

Unpacking the Diversity of Quebec Anglophones

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INTRODUCTION

When we think of the diversity of Quebec's English-speaking population what usually comes to mind is its substantial share of immigrants and variety of ethnocultural and ethnoracial groups. It is however characterized by multiple identities that include regional diversity with a relatively important concentration of its members in the Montreal region, a significant percentage of seniors and noteworthy differences in levels of education, income and employment. Generational differences are reflected in the relative ability of the group to speak both English and French. Most studies of the views of Quebec's Anglophone population have focused on its politics and the tendency has been to depict it as relatively monolithic in terms of its identity. In that which follows attention is directed at the socio-cultural characteristics of the Anglophone population and the impact of the group's diversity on its perception of Quebec society. Amongst the matters considered are the priorities identified by Anglophones, the importance they attribute to access to selected services, in what language their social contacts take place, their interest in employment with the civil service and their perceptions around access to such jobs, the extent to which they respectively regard the French language and the English community as threatened, whether they intend to move and if so what motivates migration decisions and finally their perceived impact and awareness of community leadership. Conducted by the firm CROP for the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) in the fall of 2005, the results of this study are based on a survey of more than 3 100 Quebec that speak English most often in their homes

OVERALL RESULTS

What are the characteristics of Anglophones that can communicate in the French language? While the census provides much information on knowledge and use of official languages, the CHSSN-CROP survey explores language knowledge from several facets. On the ability to conduct a conversation in the French language nearly 70% say they are able to do so, reading ability drops to about 60% and writing in French to less than 40%.

Table 1

English Spoken at Home	How well do you read French?	And how well can you write French?
Reads/Writes Well	60.3	38.8
Does Not Read/Write Well	39.5	60.9
Refusal	0.2	0.3

Nearly eight in ten Anglophones surveyed use English at work or school and just less than two-thirds use only that language.

Table 2

Which language do you most frequently use at work/school?

English	1304	62.2
French	365	17.4
Other	14	0.7
Both French and English	336	16.0
Refusal	78	3.7
Total	2097	

Less than one-third of Anglophones surveyed say that the French language instruction they received prepared them for success and indeed the majority declared the extent and quality of French as insufficient in this regard.

Table 3

Did the extent and quality of French language instruction that you received prepare you to be successful in Quebec?

yes	975	31.2
more or less	225	7.2
no	1608	51.5
did not learn French	271	8.6
DNK/Refusal	50	1.6
Total	3129	

Some 56% of Anglophones said that the teaching of French as a second language at the elementary and secondary levels was extremely important, 32% regard it as very important and some 10% as important. Less than two percent of Anglophones described this objective as unimportant.

The survey reveals that dual identities play an important role in the self-definition of the Anglophone community. Some one in four surveyed defined themselves as being both Anglophone and Francophone when asked to which linguistic group they belong.

Table 4

Regardless of what language you speak, which of the two principal linguistic communities do you consider yourself a part of...

	Number	Percentage
Anglophone	2201	70.6
Francophone	57	1.8
Both Anglophone and Francophone	792	25.4
Neither Anglophone nor Francophone	67	2.2
Total	3117	

A narrow majority of Anglophones say that their social contacts occur in English only but just over four in ten say they take place in both official languages.

Table 5

Do your social contacts with friends generally take place in...

	Number	Percentage
English	1531	51.0
French	75	2.5
Both English and French	1217	40.5
English, French and/or Other combinations	182	5.9
Total	3005	

As to the issues that Anglophones regard as the major priority there are variety that are selected and there is no single dominant preoccupation. The issues most frequently mentioned are access to services in English, equal rights for Anglophones and health care.

Table 6

Most Important Issues	Number	Percentage
access to services in English	380	12.1
equal rights for Anglophone	368	11.7
health care	330	10.5
national unity	198	6.3
education/schools	181	5.7
Bilingualism	180	5.7
language (s.p.)	161	5.1
Other	155	4.9
employment/jobs	147	4.7
communications Francophone	104	3.3
politic/government	85	2.7
language of signs	83	2.6
young Anglophone leaving	79	2.5
protect English communication	58	1.8
integration / harmony	50	1.6
more English information	43	1.4
Economy	25	0.8
learning speak French	19	0.6
access English school	15	0.5
Nothing	14	0.5
Poverty	3	0.1
DNK/Refusal	451	14.4
Total	3129	

When the priorities are grouped thematically it is matters related to the group's minority status that get referred to most often.

Table 7

Most important issue	Number	Percentage
minority status	1187	37.9
societal / sectoral	969	30.9
other / did not respond	620	19.8
relations with majority	353	11.2
Total	3129	

Across all demographic groups' access to services are regarded as important. Despite the significant percentage of Anglophones able to speak the French language it is language training to which they accord the highest degree of importance.

Table 8

Importance attached to access to selected services

	Extremely important	Important	Not Important/ DK/Refuse	Total
Language Training	1468 (57.5)	992 (39.6)	90 (2.9)	2550
Health Services	1249 (48.9)	1117(44.6)	184 (6.5)	2550
Family Support Services	1245(48.8)	1130(44.3)	125(6.9)	2550
Employment Services	1101(43.1)	1154(46.1)	295(10.8)	2550

Anglophones are more interested in employment with the government of Canada in Quebec than with the government of Quebec. Over some four in ten Anglophones have either been interested or are interested in employment in either the federal or provincial civil service.

Table 9

Have you ever been or would you be interested in seeking a job with...

	Have you ever been or would you be interested in seeking a job with the government of Quebec?	Have you ever been or would you be interested in seeking a job with the government of Canada in Quebec?
yes	1168 (37.3)	1388 (44.6)
no	1823 (58.3)	1616 (51.3)
DNK/Refusal	138 (4.4)	125 (4.1)
Total	3129	3129

Nearly one-third of Anglophones surveyed believe that members of their language group have equal access to jobs with the Government of Canada in Quebec as opposed to less than twenty percent who feel there is equal opportunity for employment with the government of Quebec.

Table 10

Do you believe that Anglophones have equal access to jobs...

	Do you believe that Anglophones have equal access to jobs with the government of Quebec?	Do you believe that Anglophones have equal access to jobs with the government of Canada in Quebec(1)?
yes	551 (17.6)	978 (31.2)
no	2304 (73.6)	1813 (58.0)
DNK/Refusal	274 (9.8)	338 (18.8)
Total	3129	3129

(1) Some 210 respondents that answered “more or less” to the question on perceived access to federal government employment were divided equally between the ‘yes’ and ‘no’ options

Less than one in five Anglophones agree that the future of the French language in Quebec is threatened. Six in ten however feel that the future of the English-speaking community in their region is threatened. Despite these sentiments, a majority of Anglophones surveyed agree that it is important that the government of Quebec maintain laws which protect the French language in Quebec.

Table 11

	The future of the French language in Quebec is threatened.	The future of the English-speaking community in my region is threatened.	It is important that the Government of Quebec maintains laws which protect French in Quebec.
totally agree	192 (6.5)	958 (32.8)	557 (19.0)
somewhat agree	338(11.4)	870 (29.7)	1039 (35.4)
somewhat disagree	570(19.3)	530 (18.1)	495 (16.9)
totally disagree	1851 (62.7)	569 (19.4)	842 (28.7)
Total	2951	2927	2933

Some one in ten Anglophones surveyed say they will not be living in the same municipality in the next five years and nearly another tenth either do not know or did not respond.

Table 12

Five years from now, do you think that you will still be living in the same municipality?		Percentage
yes	2505	80.6
no	336	10.8
DNK/Refusal	288	8.6
Total	3129	

Of those who indicate they will be leaving, close to half say they will be moving to another province (46%) and slightly more than one in ten to another country (13%).

Table 13

Will you live in...		Percentage
the same region	37	11.2
a different region	78	23.2
in another province	155	46.1
out of the country	44	13.3
DNK/Refusal	22	6.2
Total	336	

Those who express an intention to leave cite economic opportunity more often than any other consideration with over one-quarter giving this reason. Politics is the second reason most frequently evoked by Anglophones surveyed.

Table 14

Among the following reasons, which one, if any, is most important in your probable decision to move to another province? Is it...		Percentage
an economic opportunity	46	27.0
because of politics	34	19.2
for family reasons	31	17.5
educational opportunity	19	11.1
Retirement	18	10.1
you feel discriminated	13	7.4
Other/DNK/Refusal/no reason	16	7.6
Total	177	

Three-quarters of Quebec Anglophones have family members that live within one hour's distance from their homes.

There is a gap in the extent to which Anglophones feel that organizational leadership affects their daily lives and the degree to which they are familiar with representative bodies. Just over half the Anglophones surveyed feel that through its leadership community organizations influence their daily lives yet, when asked, between one-quarter and one-third of those surveyed said they were aware of either health or educational

organizations that represent the concerns of English-speaking Quebecers.

Table 15

Do you feel that your language group through its leadership, its organizations and its institutions influences factors that affect your daily life?		Percentage
Yes	1664	57.0
No	1251	43.0
Total	2915	

GENERATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

As confirmed by the CHSSN-CROP survey younger Anglophones are more inclined to report an ability to conduct a conversation in French than older cohorts. The same is true for the capacity to read in French where amongst Anglophones over 45 years of age just over half indicate an ability to do so where over two-thirds 45 and under say they read French well. The generation gap further widens when it comes to the ability to write in the French language with some 60% of those in the 18-30 age group saying they are able to do so, 44% in the 31-45 category, 35% in the 45-64 range and just over one in four amongst seniors.

In terms of the language used most frequently at work or at school some 60% say they use the English language most often. Amongst those under the age of 65 some one out of six uses both English and French most often and a near equal share use French most frequently. On the issue of whether Anglophones are satisfied with the extent and quality of the French language instruction they received, the generation gap is significant. Those between the ages of 18-30 represent the only age cohort where a slight majority express satisfaction with the instruction they received. Satisfaction rates of those over the age of 30 declines from one cohort to the next and in the 31-45 group approximately half declared that they were not adequately prepared in French. The percentage climbs to 59% amongst the 46-64 group as regards the quality of French they received did not prepare them to be successful in Quebec.

Not surprisingly therefore, nearly all Anglophones think it important that French be taught as a second language in elementary and secondary schools. In fact more than half describe such teaching as extremely important. A relatively significant percentage of English mother tongue Quebecers say that regardless of the language they speak they belong to both the Anglophone and francophone communities. Generation plays a relatively limited role in the degree to which such identification is held. Some 27.1% for the 18-30 group define themselves as such while this is the case for 27.2 for the 31-45, 25% for 46-64 group and 22% for the 65 and over group. Social contacts are somewhat more likely to take place in both English and French for persons 45 and under than those beyond that age.

With respect to priority issues, it is equal rights for Anglophones, a concern across the age spectrum, which seems to be more frequently evoked by the 45 and under group. This is less a concern amongst those beyond that age. The generational differences within the Quebec Anglophone community emerge around the importance attributed to such matters as health care and access to services in the English language. For their part the 18-30 groups tend to rank bilingualism as somewhat more important than as those in other age cohorts. On the basis of the most important priority when grouped under four themes it is issues relating to minority status that dominate and in particular for the 31-45 age category. Relations with the majority do not seem to be as much a preoccupation across the age spectrum.

On the issue of securing employment with the government of Canada in Quebec clearly the youngest cohort is more interested than the other groups with two-thirds indicating as much. That said there is a definite gap between those under 45 who either were interested in such employment or are currently interested compared to those over the age of 45 where only a minority ever showed such inclination. As to the perception of access to employment in the civil service in the government of Canada, most Anglophones feel that opportunity for members of their group is not equal. The perception is held most strongly amongst those over the age of 45 who, in effect, have shown less interest in such employment. Networking is increasingly considered a critical aspect of finding employment. Only one in four Anglophones have a friend or family member that works for the Government of Quebec in Canada. Interest in working for the government of Canada in Quebec is somewhat higher than it is in working for the government of Quebec. Still a majority of Anglophones 45 years and older say they have either been interested or would be interested in working for the government of Quebec. Indeed as observed below the share of those expressing such interest is especially high amongst the 18-30 age group.

Table 16

Have you ever been or would you be interested in seeking a job with the government of Canada in Quebec?				
	18 - 30	31 - 45	46 - 64	65+
yes	207 (67.6)	528 (56.3)	493 (42.8)	147 (21.5)
no	85 (27.7)	362 (38.6)	617(53.0)	518 (76.0)
Already works for gvt/ DNK/Refusal	14	47	42	17
Total	306	937	1152	682

As to equal access to Quebec government jobs there remains a significant percentage that do not believe such parity exists. Nearly three-quarters think that access is not equal for Anglophones seeking such opportunities.

The generation gap is reflected to some degree in the extent to which younger Quebecers believe the French language is threatened. While more than one-quarter of the 18-30 group agree that the French language is threatened in Quebec the view is held to a lesser

extent amongst those over the age of 30 where one-sixth share that perspective.

As to the need for laws protecting the French language a slight majority of Anglophones support the need for legislation. In this regard there is no difference across the age spectrum in the extent to which Anglophones agree over the need for laws designed to protect the French language.

On the perception of the demographic threat to the English-speaking community, there is little generational difference in opinion as just over six in ten agree that community's future is uncertain. It is in the 46-64 cohorts that such concerns are strongest as some two-thirds surveyed hold that view.

In terms of the possibility of migration, not surprisingly it is the youngest cohort (the 18-30 group) that is more likely to evoke the possibility of leaving their municipality with nearly thirty percent saying they do not believe they will live there in the next five years. Beyond the age of thirty the figure for potential migrants drops to ten percent.

Table 17

Five years from now, do you think that you will still be living in the same municipality?				
	18 - 30	31 - 45	46 - 64	65+
yes	193 (63.0)	766 (81.7)	938 (81.5)	571 (8.3)
no	91 (29.7)	97 (10.3)	101 (8.8)	44 (6.4)
DNK/Refusal	22 (7.3)	74 (8.0)	113 (9.7)	67 (9.9)
Total	306	937	1152	682

Age is an important factor in understanding the motivation for migration. Amongst the 18-30 cohort, educational opportunity and economic considerations are the principal factors that influence the decision to leave. Politics is far less often a factor for this group. In the 31-45 age category, it is primarily economic considerations that motivates potential migrants. Politics is cited more frequently than other factors for those Anglophones between the ages of 45 and 64. And finally those over the age of 65 tend to refer to family reasons more often than other considerations. Three-quarters of Quebec Anglophones have family members that live within one hour's distance from their homes. At 30%, seniors have a higher percentage of persons saying they do not have family members living within one hour's distance.

There is a gap in the extent to which Anglophones feel that organizational leadership affects their daily lives and the degree to which they are familiar with the community's sectoral representative bodies. Just over half the Anglophones surveyed feel that through its leadership, community organizations influence their daily lives. Yet when asked, between one-quarter and one-third of those surveyed said they were aware of either only health or educational organizations that represent the concerns of English-speaking Quebecers. Knowledge of health organizations promoting community interests is much higher amongst those Anglophones over the age of 45 than below that cohort.

REGIONAL IDENTIFICATION

On a regional basis in Montreal some 52% of Anglophone social contacts generally take place in English with the balance overwhelmingly taking place in both languages. The pattern is similar in the Eastern Townships, but surprisingly in Laval, the Montérégie, the Outaouais and the Gaspé social contacts are more frequently conducted in English than is the case for Montrealers. Elsewhere in the province in such places as the Quebec City area, the Laurentians and Lanaudière most social contacts take place in both English and French. As to the extent and quality of French language instruction they received, there are similarities across the regions in levels of satisfaction.

As to major priorities in Montreal equal rights for Anglophones is the issue referred to more than any other matter. In the Montérégie and in the Eastern Townships access to services in English are cited more frequently than other issues. In Laval equal rights for Anglophones and access to services are given equal importance. Thereafter there are differences across the regions in the identification of priorities with those in the Outaouais choosing access to services first, the North Shore citing equal rights, and health care in the Gaspésie. Elsewhere, in the Laurentians it is equal rights that are identified most often and in Quebec City and Lanaudière it is services in the English language.

Table 18

Most Important Issues	Montérégie	Eastern Townships	Montreal Urban Community	Quebec City
equal rights for Anglophones	63 (14.3)	21(7.5)	130 (13.2)	5 (4.1)
access to services in English	66 (15.0)	50(17.9)	101(10.3)	14 (11.6)
health care	48 (10.9)	39 (13.9)	76 (7.7)	22 (18.3)
national unity	34 (7.7)	11 (3.9)	71 (7.2)	9 (7.5)
education/schools	25 (5.7)	15 (5.4)	61 (6.2)	9 (7.5)
bilinguism	26 (5.9)	17 (6.1)	49 (5.0)	5 (4.1)
language of signs	14 (3.2)	9 (3.2)	24 (2.5)	-
other	115 (26.1)	96 (34.5)	360 (36.7)	42 (35)
DNK/Refusal	53 (12.0)	30 (10.7)	142 (14.5)	15 (12.5)
Total	444	278	980	121

Grouped thematically issues associated with minority status are more pressing for Anglophones in most parts of the province with the exception of the Quebec City area, the Gaspésie and the North Shore where sectoral or service issues collect the larger plurality of responses as reflecting the principal concern.

As to the importance attached to services, it is language training which is cited most frequently as extremely important across all the regions. Only in the North Shore, the Gaspé and Lanaudière is health care accorded similar levels of importance as language

training services.

As to the issue of seeking employment with the government of Canada in Quebec, such interest is highest in Montreal and Laval where proximity to such offices is strongest (although somewhat surprisingly this is not the case in the Outaouais). On the question of perceptions of equal access to employment for Anglophones with the government of Canada in Quebec, the view across all regions is that parity does not exist and such sentiment is strongest amongst Anglophones surveyed in the Outaouais. On the other hand, in Quebec City Anglophones are somewhat less likely to claim that access is unequal. As to interest in seeking employment with the government of Quebec, it is relatively even in most regions of the province though somewhat higher in the North Shore and Laval. Interest is disproportionately lower in the Montérégie and the Eastern Townships. As to equal access for Anglophones in employment with the government of Quebec, the percentage is low across the regions as regards such parity.

As to the perception that the French language is threatened, the level of agreement amongst Anglophones is relatively similar across the regions and only slightly higher than the average amongst Montrealers where approximately one in five hold that view.

Regarding the need for the government to legislate to protect French, at 55%, Montreal Anglophones are somewhat more likely to concur than Anglophones in most other regions of the province. Only in the North Shore, Quebec City and the Outaouais is the percentage higher that agrees with the need to legislate. As to the perceived threat to the English-speaking community in the regions, it is in Montreal, Montérégie, Laval and the Outaouais where some one in four Anglophones feel such vulnerability. Elsewhere the percentage that feel that the community's future is threatened ranges from one-third in Quebec City to nearly half in the Gaspé and the Eastern Townships.

When it comes to migration intentions there is a fair degree of consistency in the pattern across the regions. A near majority of those expressing the intention to leave within five years are inclined to say they will be leaving the province as opposed to moving within the province. Anglophones in the Quebec City area, the Lower St-Lawrence and the Saguenay Lac St-Jean are somewhat less likely than those in other parts of the province to have family members who live within one hour's distance from their home. In Montreal more than one-quarter of those surveyed report not having family members that live within one hour's distance from the home, slightly above the average for Quebec Anglophones.

Nearly 80% of Montreal Anglophones say they are unaware of the organizations representing the interests of the English-speaking community in health care. By contrast to the rest of the province, in the Quebec City area a majority of Anglophones say they are familiar with such an organization. In the Eastern Townships and the Gaspé such awareness is relatively good compared to other parts of the province. Knowledge of educational organizations is similar as majorities in Quebec City, the Eastern Townships, the North Shore and Chaudière say they are aware of a community organization promoting the interests of the English-speaking population in their region in education. In

the Gaspé and the Outaouais awareness is relatively good.

On the influence of leadership in the lives of Anglophones, majorities tend to acknowledge such impact across the regions. In several of the smaller centers, Anglophones are somewhat less likely to observe the influence of leadership on their daily lives (i.e. Lanaudière, the Lower St.Lawrence, Saguenay, Abitibi and the Mauricie).

Table 19

Do you feel that your language group through its leadership, its organizations and its institutions influences factors that affect your daily life?				
	yes	no	Total	Percentage saying leadership does affect their daily lives
Nord du Québec	12	4	16	75
Estrie	160	94	254	63
Outaouais	119	77	196	60.8
Montreal Urban community	545	369	914	59.7
Centre du Québec	16	11	27	59.2
Montérégie	239	172	411	58.2
Laurentide	95	71	166	57.2
Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine	91	72	163	55.8
Laval	125	99	224	55.8
Quebec	62	52	114	54.4
Chaudière Appalache	16	15	31	51.6
Côte-Nord	90	88	178	50.5
Lanaudière	38	43	81	46.9
Abitibi-Témiscamingue	33	45	78	42.4
Lower St-Lawrence	7	11	18	39
Saguenay Lac St-Jean	7	12	19	37
Mauricie	5	15	20	25
Total	1664	1251	2915	57.1

GENDER

Anglophone men and women report a near equal ability to conduct a conversation in both English and French. Anglophone men are slightly more inclined to report an ability to read French than are Anglophone women. For their part, Anglophone women however report a slightly better ability to write in the French language than Anglophone men. As to dual English-French identity, it is only slightly more common amongst Anglophone men than women with 27% of the former reporting such attachment versus 24% of Anglophone women.

Anglophone men (46.3%) are more likely to have social contacts in English and French than women (36.3%). Indeed a majority of Anglophone males report their social contacts take place in both official languages. Not unrelated to this situation, Anglophone men (12.0%) are also more likely to use both English and French in the workplace and schools than women (9.8%). As to the extent and quality of French received, the men were somewhat more likely to agree that it helped prepare them for success than were Anglophone women.

Men and women agree to roughly the same extent on the importance of the teaching of French as a second language at the elementary and secondary levels

Men rank equal rights for Anglophones (13.5%) as more important than women (10.5%) who tend to be somewhat more preoccupied by health care issues and access to services in the English language (14.3% versus 9.3%). Men are somewhat more preoccupied with the national unity question (8.3% versus 4.9%) and with the migration of young Anglophones. Anglophone women are somewhat more inclined to describe language training services as extremely important than men.

Gender does not appear to be a factor in terms of the level of interest in seeking employment with the Government of Canada within Quebec. But Anglophone women are far more likely to believe that access to employment with the federal civil service is unequal than do their male counterparts. Gender does not play any meaningful role in the extent to which Anglophones have a friend or family member that works for the Government of Canada within Quebec. Men are somewhat more likely to have manifested interest in employment with the government of Quebec than their female counterparts. Again Anglophone women are far more likely to believe that opportunity for employment with the government is unequal.

Anglophone men are more likely to agree than women that the future of the French language is threatened in Quebec. Gender is not much of a factor in the extent to which Anglophones think the Government of Quebec maintains laws which protect French in Quebec. There is little difference on the basis of gender around the extent to which the future of the English-speaking community is threatened.

Just over one in ten believe they will be leaving their municipality over the next five years with men slightly more inclined to express such intentions than women.

Although the intended destinations on the basis of gender are relatively similar, men are somewhat more likely to say they would leave the country.

Of the group that is inclined to leave the province, gender appears only to play a role when it comes to economic reasons, something more likely to be cited by men, as opposed to family reasons which are more often referred to by women.

Table 20

Among the following reasons, which one, if any, is most important in your probable decision to move to another province? Is it...	male	female
an economic opportunity	25 (31.2)	21(21.4)
because of politics	15(18.7)	19 (19.5)
for family reasons	11(13.7)	20 (20.6)
educational opportunity	9 (11.2)	10 (10.3)
retirement	8 (10.0)	10 (10.3)
you feel discriminated	5(6.2)	8 (8.2)
Other, no reason, DNK/Refusal	7 (8.7)	9 (9.2)
Total	80	97

Gender does not play a major role in the extent to which people have family members that live within an hour's distance of their homes.

As to awareness of community organizations promoting the interests of the English-speaking community, gender does not play an important role. On the impact of leadership women are somewhat more inclined to agree that it plays a role in their daily lives than is the case for their male counterparts.

INCOME

People with higher income are more likely than those with lower income to be able to conduct a conversation in the French language. People in households earning over 50K are far more likely to report an ability to read French well than those earning less than that amount. Those earning more income are also far more likely to claim an ability to write in the French language than lower income earners. Those with higher household incomes are only very slightly more inclined to identify with both language communities. Those persons in households earning less than 50k tend to speak English at work/school to a greater extent than those earning over that amount. Higher income households are only slightly more satisfied with the quality of French they received than those earning less than 50k. However those in higher income households are considerably more inclined to attribute considerable importance to the teaching of French as a second language. Social contacts in both English and French are somewhat more common amongst those earning over 50k than those earning below that amount.

Table 21

Do you speak French well enough to carry on a conversation?		
	less than \$50k	more than \$50k
Yes	580 (61.0)	714 (77.2)
No	370 (39.0)	210 (22.8)
Total	950	924

Table 22

How well do you read French?		
	less than \$50k	more than \$50k
Yes	636 (50.4)	898 (71.2)
No	627 (49.6)	362 (28.8)
Total	1263	1260

As to priorities, the principal concern of persons in lower income households is access to services in English (11.0%) followed by health care (10.2%). In the case of higher income households equal rights for Anglophones (14.4%) tops the list of concerns followed by access to services (12.7%) and health care (11.5%). Less than ten percent of lower income households ranked equal rights for Anglophones as their major concern. Yet another difference lies in the concerns expressed by higher income households with respect to the issue of national unity which they rank 4th (7.8%) in contrast to 8th (4.3%) where lower income households ranked the issue. Grouped thematically relations with the majority are more of a concern for the lower income households (14.6% versus 8.8%) while issues related to minority status preoccupy to a greater degree higher income Anglophone households (42.0% versus 34.8%).

Income appears to have little impact on interest in employment with the government of Canada in Quebec. Persons in higher income households are more likely to have a family member with the Government of Canada in Quebec. Income plays a very limited role in the level of interest in seeking a job with the Government of Quebec. People in higher income households are more likely to believe that Anglophones do not have equal access to Quebec government jobs.

Persons in lower income households (19.3%) are only slightly more likely to think that the French language is threatened than persons in higher income households (17.0%). There is however little difference on the basis of income around the degree to which it is felt that the French language requires legislative protection. Nor is income a major factor in the perceived degree of threat to the English-speaking community.

Those in the higher income bracket households are more likely to say they will not be living in the same municipality in the next five years than persons in lower income households. As to where potential migrants would relocate, those with higher income were somewhat more likely to move to a different region within the province in contrast to those with higher incomes who were slightly more inclined to leave the country. Although the sample is small, it is clear that lower income earners considering migration

are more influenced by family and educational considerations than higher income earners for whom economic and political issues are stronger motivators.

Higher income households are somewhat more likely to feel that their language group through its leadership, its organizations and its institutions influences factors that affect their daily life. Lower income households are slightly more likely to be aware of the activities of a community organization in their region promoting the interests of the English-speaking community in the area of health and social services. Lower income households are slightly less likely to be aware of the activities of a community organization in their region promoting the interests of the English-speaking community in the area of education.

IMMIGRANT STATUS

Non-immigrant Anglophones report a higher degree of knowledge of English and French than do immigrant Anglophones though, in each instance, the majority reports an ability to communicate in both languages. Not surprisingly non-immigrants (63%) are more likely to be able to read French well compared to immigrants (52%). Finally non-immigrants are also more likely to report an ability to write in the French language than immigrant Anglophones.

The extent to which immigrants and non-immigrant Anglophones identify with both language communities is relatively similar. Non-immigrants (43%) are more likely to have social contacts that take place in both English and French than are immigrant Anglophones (30%).

Non-immigrant Anglophones are somewhat more likely to use French in the workplace than immigrant Anglophones. Non-immigrant Anglophones are more likely to describe health care (11.8% versus 6.6%) and equal rights for Anglophones (12.4% versus 10.1%) as their major issues of concern than immigrants for whom access to services (12.4%) represents the single most important issue (and as noted earlier is also an important priority for non-immigrants).

Although sectoral and minority status issues are dominant for both immigrant and non-immigrant Anglophones, the former are somewhat more concerned with relations with the majority.

Immigrants are more likely to have shown interest in working for the government of Canada than non-immigrants. Immigrants are somewhat more likely than non-immigrants to think that access to federal civil service for Anglophones is unequal.

Both immigrant and non-immigrant say to a near equal degree that they have a friend or family member that works for the government of Canada in Quebec. When it comes to employment with the government of Quebec, immigrants and non-immigrants tend to have similar levels of agreement around inequality in this regard. Immigrants have

manifested a somewhat greater interest in seeking employment with the government of Quebec than non-immigrants.

There is little difference in levels of agreement on the basis of immigrant status around the extent to which Anglophones feel that the French language is threatened. Levels of agreement over the need to legislate to protect the French language are also relatively similar between immigrant and non-immigrant Anglophones. Finally, there is little variation amongst Anglophone immigrants in the extent to which they believe the future of the English-speaking community is threatened in various regions.

Potential migration levels are not very different amongst Anglophone immigrant and non-immigrant. Possible destinations for those considering migration diverge as there is a greater tendency for immigrants than non-immigrants to say they would leave the country. Immigrant and non-immigrant both identify economic opportunities as the principal factor motivating possible departures but more so for the former while the latter more frequently refers to political considerations and educational opportunities in this regard.

While nearly 80% of non-immigrants report having a family member that lives within one hour's distance from their home, this is the case for sixty percent of immigrants.

Table 23

Percentage that have a family member that lives within one hour's distance from their home

	Non-Immigrants	Immigrants
yes	1938 (79.5)	418 (60.6)
no	498 (20.5)	271(39.4)
Total	2437*	689

*One respondent said they did not know

As to awareness of community organizations representing the interests of the English-speaking community, nearly 30% of non-immigrants claim such knowledge versus 22.5% of immigrant Anglophones. There is a similar gap in awareness with respect to educational organizations as 40% of non-immigrants indicate such knowledge versus 32% of immigrants. As for the influence of leadership on the community, there is very little difference as a majority believes they are affected as members of language groups. Non-immigrants are more inclined than immigrants to view as extremely important the teaching of French as a second language at the elementary and secondary levels. There is little difference in the extent to which immigrants and non-immigrants believe that the extent and quality of French language instruction they received prepared them to be successful in Quebec.

BILINGUALISM

As revealed in Table 1 some seven in ten Anglophones surveyed say they can conduct a conversation in the French language compared with three in ten saying they cannot do so. In this section some of the differences between these two groups are explored.

Bilingual Anglophones are far more likely to have undertaken social contact with friends in both English and French with more than half reporting they do so.

Bilingual Anglophones are noticeably more inclined than those who speak English only to describe as extremely important the teaching of French as a second language at the elementary and secondary levels.

Table 24

Degree of importance attributed to the teaching of French as a second language

	Bilingual	Unilingual
extremely important	952(59.5)	338 (46.6)
very important	500(31.2)	252 (34.8)
important	135 (8.4)	116 (16.1)
not important	14 (0.9)	18 (2.5)
Total	1601	724

As to major issues, it is equal rights for Anglophones that is the most widely referred to concern amongst Anglophones while access to services in English is the principal issue identified by unilingual Anglophones. In fact, equal rights, national unity and commercial signs are collectively identified by nearly one-quarter of bilingual Anglophones compared with one out of six unilingual Anglophones.

Table 25

Most Important Issue	Bilingual	Unilingual
equal rights for Anglophones	222(13.8)	62(8.6)
access to services Eng.	206(12.8)	93 (12.9)
health care	159(9.9)	67(9.3)
national unity	116 (7.2)	37(5.1)
bilinguals	91 (5.6)	47(6.7)
education/schools	88 (5.5)	35 (5.0)
language (s.p.)	82 (5.1)	36 (5.1)
employment/jobs	62 (3.8)	39 (5.4)
young Anglophones leaving	53 (3.3)	13 (1.8)
language of signs	48 (3.0)	14 (1.9)
communications Francophone	44 (2.7)	43 (6.0)
politic/government	44 (2.7)	16 (2.2)
protect English communication	37 (2.3)	8 (1.1)
integration / harmony	25 (1.5)	12 (1.6)

other	126 (7.8)	77(10.6)
DNK/Refusal	207 (12.8)	128 (17.6)
Total	1610	727

When the issues are grouped thematically, a greater percentage of bilinguals refer to minority status as the principal issue of concern in contrast to unilinguals who indicate somewhat more concern over relations with the majority.

Those able to speak both English and French are somewhat more likely to say that they will be moving in the next five years than those who speak only English.

Not surprisingly, bilinguals manifest more interest in employment with the governments of Quebec and Canada than unilingual Anglophones. Bilinguals are also more inclined to think that Anglophones have equal access to jobs with the government of Canada in Quebec than unilinguals. There is little difference in the extent to which bilingual and unilingual Anglophones believe that Anglophones have equal access to jobs with the government of Quebec. Bilingual Anglophones are also more likely than unilinguals to have a friend or a family member who works for the government of Canada in Quebec. Knowledge of official languages has little influence on the extent to which Anglophones feel that the future of the French language in Quebec is threatened. Language also has little affect in the degree to which Anglophones think it is important that the Government of Quebec maintains laws which protect French in Quebec. And finally there is strong convergence between bilingual and unilingual Anglophones (62%) in the extent to which they respectively believe that the future of the English-speaking community in their region is threatened.

Unilingual Anglophones are more likely to think that their language group through its leadership, its organizations and its institutions influences factors that affect their daily lives.

IDENTITY

As noted at the outset, regardless of the language they speak, an important percentage of the English mother tongue population surveyed say they are part of both the Anglophone and francophone communities. The difference in characteristics between these two groups is the object of attention in this section. Nearly all those identifying with both English and French (86%) are able to conduct a conversation in the French language whereas 63% of those identifying only to the Anglophone community can do so. A similar gap exists when it comes to writing in French with the dual identifiers (56%) saying they write French well compared to 31% of those identifying as Anglophone only. Reading in French is also something where it is no surprise that dual identifiers are more capable. Single identifiers (25%) are much less likely than dual identifiers (45%) to agree that the extent and quality of French language instruction they received prepared them to be successful in Quebec.

A majority of dual identifiers say that social contacts with friends occur in both English and French (64%), versus less than one-third (32%) for single identifiers. It is worth noting that few social contacts for dual identifiers take place only in French. The gap is also important when it comes to the language used most frequently at work/school with dual identifiers using either English and French or French only (52%) to a greater extent than single identifiers (26%).

Table 26

Do your social contacts with friends generally take place...		
	Anglophone-Single Identity	Dual Identity
in English	1301 (61.4)	194 (25.5)
in French	31(1.3)	32 (4.3)
Both English and French	668 (31.8)	483 (63.6)
Other Languages in Combination	116 (5.5)	50 (6.6)
Total	2116	759

When it comes to priorities the number one concern cited by dual identifiers is equal rights for Anglophones (12.1%) which finishes second for single identifiers (11.6%) who more frequently cite access to services in the English language (13.4%). For dual identifiers access to services is less frequently cited as the principal concern (8.8%). Dual identifiers are also somewhat more concerned with levels of bilingualism (7.7%) than single identifiers (5.0%). Minority status is the principal concern of Anglophones when grouped thematically single identifiers are somewhat more concerned with services issues while relations with the majority are more of a priority for the dual identifiers.

Table 27

	Anglophone-Single Identity	Dual Identity
societal / sectoral	714 (32.4)	220(27.4)
minority status	860 (39.0)	284(35.9)
relations with majority	233(10.5)	101 (12.7)
other / did not respond	394 (17.9)	187(23.6)
Total	2201	792

Dual identifiers have been somewhat more inclined to manifest interest in employment with the government of Canada in Quebec than single identifiers. As to the perception of access to employment with the government of Canada, 60% of single identifiers think it is unequal compared with approximately 45% of dual identifiers. Dual identifiers are somewhat more likely (30%) than single identifiers (25%) to have a friend or a family member who works for the government of Canada in Quebec. Dual identifiers are more likely to have shown interest in employment with the Government of Quebec than single identifiers. Three-quarters of single identifiers believe that access to employment with the government of Quebec is unequal as opposed to 65% of dual identifiers.

Approximately one-fifth of dual identifiers agree that the future of the French language in Quebec is threatened, just somewhat more than the one-sixth of single identifiers that

hold this view. Some 54% of single identifiers versus 60% of dual identifiers think it is important that the Government of Quebec maintains laws which protect French in Quebec.

There is little difference in the extent to which single and dual identifiers intend to leave their municipality of residence over the next five years. Single identifiers are more inclined than dual identifiers to feel that their language group through its leadership, its organizations and its institutions influences factors that affect their daily life.

EDUCATION

Those Anglophones with a higher level of education (80% of university graduates) are more likely to be able to conduct a conversation in English than those with less schooling (58% with high school or less). The same is true for the capacity to read French well as more than three-quarters with a university degree report such ability versus just over one-third with a high school degree or less. As to written French, approximately one-half with a university degree report such ability compared with about one-quarter with high school or less. About 45% of Anglophones with a university degree say their social contacts take place in both English and French compared to under 40% with a high school degree or less. There is little difference based on one's level of schooling in the extent to which Anglophones believe that the extent and quality of French language instruction they received prepared them to be successful in Quebec. Those with more schooling are somewhat more inclined to say that the teaching of French as a second language at the elementary and secondary levels is extremely important.

Table 28

Degree of importance attributed to the teaching of French as a second language

	completed high school	completed college/CEGEP	completed university
extremely important	649(49.9)	421(56.3)	672(65.0)
very important	474 (36.4)	236 (31.5)	280 (27.1)
Important	179 (13.7)	74(10.0)	70(6.7)
not important/DNK/Refusal	19(1.4)	16 (2.1)	12(1.1)
Total	1331	747	1034

Beyond the principal concern over access to services in the English language, those with less education are somewhat more preoccupied with employment while equal rights for Anglophones and national unity are somewhat greater priorities for those with higher levels of education. When grouped thematically, it is sectoral issues and minority status that are deemed somewhat more important for those with higher education while relations with the majority take on much lesser importance for that group than those with less schooling.

Those with higher education (45%) have only been somewhat more interested than those with little schooling (40%) in employment with the government of Canada.

Level of education has little effect in the extent to which Anglophones believe that access to employment with the federal civil service is unequal with some 55% holding such views. Those with a university degree were only slightly more likely to have a friend or a family member who works for the government of Canada in Quebec than those with less schooling. Level of education does not play an important role in the degree of interest in employment with the government of Quebec as some four in ten Anglophones have manifested such interest. As to access to employment with the government of Quebec, more than three-quarters hold the view that it is not unequal.

Education does not play a significant role in the degree to which Anglophones feel that the future of the French language in Quebec is threatened. There is also little difference in the extent to which education plays a role in how important Anglophones feel it is for the government of Quebec to maintain laws which protect French.

Those with less education are only slightly more inclined to think that the future of the English-speaking community in their region is threatened.

Education also plays a limited role in the intention to move from one's current residence with one in eight saying they would be likely to relocate over the next five years. As to the motivation for those who express the intention to move it is economic opportunity that is referred to more often by those with higher education and those with less schooling. Level of education plays little role in the extent to which people feel that through its leadership, its organizations and its institutions Anglophones daily lives are influenced.

CONCLUSION

In the analysis above, various aspects of the identity of Quebec Anglophones were examined in an effort to determine points of convergence and divergence on issues of concern as well as on the community's views on Quebec society. What emerges is the portrait of a community that shares views on several matters but also has opinions and needs that can take different forms based on region of residence, gender, generation, income, level of education, bilingual capacity and community identification. Clearly it is in the identification of priorities that the principal differences arise and this matter needs to be further explored. Instances where opinion converges can be as relevant as divergent views in addressing assumptions made about where Anglophones agree on matters. Demographic profiles reveal that younger Anglophones are more bilingual and use the French language more often than others. Yet generation does not appear to be the principal basis for divergence or at least it is less a source of difference than such characteristics as socio-economic status and region of residence. Such findings may have meaningful policy ramifications when attempting to address the diversity of views and needs in the Anglophone community. After all, a one-size fits all approach to the Anglophone community surely neglects its internal diversity. It is the basis of that diversity that needs to be examined more thoroughly. A next step might address the converging and diverging views and needs of Anglophones and Francophones

respectively to identify shared priorities and determine in what areas there is a need to be sensitive to differences.