Majority Index. Canadian Census, 2001.

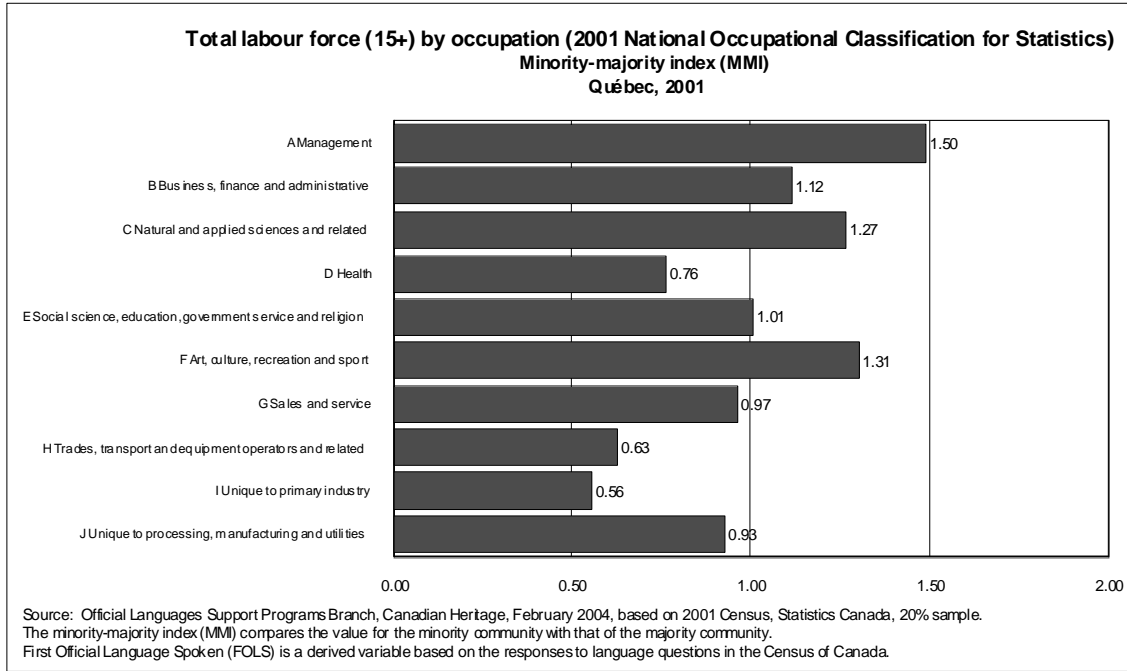
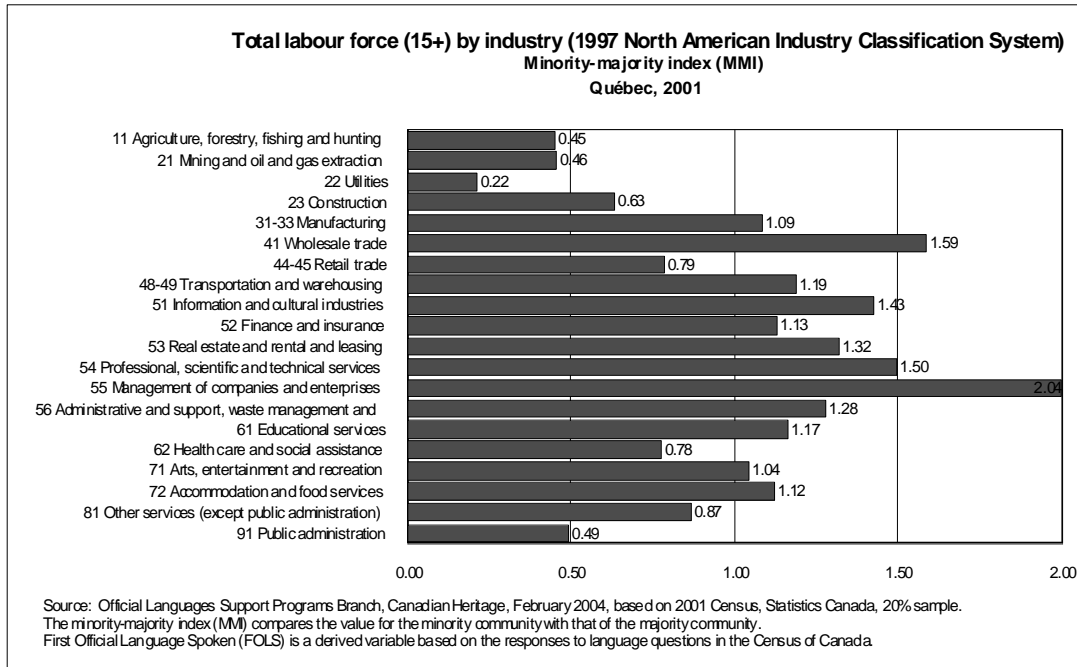


Figure 3: Anglophones in the Quebec Labour Force, by Industry and Minority-Majority Index, Canadian Census 2001



are compared, Anglophones are more present in the fields of management, arts/culture/recreation/sport and natural and applied sciences. Conversely, Anglophones are less present than Francophones in primary industry, trades/transport and equipment operators and health professions. Overall, the Anglophone minority is less likely than Francophones to be in occupations unique to primary industry, in the trades and transport occupations and in health occupations. As Anglophone higher-than-average participation in the management occupations ( $mmi=1.50$ ) illustrates, their location in the labour force is consistent with the traditional image of Quebec Anglophones. Although age cohort data for language groups in their occupations is not available for the current study, it is possible to observe that the relative proportion of Anglophones working in management occupations increased in the 1996-2001 period rising from an  $mmi$  of 1.33 in 1996 to an  $mmi$  of 1.50 in 2001.

### **2.5 Anglophones and Francophones across industrial sectors.**

As shown in Figure 3, the participation of Anglophones in different industries varies substantially when compared to Francophone employees. At a provincial level, Anglophones are over-represented in the management, manufacturing and professional/scientific/technical services. However, Quebec Anglophones are under-represented in the utilities, public administration, agricultural, forestry, fishing, hunting, mining and oil-gas extraction industries. It should be noted that Anglophones working in the industry classed as "Management of Companies and Enterprises" with the high  $mmi$  of 2.04 amount to only 680 persons, the vast majority of whom live in the greater Montreal area.

### **2.6 Concluding notes on the economic profile of Quebec Anglophones.**

The foregoing section explored the various socio-economic features of the Quebec Anglophone minority, comparing their various age and regional segments with their Francophone counterparts, focusing on key characteristics such as labour force participation, income and presence in various industries and occupations. Three major observations emerge from this analysis. The first is that Anglophones tend to be over-represented at both the upper and lower ends of the socio-economic spectrum. This bi-modal or "missing middle" representation of the Quebec Anglophone population has great potential to explain its distinctive economic profile, and underlines the importance of qualifying any generalization of Anglophones as a privileged minority in Quebec. The second key observation is that the occupational status of the Anglophone minority appears to be declining across generations relative to their Francophone counterparts in the province. Thirdly, the analysis demonstrates that there is an important regional dimension to socio-economic status, with greater vulnerabilities in the Anglophone minorities residing in the eastern and rural parts of the province. The next section of this chapter attempts to explain the bi-modal nature of the Quebec Anglophone minority through an examination of inter-provincial mobility for the 1971-2001 period.

### **3. Quebec Anglophones: Those who left, those who stayed.**

The second half of the 20th century was a dynamic period where language relations in Canada were concerned. Quebec's Quiet Revolution, the adoption of official languages legislation at the federal level and in many provincial/territorial jurisdictions all marked this period as one of great ferment in Canadian society (Bourhis, 1994). More specifically, Canada witnessed important changes in the status and circumstances of its citizens living as members of official-language minorities (Fraser,



2006). Through the explicit recognition of the right to manage elementary and secondary level education in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), Francophones living outside Quebec gained access to a key lever community vitality (Fortier, 1994; Landry & Rousselle, 2003). Francophone minorities in the ROC also made great strides toward reducing the gap in socio-economic status which they had previously experienced vis-à-vis their Anglophone counterparts (Canada, 2004). Many of these Francophone communities in the ROC continue to struggle with the effects of language transfer and low intergenerational transmission of French (Johnson & Doucet, 2006).

For their part, the Anglophones of Quebec experienced a declining vitality through weakening of their institutional base and substantial demographic decline as increasing numbers of Anglophones born in Quebec have re-located to other provinces (Bourhis, 2001; Jedwab, 2004 and this volume). Quebec Anglophones were traditionally understood as a highly mobile population with an ability to replenish its population losses through inter-provincial migration and international immigration. In this section we offer a study of inter-provincial migration, taking as a time frame the 1971-2001 period, and we address the question of whether the scope or nature of mobility has changed over this period (Floch, 2005).

In general, population growth depends on the net effects of mobility and on the difference between birth and mortality rates. In the case of linguistic minorities, we add some linguistic factors variously represented as assimilation or language transfer. For instance, the assimilation/language transfer of Francophone communities outside of Quebec has been, and continues to be, a topic of intense research interest (O'Keefe, 2001; deVries, 1994; Landry & Rousselle, 2003; Marmen & Corbeil, 2004). However, little attention has been paid to inter-provincial mobility and even less to its cumulative effects, which, as will be shown, have had

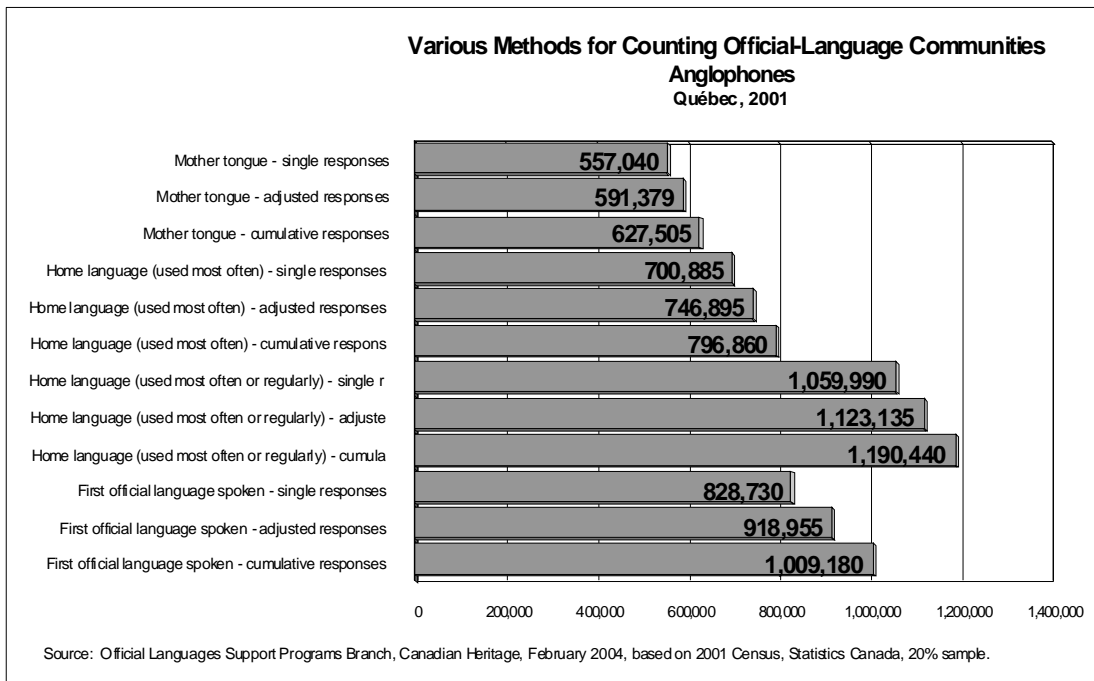
an important impact on the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ).

The following section seeks to deepen our understanding of the scope and nature of the inter-provincial migratory trends affecting language groups in Canada with an emphasis on Quebec Anglophones. Based on mother tongue census data, Marmen & Corbeil (2004) conclude that: "The proportion of Anglophones has declined continuously, dropping from 14% in 1951 to 8% in 2001. This has resulted largely from the English mother tongue population leaving Quebec to live in other provinces, particularly during the 1970s". More specifically, we will consider whether there are socio-economic differences between the group of Anglophones born in Quebec and still living in the province and the group of Anglophones who have left their province of birth to settle in the ROC. We will test the key hypothesis that out-migration is selective. We will also briefly reflect on the impacts these migration trends have on the Anglophone minority of Quebec by examining the situation over the past generation.

Compared to other national censuses around the world, the Canadian census is particularly rich in the language measures and concepts that it contains. For the time span under consideration herein (1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001), each census contained questions for mother tongue, home language and knowledge of official languages. The 2001 census contained a supplementary home language question relating to "regular language use" while it also included a new two-part question on the "language of work".

Researchers and policy makers have worked with the data generated from these questions to develop an understanding of the status and usage of languages in Canadian society and to track the evolution of linguistic groups in various regions of the country. The wealth of language data and the various methods of calculation give rise to a number of options for estimating the size and proportion of various language groups, in turn

Figure 4: Size of the Quebec Anglophone population using various language categories based on the 2001 Canadian census



stimulating some interesting public policy discussions (Jedwab, this volume). Figure 4 provides the number of Anglophones living in Quebec in 2001 based on four linguistic definitions: mother tongue; home language used most often; home language used most often or regularly; and first official language spoken. Census data monitoring these questions are analyzed using three methods of calculation: single responses only; multiple responses distributed among declared languages; and multiple responses assigned to the minority group.

Since the 1981 census, Statistics Canada has published data providing for the possibility of multiple responses to the mother tongue and home language question. In keeping with established practices among researchers, those declaring multiple responses are divided proportionally among declared responses. The population being considered here consists of those persons born in Quebec having English as their mother tongue and are referred to as the “EMT born-in-Quebec” population. This population is then divided into two groups, those who continue

to live in Quebec at the time of a given census-taking (the “stayers”) and those who moved from their province of birth to another Canadian province or territory (“the leavers”). To provide a context for understanding this target population, we will also examine the trends affecting Francophone Quebecers with French as a mother tongue, as well as the Anglophone and Francophone groups living outside Quebec in the rest of Canada (ROC).

Unless otherwise stated, the data presented in this analysis is drawn from the Public Use Micro-data Files (PUMFs) for the Census of Canada. In these analyses, the language definition used for mother tongue with multiple responses is distributed equally among declared languages. The choice of adjusted mother tongue as the language variable for this analysis is consistent with the bulk of socio-economic analyses which cover census periods prior to 1986. It should be noted that the sample used for our analysis does not include those born in Canada who may now be living outside Canada, since the census does not capture such international emigrants. It is likely that the

Table 7: Francophone and Anglophone Provincial Retention Rates (%) by Provinces and Territories, and by Minority- Majority Index

Francophone and Anglophone Provincial Retention Rates (%) by Provinces and Territories, and by Minority- Majority Index, Canada, 2001 Census			
	Minority	Majority	mmi
Newfoundland and Labrador	30.5%	67.1%	0.45
Prince Edward Island	66.9%	66.1%	1.01
Nova Scotia	75.9%	70.7%	1.07
New Brunswick	75.4%	68.0%	1.11
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>50.1%</b>	<b>96.3%</b>	<b>0.52</b>
Ontario	74.9%	89.4%	0.84
Manitoba	71.1%	61.4%	1.16
Saskatchewan	49.4%	53.4%	0.93
Alberta	71.4%	76.1%	0.94
British Columbia	63.0%	85.8%	0.73
Canada, less Quebec	84.2%	99.3%	0.85
Source: Calculations by Floch & Pocock (2008) based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.			
Note: The minority-majority index (mmi) compares the retention rate for the minority-language group (Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the rest of Canada) with that of the majority-language group (Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones in the rest of Canada). An mmi of less than 1.00 indicates that the minority has a lower retention rate than its corresponding majority.			

trends observed in the out-migration patterns to other Canadian provinces would also be present as regards international out-migration. Accordingly, the impact of the trends observed in this analysis would likely be even greater if data on international out-migrants were available.

It must be noted that the Quebec English Mother Tongue (EMT) minority experienced a substantial demographic decline in the 1971-2001 period, experiencing a loss both in absolute numbers (from 788,800 in 1971 down to 591 365 in 2001 ) and as a proportion of the Quebec population (from 13.1% down to 8.3%). However, the Anglophone EMT population did increase in absolute number in 2006, rising to 607,165, though still constituting 8.2% of the Quebec population. Over this same period, the French Mother Tongue (FMT) population increased by nearly a million, from 4,866,030 in 1971 (81% of the population) to 5,802,020 in 2001 (81.4%) and up again to

5,916,840 in 2006 (79.6%). With the rise of immigration, the number of Quebecers with mother tongues other than English or French (Allophones) more than doubled in this thirty-year period, rising from 372,900 in 1971 (6%) to 752,980 in 2001 (10.3%) and rising again to 886,000 in 2006 (11.9%) . Though linguistically diversified, Allophones have consolidated their position as a larger language group in the province than the EMT Anglophone minority.

### 3.1 Retention rate: Anglophones in Quebec.

The first aspect to be considered in our analysis of the cumulative effects of inter-provincial mobility patterns is that of retention rate, which is the proportion of a particular mother tongue group that continues to reside in the province of birth at the time of a census. However, note that some persons have undoubtedly left their province of birth and then returned. The census provides the

Table 8a: Anglophone and Francophone Provincial Retention Rate, in Quebec and Rest of Canada (ROC), 1971-2001 Census

Provincial Retention Rate for Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec and ROC, 1971-2001				
Language Group	Retention Rate in %			
Year	1971	1981	1991	2001
Francophone minority in ROC	85%	85%	84%	84%
Francophone majority in Quebec	96%	96%	96%	96%
Anglophone minority in Quebec	69%	58%	52%	50%
Anglophone majority in ROC	98%	99%	98%	99%

Source: Calculations by Floch & Pocock (2008) based on data from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

Table 8b: Provincial Retention Rate of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec and rest of Canada (ROC), by Age Cohorts, Canadian Census 2001

Language Group	Retention Rate			
	Year	15-24	25-44	45-64
Francophone minority in ROC	83%	84%	85%	84%
Francophone majority in Quebec	98%	96%	96%	96%
Anglophone minority in Quebec	74%	46%	43%	52%
Anglophone majority in ROC	99%	99%	99%	99%

Source: Calculations by Floch & Pocock (2008) based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

capacity for cross-sectional analysis but does not provide longitudinal data which would allow close analysis of this “coming and going” phenomenon.

Table 7 presents retention rates for 2001 by province/territory and reveals considerable variation in the capacity of various provinces and territories to retain their populations. For Francophone minority communities in the ROC, a number of jurisdictions show retention rates of 70-75%: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta. However, the Francophone minority retention rate is only 30.5% in Newfoundland-Labrador and 49.4% in Saskatchewan. The Anglophone retention rate in Quebec is only 50.1 %. For the Anglophone majority language groups in the ROC, the provinces of Ontario (89%), British Columbia (86%) and Alberta (76%) have the highest retention rates while Saskatchewan (53%) and Manitoba (61%) show the lowest rates. The Francophone majority in Quebec has the highest retention in the country: 96%.

When we compare the retention rates for the minority and majority groups, expressed as the minority-majority index (mmi), we note that the Francophone minority in Newfoundland-Labrador (mmi=0.45) and the Anglophone minority in Quebec (mmi=0.52) have the lowest retention rate

relative to their respective majority-language group (Table 7). Thus Francophones in Newfoundland (30.5%) and Anglophones in Quebec (50.1 %) are approximately half as likely at their respective majorities to remain in their province of birth. At the other end of the spectrum, we find that a number of provinces (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba) show stronger retention in the minority Francophone population than in the Anglophone majority. In these cases, members of the Francophone minority group were more likely to have remained in their province of birth than were the members of the Anglophone majority group.

Another frame of analysis that can be applied to this data is to divide the country into two large regions (Quebec and the rest of Canada) which permits the examination of Anglophones and Francophones as four linguistic groups, namely: Francophones (FMT) in a minority situation, Francophones (FMT) in a majority situation, Anglophones (EMT) in a minority situation and Anglophones (EMT) in a majority situation. Using this framework, Table 8a reveals a particularly problematic situation for the Anglophone minority group in Quebec. The provincial retention rate of Quebec Anglophones is only 50% in 2001, down from 69% in 1971. In contrast, Table 8a shows that the retention rate for the other three language

Table 9: Quebec Anglophone Bilingualism (English-French) Among Recent Stayers or Leavers, by Highest Level of Schooling, Canadian Census 2001

Quebec Anglophone Bilingualism (English-French) Among Recent <b>Stayers</b> or <b>Leavers</b> , by Highest Level of Schooling, Canadian Census 2001				
5-year Interprovincial mobility status	<b>Stayers</b>		<b>Leavers</b>	
Highest Level of Schooling	number	% bilingual	number	% bilingual
Population 15+	431,322	70.7%	42,774	61.4%
Without Secondary - high school graduation certificate	119,790	55.2%	7,515	39.9%
Secondary - high school graduation certificate	67,707	70.1%	4,830	50.2%
Trades Certificate or Diploma	10,681	63.9%	610	45.4%
Post Secondary: Without Certificate, Diploma or Degree	54,169	77.7%	4,867	65.0%
Post Secondary: With Certificate, Diploma or Degree	178,975	79.6%	24,952	69.8%

Source: Calculations by Floch & Pocock (2008), based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada.

Note: Language definition is mother tongue with multiple responses distributed among declared languages. In this table, "stayers" or "leavers" refers to those who lived in Quebec in both 1996 and 2001 (the "stayers" or to those who lived in Quebec in 1996 but lived in another Canadian province in 2001 (the "leavers").

groups has remained remarkably strong and constant for the 1971-2001 period including the steady 96% retention rate of Quebec Francophones from 1971 to 2001.

Table 8b shows the provincial retention rate for the same four basic groups as in Table 8a, but this time broken down by age cohorts in the 2001 census. Table 8b shows that the retention rate of Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada (84%) and of the Francophone majority in Quebec (96%) is very high and very constant in the four age cohorts. Likewise, the provincial retention rate for the Anglophone majorities in the ROC are also very high and constant across age cohorts (99%). In contrast, the trend for Quebec Anglophone (EMT) is quite problematic: it is Anglophones at the peak of their working age who are most likely to leave their province of birth. The provincial retention rate of Quebec Anglophones in the 25-44 age range is only 46%, while that for Anglophones in the 45-64 age range is even lower: 43%. This exodus of Quebec Anglophones during their best working years constitutes a real loss of human capital for the English-speaking communities of Quebec, and also a loss of know-how for Quebec society as a whole. The profile of Anglophones who left Quebec compared to those who stayed suggests further deterioration of the community vitality of Quebec Anglophones. Consideration of variables such as bilingualism, level of schooling, employment status and income

distinguishing Anglophones who left Quebec compared to those who stayed are presented in the following section.

### 3.2 English-French bilingualism: Those who stayed and those who left.

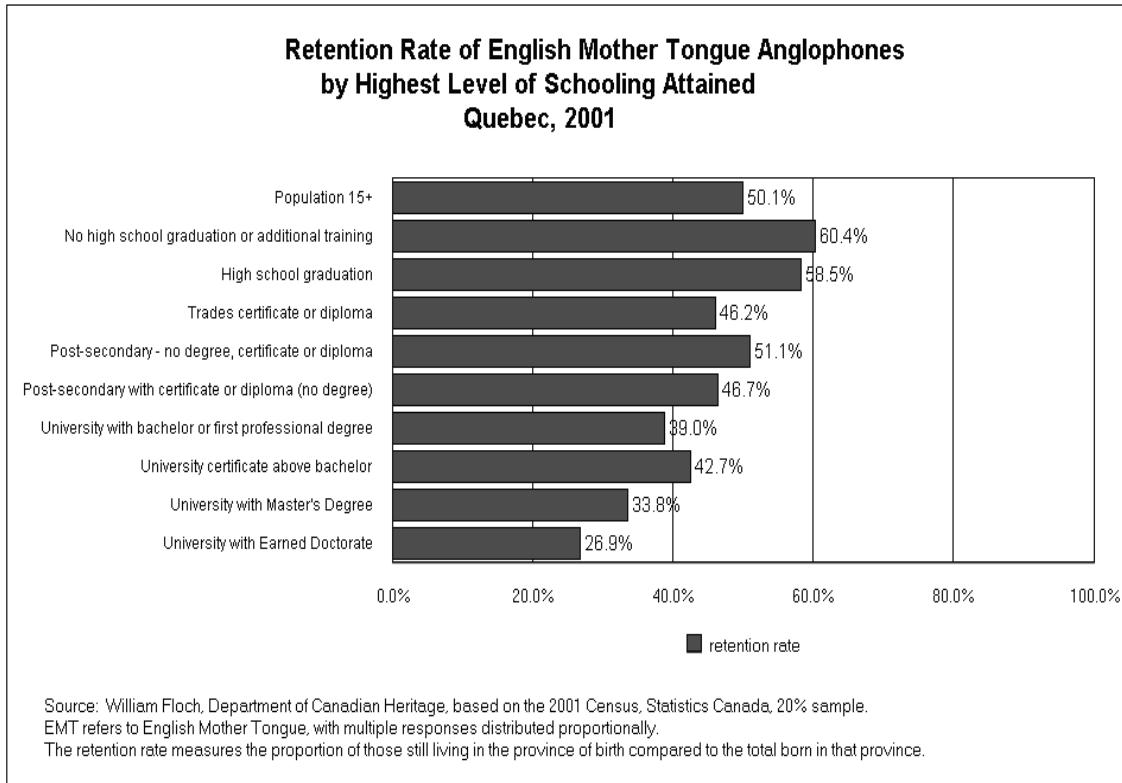
In support of the observation that it is the upwardly mobile Anglophones who are more likely to be outwardly mobile, Table 9 shows that 58% of Anglophones who left Quebec in the 1996-2001 period had a post-secondary degree compared to only 42% amongst Anglophones who stayed in the province.

As regards bilingualism, Table 9 shows that overall, Anglophones who left Quebec in this period (15 years and older) were slightly less likely to be bilingual (61.4%) than those who stayed (70.7%). However, it is noteworthy that while 39.9% of Anglophones who left Quebec without a high school diploma were bilingual, as many as 69.8% of Anglophones who left the province with a post-secondary degree were bilingual. Other Canadian census results show that the bilingualism rate among departing Quebec Anglophones is higher than that found among international immigrants who arrived during this period. The departure of highly educated bilingual Anglophones is a loss of human capital for both the ESCQ and for Quebec society as a whole.

Table 10: Anglophones in Quebec (EMT: English Mother Tongue) vs Anglophones in ROC by highest level of schooling and place of birth, Canadian Census 2001

	Total - Population 15+	No high school graduation or additional training	High school graduation	Trades certificate or diploma	Post-secondary - no degree, certificate or diploma	Post-secondary with certificate or diploma (no degree)	University with first professional degree	University above bachelor degree	University with Master's Degree	University with Earned Doctorate
Based on Canadian total population (15+)	23,901,360	7,476,900	3,367,900	2,598,925	2,590,165	4,179,825	2,534,010	382,955	642,055	128,625
Anglophones (EMT) born in Quebec	609,395	142,674	84,897	51,246	77,532	116,137	93,100	14,711	24,789	4,343
Anglophones born in Quebec, still living in Quebec	305,513	86,232	49,663	23,695	39,644	54,178	36,270	6,275	8,388	1,170
Anglophones born in another Canadian province, now living in Quebec	85,997	19,707	12,190	6,648	11,432	14,143	13,368	2,188	5,100	1,225
Anglophones born in Quebec, now living in another Canadian province	303,882	56,442	35,234	27,551	37,888	61,959	56,830	8,436	16,401	3,173
Anglophone net interprovincial migration, cumulative as of 2001	-217,885	-36,735	-23,044	-20,903	-26,456	-47,816	-43,462	-6,248	-11,301	-1,948
Based on Canadian total population (15+)	100.0%	31.3%	14.1%	10.9%	10.8%	17.5%	10.6%	1.6%	2.7%	0.5%
Anglophones (EMT) born in Quebec	100.0%	23.4%	13.9%	8.4%	12.7%	19.1%	15.3%	2.4%	4.1%	0.7%
Anglophones born in Quebec, still living in Quebec	100.0%	28.2%	16.3%	7.8%	13.0%	17.7%	11.9%	2.1%	2.7%	0.4%
Anglophones born in another Canadian province, now living in Quebec	100.0%	22.9%	14.2%	7.7%	13.3%	16.4%	15.5%	2.5%	5.9%	1.4%
Anglophones born in Quebec, now living in another Canadian province	100.0%	18.6%	11.6%	9.1%	12.5%	20.4%	18.7%	2.8%	5.4%	1.0%
Anglophone net interprovincial migration, cumulative as of 2001	100.0%	16.9%	10.6%	9.6%	12.1%	21.9%	19.9%	2.9%	5.2%	0.9%

Figure 5: Retention Rate of Quebec Anglophones (EMT) within the Province, by Highest Level of Schooling



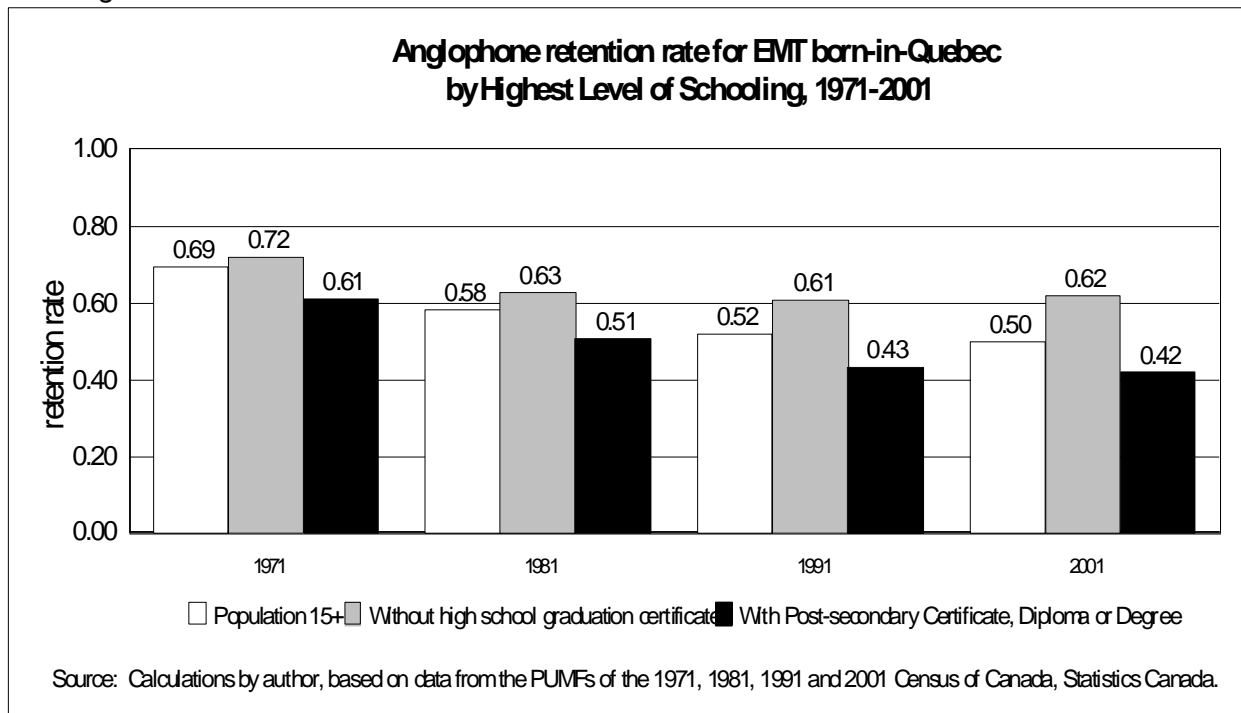
### 3.3 Educational achievement of Anglophones who left and those who stayed.

Relative to the other Canadians, Anglophone EMT born-in-Quebec individuals tends to be highly educated. Quebec Anglophones are much more likely to have graduated from university (+46%), to have a Master's degree (+51%) and are substantially more likely to hold a doctoral degree (+32%) than other Canadians in the ROC. They are also much less likely than other Canadians to be without a high school graduation certificate. As will be seen in the following analysis, the contributions of this highly educated group of Quebec Anglophones are being experienced more in other provinces than in their province of birth, namely Quebec.

In 1971, before the adoption of Bill 101, Quebec Anglophones (EMT born-in-Quebec) had higher educational achievement both with respect to both their Quebec Francophone counterparts and to

the Canadian population as a whole. This was true for both leavers and stayers. Those who had left Quebec by 1971 were 81% more likely than other Canadians to possess a post-secondary degree and were 19% less likely to be without a high school graduation certificate. Quebec Anglophones still living in Quebec in 1971 were 27% more likely than other Canadians to possess a post-secondary degree and were slightly less likely to be without a high school graduation certificate. By the 2001 census, Anglophones who left Quebec continued to show an educational advantage, being 36% more likely to have post-secondary credentials and 44% less likely to be without high school certification relative to Canadians in the ROC. In contrast, Anglophones who stayed in Quebec were slightly less likely than other Canadians to have post-secondary qualifications and were also less likely to be without high school certification. Clearly, the education advantage held by Quebec Anglophones in 1971 had disappeared for those still living in Quebec in 2001. Anglophones who left Quebec

Figure 6: Retention Rate of Quebec Anglophones (EMT) within the Province by Highest Level of Schooling, Canadian Census: 1971-2001



continued to show higher educational attainment relative to other Canadians in 2001.

When we compare the educational status of Anglophone stayers and leavers (EMT born-in-Quebec) over the 1971 to 2001 period, we note that those who have departed show higher levels of schooling than those who have stayed. In each of the census periods under consideration, the chances that an Anglophone individual will have a post-secondary degree are substantially higher for those who left than for those who stayed. At the other end of the spectrum, for each census period, there is a lesser chance that the leavers will be at the lower end of the education spectrum.

As Table 10 illustrates, the Quebec Anglophone (EMT) group is a well-educated cohort relative the Canadian population. Relative to Canadians in the ROC, Anglophones born in Quebec are more likely to hold a university first degree such as B.A or B.Sc. (15.3% in Quebec to 10.6% Canada as a whole). Quebec Anglophones are also more likely to hold a Master's degree than the Canadian

population as a whole (4.1% to 2.7%). Furthermore, Anglophones who left Quebec and are now living in other provinces, are more than twice as likely as the Canadian population to hold a Master's (5.4% vs 2.7%) or doctoral degree (1% vs 0.5%). In contrast, Quebec Anglophones who stayed in the province have educational achievements much closer to the Canadian norm, albeit still slightly higher. However, other analyses have shown that the educational strength of Quebec Anglophones still in Quebec is diminishing across generations, with higher educational levels observed in the older age cohorts (45-64 and 65+) and lower educational levels seen in the younger cohorts (15-24 and 25-44) (Floch, 2004a).

Anglophone (EMT) individuals arriving from other provinces to Quebec are also a highly educated cohort as 15.5% hold a bachelor's degree, compared to 10.6% for in the Canadian population as a whole (Table 10). Anglophones (EMT) from the ROC now established in Quebec are also more likely to have Master's degrees



Figure 7: Retention Rate for Francophone (FMT) Born Outside Quebec in the rest of Canada, by Highest Level of Schooling, Census 1971-2001

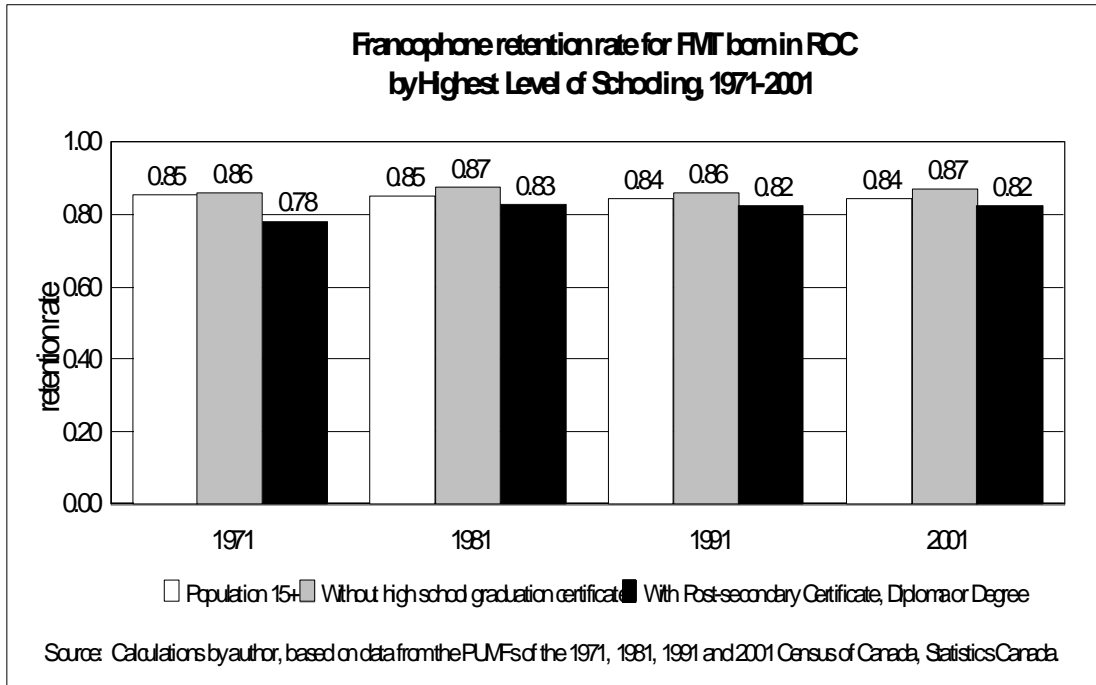


Figure 8: Unemployment Rate of Quebec Anglophones (EMT), by Inter-provincial Mobility Status, Canadian Census: 1971-2001

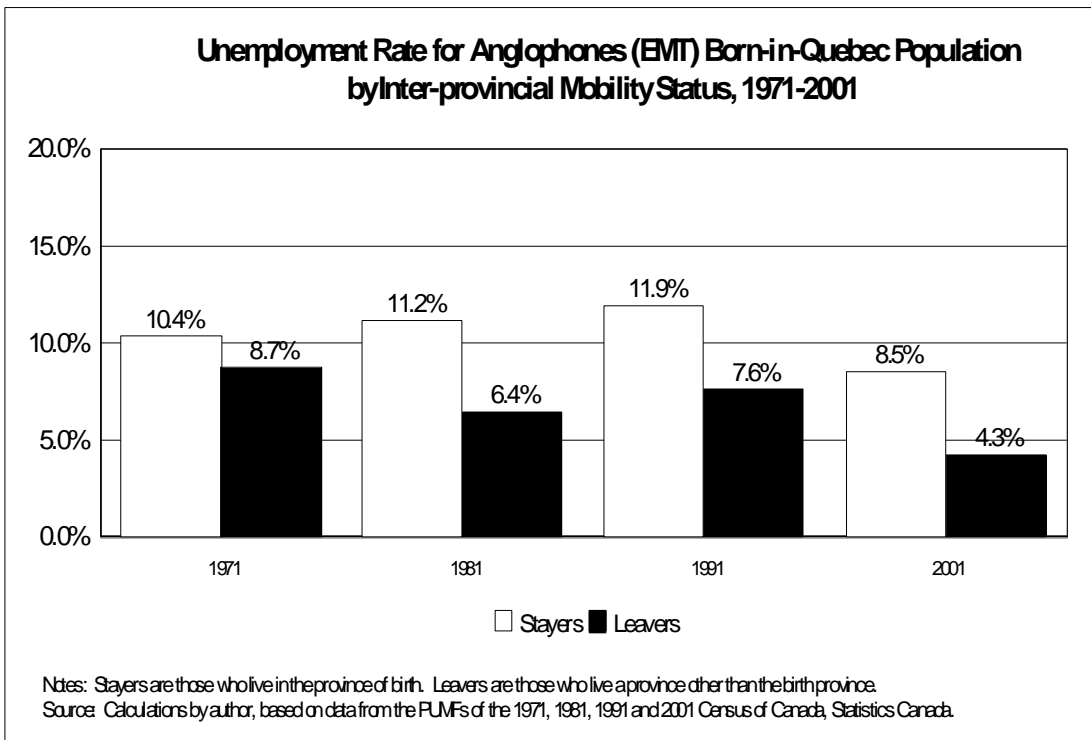
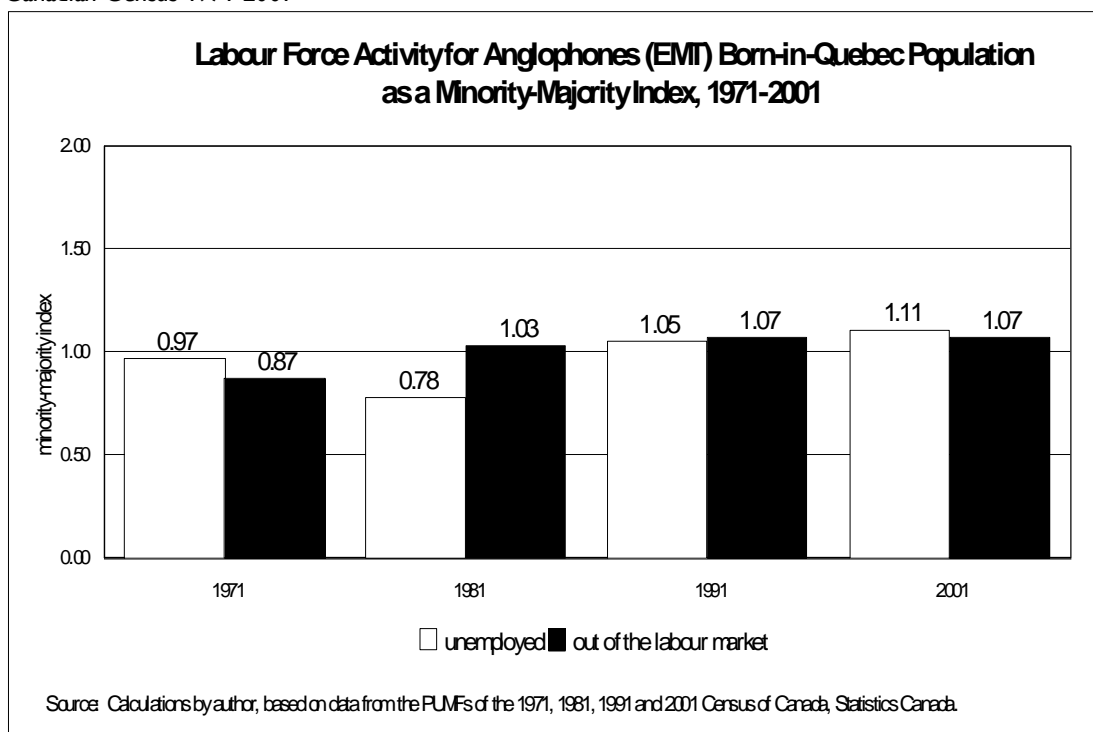


Figure 9 – Labour Force Activity for Quebec Anglophones (EMT), Minority-Majority Index, Canadian Census 1971-2001



(5.9%) than the Canadian population across Canada (2.7%). Likewise Anglophones who settled in Quebec from the ROC are more likely to hold a Ph.D (1.4 %) than the Canadian population as a whole (0.5%). Despite the high educational attainment of the few Anglophones who did settle in Quebec from other Canadian provinces, it remains that the net effect of inter-provincial migration leaves Quebec in a deficit situation with a net loss of 62,959 Anglophones (EMT) with a first university degree, a net loss of 11,301 Anglophones with a Master's degree and a net loss of 1,948 Anglophones with doctorates (Table 10).

When we analyze the net effects of inter-provincial migration by examining the number and educational characteristics of those who left and the characteristics of those who arrived, we can see that there is a strong link between the level of education and the tendency to stay or leave. Quebec Anglophones (EMT) with higher levels of education are much more likely to leave the province than those with lower levels of education.

This is clearly illustrated in Figure 5 which provides the retention rate for Quebec Anglophones (EMT) crossed with highest level of schooling. While Quebec Anglophones with no high school certificate have a retention rate of 60.4%, Anglophones with a doctoral degree have a retention rate in Quebec of only 26.9%.

Comparison with Francophone minorities living in the ROC helps illustrate the extent to which education levels appear to be linked to the retention rate of Anglophones (EMT) born-in-Quebec. As seen in Figure 7, for Francophone minorities (FMT) living in the ROC, the tendency to migrate to Quebec has remained remarkably low and constant for the 1971-2001 period. For instance, in 2001, the retention rate of Francophones in the ROC was almost as high for those with a post-secondary degree (0.82) as for those without a high school certificate (0.87). The value difference for the high retention rate of Francophones without high school certification compared to those with post-secondary

Figure 10: Proportion of Quebec Anglophone (EMT) with Low Income (<\$20K), by Inter-provincial Migration Status (stayers vs leavers), Canadian Census: 1971-2001

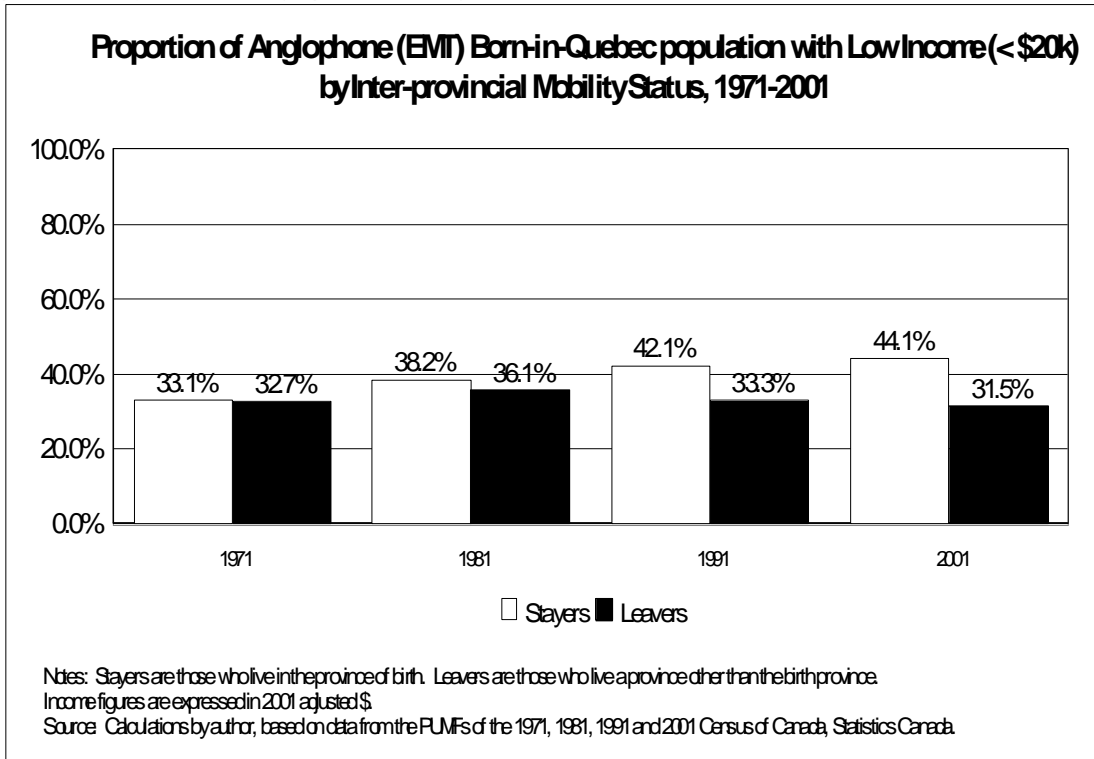
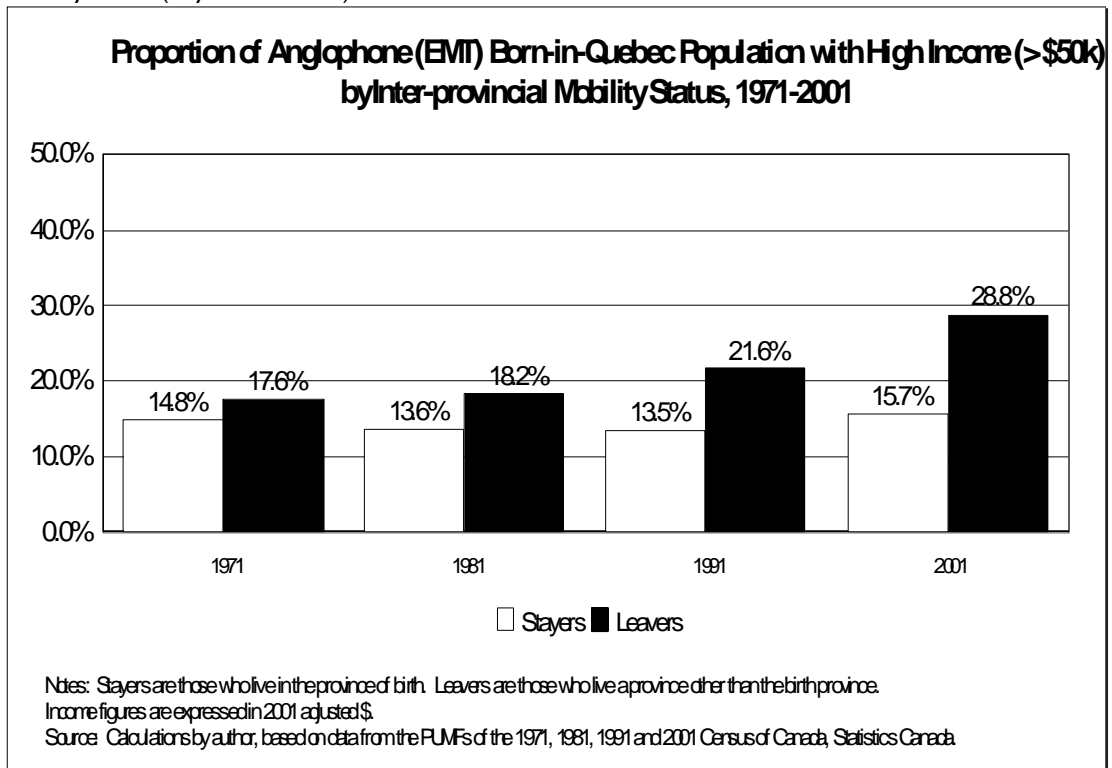


Figure 11: Proportion of Anglophone (EMT) with High Income (>\$50K), by Inter-provincial Mobility Status (stayers vs leavers) Canadian Census: 1971-2001



qualifications was greatest in 1971 ( $0.86 - 0.78 = 0.08$ ) and has narrowed to 0.04, 0.04 and 0.05 for the three subsequent time periods (1981-2001). Figure 6 shows the retention rate of Quebec Anglophones (EMT) with a post-secondary degree dropped from 0.61 in 1971 to as little as 0.42 in 2001. The difference in retention rate within the province of Quebec for Anglophones with a post-secondary degree compared to those without a high school diploma was low in 1971 ( $0.72 - 0.61 = 0.09$ ), but grew substantially in the period following the adoption of Bill 101, reaching 0.18 in 1991 ( $0.0.61 - 0.43$ ) and 0.20 in 2001 ( $0.62 - 0.42$ ).

There are a number of possible consequences of these trends. For Quebec Anglophones, the departure of an increasing proportion of the better-educated individuals will, over time, contribute to a weakening of the leadership base and may undermine community institutions, particularly in vulnerable regions of the province where the critical mass of the Anglophone minority is far from assured. The impact of this type of brain drain will mortgage the capacity of finding the well-trained Anglophones needed to replace retiring baby-boomers in English-speaking institutions such as health care, education and social services. This brain drain of well-educated bilingual Anglophones also contributes to a net loss of endogenous human capital for Quebec, a society in search of the international immigrants needed to alleviate the demographic and know-how decline of the province.

### **3.4 Labour force activity: Quebec Anglophones who left vs. those who stayed.**

As Figure 8 illustrates, the unemployment rate for Anglophones (EMT, born-in-Quebec) who stayed in Quebec has been higher than that of those who left for each of the census periods under consideration since 1971. This gap has grown to the point where, in 2001, the unemployment rate for Anglophones who stayed in Quebec (8.5%)

was nearly twice that of the Quebec Anglophones (EMT) now living in other provinces (4.3%). Clearly, if seeking better employment prospects was part of the motivation for Quebec Anglophones to leave the province, these hopes have been realized. Census data also shows that the 4.3% unemployment rate of Anglophones who left Quebec was substantially lower than the Canadian national rate of 7.4% recorded in the 2001 census.

Figure 9 compares the unemployed and out of labour market situation of Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec from 1971 to 2001 using the minority-majority index. In 1971 and 1981, Quebec Anglophones (EMT) residing in the province were slightly less likely to be unemployed or out of the labour market than the Quebec Francophone (FMT) majority. However, by the 1991 and 2001 census, it was Quebec Anglophones who were more likely to be unemployed or out of the labour market compared to the Francophone majority. While these differences are not huge, (Anglophone unemployment in 1991,  $mmi = 1.07$ ; in 2001,  $mmi = 1.11$ ), the trend is worrisome and likely to continue, since closer analysis of the labour force activity by age cohorts reveals that younger Anglophones are experiencing greater relative difficulty in this regard than are their elders.

### **3.5 Income levels of Quebec Anglophones who left vs. those who stayed.**

Not surprisingly, the stronger educational status and higher labour market participation rates of Anglophones (EMT, born-in-Quebec) do translate into stronger earnings on the labour market. Using 2001 dollars as the base, Figure 10 shows the proportion of Anglophone leavers and stayers who are in the low income bracket (less than \$20,000/year). For the 1971 and 1981 periods, the earnings gap for low income earners is minimal: the proportion of Anglophones in the lower income bracket is similar for both leavers and stayers. Figure 11 shows Anglophone leavers and stayers in

the high income bracket (greater than \$50,000/year). For the 1971 and 1981 census, the income gap for high income earners favours Anglophone leavers over stayers: 1971: leavers, 17.5 % versus stayers 14.8%; in 1981: stayers: 1981: leavers, 18.2%, versus stayers, 13.6%. However, as seen in Figures 10 and 11, for the 1991 and 2001 census period, the income gap between Anglophone leavers and stayers has grown quite considerably. For instance, in 2001, Anglophones who left were more likely to be in the high income bracket (28.8%) than those who stayed (15.7%). Conversely, in the case of low income earners, Anglophones who stayed were more likely to be in the low income bracket (44.1%) than those who left (31.5%)

#### 4. Concluding notes

The socio-economic profile presented herein, coupled with the analysis of the 1971-2001 decennial censuses demonstrates the considerable cumulative effect of out-migration on the size and composition of the Anglophone communities of Quebec. In 1971, 70% of Anglophones (EMT) born in Quebec continued to live in the province, whereas by 2001 just 50% continued to live in their home province. This low retention rate is abnormal when compared with other Canadian populations, including Francophone minorities in the ROC. The socio-economic profile of Anglophone leavers and stayers suggests that the upwardly mobile are increasingly associated with the outwardly mobile as young, well-educated members of the Quebec Anglophone minority seek economic opportunities elsewhere. Those who left the province tend to perform very well in the labour market outside Quebec, showing substantially lower unemployment rates than other Canadians and higher tendencies to be in the high income bracket. In contrast, Anglophones who stayed in Quebec experienced a relative loss in socio-economic status and cohort analysis suggests that such decline will continue in the near future. It is also the case that the arrival of English-speaking populations from other provinces and other countries has slowed considerably from 1971 and

especially up to 2001. Needless to say, these trends present challenges for the English-speaking communities of Quebec, as higher proportions of Anglophones fall into vulnerable or dependent situations while their demographic and institutional vitality is declining in the province.

While public policies such as Bill 101 proved effective in bolstering the upward mobility of the French-speaking majority, it has failed to define a legitimate place and “voice” for its non-Francophone minorities in the province. Securing the empowerment and national cohesion of the majority language group has been gained at the cost of a growing divide between Francophones and Anglophones and within the English-speaking population itself. While the relative silence surrounding language issues in the last decade was popularly heralded as evidence of “language peace”, the trend in socio-economic stratification in Quebec would suggest the silence is a symptom of the further entrenchment of two solitudes.

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