INTRODUCTION: THE DEEP DIVERSITY OF ENGLISH SPEAKING QUEBEC

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Charles Boberg affirms that the history of immigration to Montreal has ensured the multi-ethnic character of its English-speaking community. He contends that the concentration of many large ethnic groups in separate neighborhoods, together with the local status of English as a minority language, have fostered greater ethnic diversity in the types of native English spoken in Montreal than in most other Canadian cities. His essay offers an acoustic study of ethno-phonetic differences in Montreal English, among speakers of British, Italian and Jewish ethnic origins. His analysis provides insights into the varying degrees to which the ethnic groups have assimilated to common phonetic patterns of native Canadian English.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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