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 moat 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 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

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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
Total immigrant population by period of immigration	**78 730**	**248 165**	**169 435**
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**
1st generation	82 905	261 345	178 440
2nd generation	132 340	197 365	165 025
3rd 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 is 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 ethnocracial 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 have 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

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

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 identity 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 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, the 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 from 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". Stil 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?

	ANGLOPHONES		FRANCOPHONES	
MONTREAL	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.