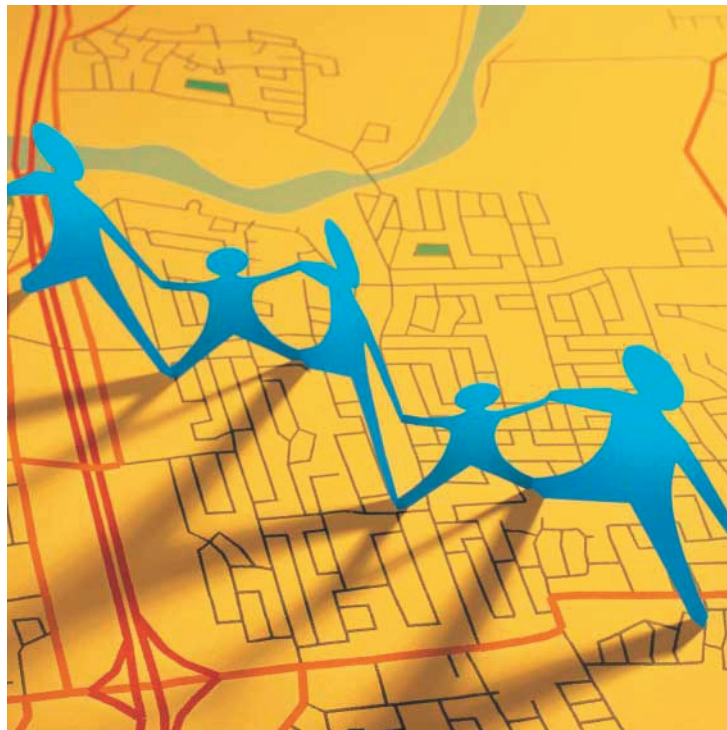


“To Stay or Not to Stay:”
Migrations of Young Anglo-Quebecers
Literature Review

Marie-Odile MAGNAN

URBANISATION, CULTURE ET SOCIÉTÉ

INRS



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Migrations of Young Anglo-Quebecers
Literature Review

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Under the direction of Madeleine GAUTHIER

Document produced within the framework
of activities of the *Groupe de recherche sur la migration des jeunes*

Institut national de la recherche scientifique (INRS)
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Preface

This document reports on research conducted on the interprovincial and interregional migrations of the young Anglophone adults of Quebec. The *Groupe de recherche sur la migration des jeunes* (GRMJ) wanted to carry out a literature review on the subject in order to compare the migration patterns of this subgroup to those of young Quebecers in general.

There are few studies on this topic. To the best of our knowledge, three researchers have studied the interprovincial migration patterns of young Anglo-Quebecers since 1980; the results of the most recent survey were published in 1994. No studies have been carried out specifically on the interregional migration of young Anglo-Quebecers. Considering the lack of research pertaining to this area of study, our literature review was broadened to the more general topic of the migrations of Anglo-Quebecers. More research has been done on this subject, but it too is still exploratory. In fact, studies on Anglo-Quebecers date back only to the 1970s, a decade during which several transformations occurred in Quebec at the political and legislative levels (Radice, 2000a).

Given the shortage of data on the subject, about twenty resource persons from the university, community and government sectors were contacted. We noticed that the most recent work comes from the community and government sectors.

Despite our best efforts, it is possible that we have overlooked some research. We would be grateful if readers brought any such material to our attention.

Introduction

0.1 Background

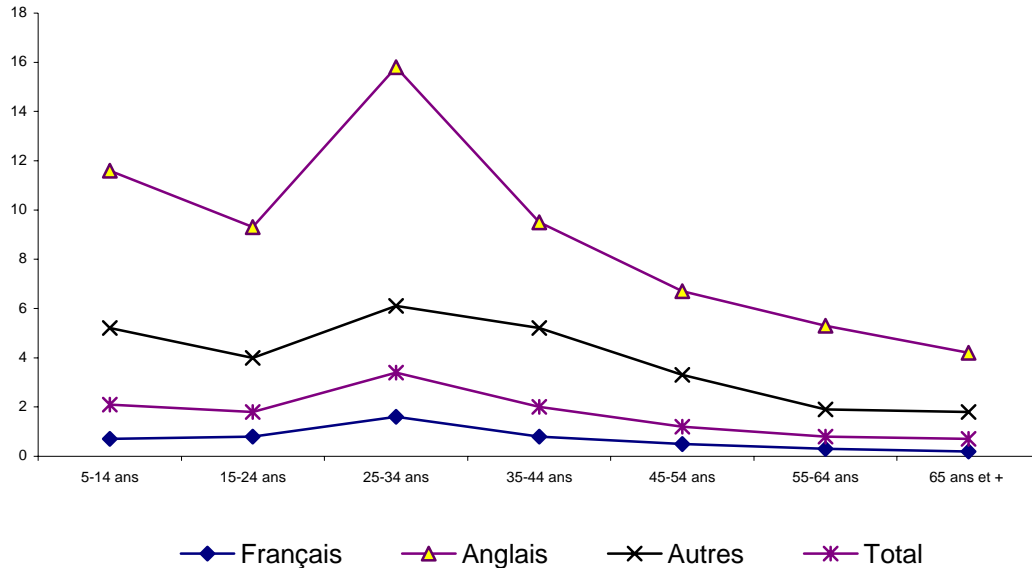
The issue that the literature generally tackles, and that causes some concern is the migration of Anglo-Quebecers to other Canadian provinces. Interprovincial migration is linked to the demographic decline of the English-speaking group in Quebec (Castonguay, 2003). This decline, which Locher (1991) calls “one of the greatest events in the demographic history of Canada”¹ (p.212), dates as far back as Confederation (Rudin, 1986). However, beginning in the late 1960s, this migration had a more significant impact on the decline in the numbers of Anglo-Quebecers, the most critical period being from 1976 to 1981 (Gauthier, 1998; Amit-Talai, 1993). Researchers associate this sharp decline to the Quiet Revolution and to the various political and legislative events that occurred during the 1970s, such as the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 and the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977 (Termote, 2002; Gauthier, 1998; Amit-Talai, 1993). It was in that stormy decade that the migration of Anglo-Quebecers began to be an object of study. Since the 1980s, migration towards other provinces has stabilized, but the proportion of Anglo-Quebecers is still decreasing (Gauthier, 1998). In 2001, 8.3% of Quebec’s population reported English as their mother tongue, 10.5% said they spoke English most often at home, and 12.9% had English as their first official language spoken (Statistics Canada, 2003a; 2002a, n.p.).

For the most part, youths have the highest interprovincial migration rates within Quebec’s English-speaking community (Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Amit-Talai 1993; Locher, 1988). Locher states that the migration of Anglophones is due to factors generally observed in other industrialized countries (i.e., youths being more inclined to migrate). The fact remains, however, that the number of young Anglo-Quebecers is constantly declining. In the 1996–2001 period, the emigration rate from Quebec to other Canadian provinces by young adults aged 25 to 34 and with English as their mother tongue was 15.8%, compared to 6.1% for those who had another language as their

¹ In French: “un des grands événements dans l’histoire démographique du Canada.”

mother tongue, and to 1.6% for those who had French as their mother tongue (see Graph 1).²

Graph 1
Emigration rate (%) to other Canadian provinces by mother tongue, age, and period, 1996-2002



Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, 97F0008XCB2001005 (data compiled by the "Direction de la population et de la recherche" of the ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration (Quebec)).

The terms used in this graph could not be translated in English because we obtained it in French from the "Direction de la population et de la recherche" of the ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration (Quebec).

It is crucial to study the migration of young Anglo-Quebecer adults because the proportion of youths within an ethnolinguistic group has an incidence on its future vitality (Harrison, 1996; Alliance Quebec, 1992). Therefore, understanding the push/pull and retention factors for young Anglo-Quebecers is essential. Quebec's English-speaking community, moreover, is preoccupied with the idea of preventing mass departures of young Anglophones to other provinces (Jedwab, 2002). The Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) stresses this point: "A lack of research data perpetuates a lack of knowledge about these movements, which contributes to the

² The categories being used refer only to people who reported a single response to the question on mother tongue. The emigration rate is calculated from the population located in Quebec at the beginning of the period, that is, the people who were registered in 1996, while taking into account that the people included at the denominator are five years younger at the beginning of the period.

English-speaking community of Quebec's malaise" (QCGN, 2002, p. 5). For its part, the National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority (NHRDC) identifies youth exodus as being one of the main problems for Quebec's English-speaking minority (NHRDC, 2000). Quebec's standing committee on youth, the *Conseil permanent de la jeunesse* (CPJ), which, in May 2002, held a discussion forum for representatives of young Anglophone Quebecers, also stressed the importance of studying the exodus of young Anglo-Quebecers to other Canadian provinces (CPJ, 2003a). In light of these findings, several questions arise: Why are so many young Anglo-Quebecers leaving Quebec? What are the factors motivating their decision? What leads others to stay in Quebec? These are questions this literature review will try to answer.

0.2 Sources of documentation

The present literature review limited itself to works published from 1990 onwards, plus a few others published during the 1980s, which are included due to their relevance. The review includes research carried out in French and English. While it does not claim to cover all the research that has been done on the subject, it did involve consulting sixteen periodicals databases, six library Web sites and the *Google* search engine.³

As mentioned in the Preface, about twenty resource persons from the university, community and government sectors were consulted. We found out that most recent work was coming from the community and government sectors. Also, in order to update the data on the young Anglo-Quebecers, the 2001 Census was used.⁴

³ The following keywords were used: exodus, migration, internal migration, interregional migration, interprovincial migration, out-migration, youth, young, young adult, Anglophone, English-speaking, Anglo-Quebecers, Anglo-Quebeckers. (Keywords used in French: exode, migration, migration intérieure, migration interrégionale, migration intraprovinciale, migration interprovinciale, émigration, jeune, jeune adulte, jeunesse, anglophone, Anglo-Québécois).

⁴ Much of these data were compiled by William Floch of Canadian Heritage, François Gauvin of the Department of Human Resources Development Canada, Louise Marmen of Statistics Canada, and by the *Direction de la population et de la recherche du ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration*. We are very grateful to them for sharing this material with us. Also, Jaël Mongeau, a demographer affiliated to INRS-UCS, has collected data from the 2001 Census.

0.3 Main concepts

There are several ways of defining linguistic groups. As pointed out by Lamarre et al. (2002), “academics and politicians alike still have difficulty talking about language communities” (p. 49). Amit-Talai (1993) argues that a difficult choice immediately confronts researchers studying the Anglophone group. According to Radice (2000b), the way one defines Anglo-Quebecers is important because “the social, political, and historical scope of each sense of the term is markedly different” (p. 4). Piché (2001), whose particular interest is the ratio of Francophones within the population of Quebec, and particularly of Montreal, maintains that the choice of a language indicator is always based upon predetermined political objectives.

Indeed, the proportion of Anglo-Quebecers varies according to the definition chosen by the researcher (Jedwab, 1996). The same observation applies to the Francophone group. Piché (2001) states that the answer to the question—“Is the French language threatened in Quebec?”⁵—depends on which indicator is used (p. 44). Piché (2001) observes that the debate has more to do with the indicator chosen and its subsequent interpretation than it does with numbers. Meintel (1992), points out the danger of researchers creating the very ethnic group they are studying through the choice and formulation of their questions. In our opinion, this comment also applies to the study of a linguistic group.

In the works consulted, the main variables used to characterize Anglo-Quebecers are mother tongue, home language,⁶ and first official language spoken. These variables come from either the Canadian census or questionnaires developed by researchers. To our knowledge, Radice (2000a) is the only researcher to have used the “ethnic origin” variable; she conducted a qualitative study on people living on the Island of Montreal who were of Anglo-Celtic origin and whose mother tongue was English.⁷ Of course, some researchers include several of these variables in their analyses of the Quebec Anglophone group. Paillé (1997) notes that, even if each of these variables does not fully reflect a specified group, they are all relevant to demolinguistic analysis.

⁵ In French: “le français est-il menacé au Québec?”

⁶ This variable was formerly called “language of use.”

⁷ In 1999, Radice carried out 26 qualitative interviews with Anglo-Montrealers of different genders, age groups and levels of education. The “snowball” technique was used to select informants. Four participants were in their twenties.

0.3.1 Mother tongue⁸

Mother tongue is the “first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census” (Statistics Canada, 2002b, n.p.)⁹. Researchers using this variable justify their choice in several ways. Gauthier (1998), for instance, states that mother tongue measures a more stable characteristic, and that this simplifies the analysis of migration by generation and of migration since birth. Castonguay (2003) emphasizes that “information on mother tongue serves as the starting point of all linguistic analysis”¹⁰ (p. 232). However, he also notes, as does Termote (2002), that studying the evolution of a linguistic group by mother tongue (and, Castonguay even adds, by language used at home, and by knowledge of French and English) requires taking into account the changes made to the questionnaire by Statistics Canada, since these changes can hamper the comparison of data.¹¹ On the other hand, it is difficult for researchers interested in the demolinguistic history of Anglo-Quebecers to use the home language variable, as it has only been included in the census since 1971 (Rudin, 1986). Beaudin, Boudreau and De Benedetti (1996) maintain that the “mother tongue” variable simplifies statistical analysis because it is less ambiguous and carries less risk of over-representing a given linguistic group. Nonetheless, it is important to mention that mother tongue does present some methodological issues. For example, the proportion of people with more than one mother tongue would be overestimated within households having answered the census short-form questionnaire (Harrison, 1996).

Lamarre et al. (2002) also point out that mother tongue is often considered to be a variable reflecting ethnic identity. However, they reject the idea that linguistic communities are necessarily imbued with ethnic and cultural features. They conclude their study of language use by young Montrealers with the following observation: “It may also be possible that some young Montrealers are not even concerned with

⁸ All the definitions used for characterizing the different variables were taken from the 2001 Census Dictionary, the definitions being almost identical from one questionnaire to another.

⁹ In French: “première langue apprise à la maison dans l’enfance et encore comprise par le recensé au moment du recensement.”

¹⁰ In French: “l’information sur la langue maternelle sert de point d’ancrage à toute analyse linguistique.”

¹¹ Castonguay (2003) emphasizes that “the new priority given to ‘French’ over ‘English’ in the 2001 questionnaire would be the one most likely to turn the responses in favour of French to the detriment of English, as much for mother tongue as for home language and the knowledge of French and English” [In French: “la nouvelle priorité donnée à “français” sur “anglais” dans le questionnaire de 2001 serait le plus susceptible d’infléchir les réponses en faveur du français, au détriment de l’anglais, tant pour la langue maternelle que pour la langue d’usage au foyer et la connaissance du français et de l’anglais”] (p. 235).

linguistic identity, that language and identity do not have the same relationship as they did for earlier generations” (p. 71).

0.3.2 Home language

Home language is the “language spoken most often at home by the individual at the time of the census”¹² (Statistics Canada, 2002b, n.p). Often, “home language and mother tongue can be the same”¹³ for a given respondent (Piché, 2001, p. 45). However, for 2001, when home language is taken into account instead of mother tongue, the proportion of Anglo-Quebecers rises by 2.2% (Statistics Canada, 2002a, n.p.).¹⁴ In fact, the Anglophone group always has a greater weight when home language is selected. Castonguay (2003), who asserts that home language is an indicator of linguistic vitality, explains this difference as follows: “The ever-growing vitality of English ensures that the proportion of those whose home language is English is diminishing more slowly than that of Anglophones by mother tongue”¹⁵ (p. 240).

Some researchers believe that measuring the Anglo-Quebecer group in this way provides a better reflection of reality because it assesses the current linguistic behaviour of respondents, whereas mother tongue is more a reflection of past practices (Termote, 2002; Paillé, 1999; Jedwab, 1996). Thus, Termote (1997) states that home language “seems to have a more relevant socio-cultural and political meaning than the one based on mother tongue, knowledge (self-reported) of a language, or belonging to an ethnic group”¹⁶ (p. 80). In fact, it seems that “[it is] the home language, much more than mother tongue, that determines migration patterns”¹⁷ (Termote and Gauvreau, 1988 in Paillé, 1999, p. 37). Also, home language is an important variable as it becomes the mother tongue of the household’s children, and therefore, plays a crucial role in generational transfers of language and culture (Termote, 2002).

¹² In French: “langue que le recensé parlait le plus souvent à la maison”.

¹³ In French: “la langue d’usage et la langue maternelle peuvent être la même.”

¹⁴ For the Francophone majority, Termote (2002) emphasizes that, “population numbers are pretty much the same from one indicator to another” [In French: “les effectifs de la population sont très semblables d’un indicateur à l’autre”] (i.e., home language, mother tongue) (p. 54).

¹⁵ In French: “La vitalité toujours croissante de l’anglais fait en sorte que le poids des parlants anglais à la maison recule plus lentement que celui des Anglophones selon la langue maternelle.”

¹⁶ In French: “semble avoir une signification socioculturelle et politique plus pertinente que celle basée sur la langue maternelle, sur la connaissance (autodéclarée) d’une langue, ou encore sur l’appartenance à un groupe ethnique.”

¹⁷ In French: “[ce soit] la langue d’usage, bien plus que la langue maternelle, qui détermine les mouvements migratoires.”

Comparing results for mother tongue to those for home language allows a quick estimate of language transfers from a given language to English or French (Termote, 2002; Jedwab, 1996). Linguistic mobility is defined as “a phenomenon whereby an individual ceases his/her main use of his/her mother tongue at home”¹⁸ (Paillé, 1997, p. 78). On the other hand, Termote (2002) points out that simply comparing mother tongue to home language does not give information about the moment when language transfer occurred or the number of language transfers that took place over a given period of time. According to him, “such a comparison does not in any way make it possible to assess the evolution of a population’s linguistic behaviour”¹⁹ (p. 10). Piché (2001) is likewise unconvinced that the transition from mother tongue to another language at home actually signifies a language transfer. In fact, he maintains that the census question does not measure multilingualism, because the answer given by the respondent tells only about the language he/she speaks most often at home. To make up for that methodological limitation, Statistics Canada added the following question to the 2001 Census: “Does this person speak any other languages on a regular basis at home?”²⁰ Castonguay (2003) explains that interpreting the responses to that question is problematic, however, because the word “regular” is not precise and, to respondents, it could signify the daily use as much as the occasional use of a language.

Finally, Piché (2001) indicates that home language measures only linguistic behaviours in private life and, therefore, is an indicator of assimilation rather than of integration into public life.

0.3.3 First official language spoken

The “First official language spoken” variable was created to enforce the *Official Languages Act* adopted in 1969. Its purpose is “to establish the rights and responsibilities within the federal government for the use of French and English for the delivery of services and as a language of work within the federal public service” (NHRDC, 2000, p. 108). It refers to the first official language that the respondent

¹⁸ In French: “phénomène par lequel une personne cesse de faire principalement usage de sa langue maternelle au foyer.”

¹⁹ In French: “une telle comparaison ne permet en aucune manière d’évaluer l’évolution du comportement linguistique d’une population.”

²⁰ In French: “Cette personne parle-t-elle régulièrement d’autres langues à la maison?”

learned and still understands (*Idem*, 2000). The method of deriving this variable takes into account, first, the knowledge of the two official languages; second, the mother tongue; and third, the language spoken at home.

Knowledge of the two official languages is measured by the following question: “Does the respondent know French or English well enough to conduct a conversation? Choices: French only, English only, both French and English, neither French nor English.” Both Termote (2002) and Piché (2001) criticize this indicator, which they say is difficult to analyze as it measures the respondents’ self-assessment of their language knowledge. The self-assessment of respondents is subjective. Cross-checks performed by Statistics Canada after the census data collection show that Anglophones do not evaluate their knowledge of French in the same way that Francophones do for English (i.e., Francophones seem to judge their knowledge of English more severely) (Termote, 2002). Additionally, Termote (2002) notes that the question on the knowledge of official languages is asked to only a sample representing 20% of the population, which causes problems of unrepresentativeness, especially when data analysis has to be carried out by region and by age. Nonetheless, Piché (2001) notes that knowledge of both official languages is the only census indicator (except for “language used most often at work,” which is included in the 2001 Census) that makes it possible to measure the use of languages in the public sector, “because we can assume that if people know French [or English], that means they use it in their everyday life”²¹ (p. 46).

The “first official language spoken” variable is created in the following manner: First, respondents who can conduct a conversation in French only are classified in the “French” category of the “first official language spoken” variable. Respondents able to sustain a conversation only in English are classified in the “English” category. Then, the responses to the questions about mother tongue and language spoken at home are used to classify the respondents who speak both French and English or who do not speak either official language. Respondents are classified in the “French” category when they have French only, or French and another non-official language, as mother tongue. The same process applies to respondents who have only English, or English and another

²¹ In French: “puisque l’on peut faire l’hypothèse que si les personnes connaissent le français [ou l’anglais], c’est qu’elles l’utilisent dans la vie courante.”

non-official language, as mother tongue: English is given as their first official language spoken. Respondents still not classified are given the “French” category when they have French only, or French and another non-official language, as home language. Again, the same process applies for the “English” category. Finally, the categories “both French and English” and “neither French nor English” are added in order to include the remaining respondents not yet classified.

This way of measuring Anglo-Quebecers is used mainly by the community and government sectors. Clearly, using this variable indicates a higher proportion of Anglo-Quebecers than when only the “mother tongue” and “home language” variables are taken into account. Actually, the first official language spoken mainly measures the adoption of English by Allophones (Marmen and Corbeil, 1999). Also, this variable does not allow a historical analysis, given that it was created only for the 1971, 1991 and 1996 Censuses (Termote, 2002). Termote (2002) adds that the first official language spoken “makes it impossible for any demolinguistic analysis to be undertaken because no information on births, deaths, migrations or linguistic mobility is available on the basis of this indicator”²² (p. 18).

0.3.4 The researchers’ perspectives

Various approaches are used to study the interprovincial migration of Anglo-Quebecers, or, more precisely, young Anglo-Quebecers. The most important ones are given here.

The linguistic and cultural approach prevails in the literature. In this approach, researchers propose that the migration patterns of Anglophones can be explained by the fact that the latter form a distinct linguistic and cultural group. For example, researchers agree that Anglophones are much more inclined to migrate to other Canadian provinces than are Quebec’s other linguistic groups (NHRDC, 2000; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Newbold, 1996; Liaw, 1990). Anglophones’ migration patterns are thus compared to those of Francophones and Allophones. Researchers also determine the impact of Anglo-Quebecers’ French language skills on their migration (Radice, 2000a; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994a; 1988; Amit-Talai, 1993; Alliance Quebec,

²² In French: “rend impossible toute analyse démolinguistique, puisque aucune information sur les naissances, les décès, les migrations et la mobilité linguistique n’est disponible sur la base de cet indicateur.”

1992). Moreover, some researchers have analyzed the correlation between the desire to live in a predominantly “Anglophone” environment and out-migration from Quebec (Kaplan, 1995; Amity-Talai, 1993). However, Amity-Talai (1993) points out that the language factor should not be considered as the main explanation for the interprovincial migration of young Anglophones: “Clearly, we are dealing with social and cultural dynamics far more complex than our linguistic labels in themselves allow for” (p. 58). Some authors are also trying to determine whether ethnic identity, a sense of rootedness, and the cultural climate of Quebec are explanatory factors of the interprovincial migration of Anglo-Quebecers (Johnson, 2000; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Lo and Teixeira, 1988; Newbold, 1996; Locher, 1994a; 1992; 1988; Alliance Quebec, 1992; Caldwell, 1983).

The politico-legal approach involves analyzing the migration patterns of Anglophones with reference to various events that have occurred in Quebec at the political and legislative levels. Researchers working from this perspective emphasize, for instance, that the interprovincial migration rates of Anglo-Quebecers are usually high during periods of “political tension”²³ (Termote, 2002, p. 32) such as the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976, the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977, and the referendums of 1980 and 1995 (Stevenson, 2000; NHRDC, 2000; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Termote, 1997; Newbold, 1996; Locher, 1992; Alliance Quebec, 1992). This approach has limitations, however, because, as mentioned by Termote (2002; 1997), the numbers of Anglophones in Quebec is on the decline even during politically calm periods.

The economic approach aims to explain the exodus²⁴ of Anglo-Quebecers with reference to the economic environment, employment opportunities and “economic

²³ In French: “tension politique.”

²⁴ The concepts of “migration” and “exodus” are used throughout this literature review. The meaning of the word “migration” varies according to the context in which it is used; in fact, it refers to both the movements of Anglo-Quebecers from one province to another (i.e., interprovincial migration) and the movements from one region to another (i.e., interregional migration). The word “exodus” refers only to interprovincial migration of English-speaking Quebecers. In fact, according to Gauthier and Bujold (1994), “the word exodus adds a qualification to the notion of migration pertaining to its importance. The word brings with it the idea of mass movement and of moving towards better conditions, including different types of conditions including economic, social, cultural, ethnic, etc.” [In French : “Le mot exode ajoute une qualification à la notion de migration : celle de son importance. Il comporte l'idée de déplacement massif et d'un déplacement vers des conditions meilleures, ces conditions pouvant être de différents ordres : économiques, sociaux, culturels, ethniques, etc.”] (p. 14). Among Anglo-Quebecers, it is interprovincial migration rather than interregional migration that involves such a mass movement.

progress.”²⁵ Some researchers refer to the economic environment of Quebec and of other Canadian provinces as one of the elements leading Anglophones to leave the province (NHRDC, 2000; Radice, 2000a; Stevenson, 2000; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo and Teixeira, 1998). Moreover, some studies propose to show that emigration is due to the fact that Anglo-Quebecers believe they can benefit from better employment opportunities outside Quebec (Johnson, 2000; Radice, 2000a; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Amit-Talai, 1993; Locher, 1991; 1988; Rudin, 1986). This impression could be the result of feeling discriminated against, in comparison to Francophones, more than a lack of French language skills (Alliance Quebec, 1992). Factors linked to “economic progress” such as schooling (i.e., schooling outside Quebec in the case of Anglophones) could also explain this phenomenon (Amit-Talai, 1993).

Researchers often combine several of these approaches, which are, of course, interrelated (Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Jedwab, 1996). Indeed, all of these elements have some effect on interprovincial migration (Jedwab, 1996). Locher (1992) points out that migration is rarely explained by a single factor and that the reasons for migration vary from one individual to another. Obviously, these hypotheses need to be verified. This literature review will, then, present the different results obtained.

²⁵ Locher (1991) uses the term “economic progress” [“l’avancement économique”] to designate migration factors such as studying and schooling for the migrant’s children. The term will be used throughout this literature review and will mainly refer to the schooling of the young Anglophone migrant outside Quebec.

1. PORTRAIT OF YOUNG ANGLO-QUEBECERS

Before analyzing the migration patterns of young Anglophones, we will first compile a group profile. This step is necessary to our understanding of the migration and retention factors of Anglo-Quebecer youths. The following topics will be addressed: demography; distribution throughout the Quebec territory; bilingualism, schooling and employment; cultural identity; interactions with Francophones; and attitudes towards the socio-political reality of Quebec. In this section, information related to the entire English-speaking community of Quebec will be presented in order to put young Anglophones in perspective within their linguistic community.

1.1 Demography

The proportion of Anglo-Quebecers started to decline at the time of Confederation. In 1867, 25% of Quebecers were Anglophones (Rudin, 1986, p.24), whereas in 2001, the figure was only 8.3%²⁶ (Statistics Canada, 2002a, n.p.). Between 1861 and 1871, there was a significant decrease in the number of Anglo-Quebecers; the demographic decline is explained primarily by the exodus of Anglo-Quebecers to other Canadian provinces. Thus, this period of the 1860s “provided a sneak preview of the demographic history of English-speaking Quebec” (Rudin, 1985, p. 29). However, until the 1970s, the interprovincial migration of Anglo-Quebecers was offset by the in-migration of Anglophones to Quebec, the natural increase of the Anglophone group, and the transmission of English as mother tongue to children whose parents did not initially speak English (Locher, 1988; Rudin, 1986). Towards the end of the 1970s, however, nothing would stop the “demographic disaster” that English Quebec was about to endure (Locher, 1994b, n.p.).

Between 1971 and 1991, Quebec’s English mother tongue population fell by 18% (Caldwell 1994, p. 27). One of the reasons for this demographic decline is the near-zero rate of natural increase of the English-speaking population. In fact, the Anglo-Quebecer

²⁶ The rates given here refer to the “mother tongue” variable. Rudin (1986) uses mother tongue to delineate Anglophones in Quebec. Given that his approach is historical, it is impossible for him to use the home language variable (the latter being used in the census only from 1971 onwards).

group, as well as the Francophone group, is henceforth characterized by subfertility²⁷ and, consequently, by the ageing of its population²⁸ (Termote, 2002; 1997; Locher, 1991). More recently in this demolinguistic history, however, interprovincial emigration is a major factor in the demographic decline of English Quebec (Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Paillé, 1997; Jedwab, 1996; Harrison, 1996).

As mentioned, the Anglophones of Quebec have always been a very mobile ethnolinguistic group (Amit-Talai, 1993; Rudin, 1986). Besides, Caldwell (1994) states that “migration has always played an essential role in English Quebec demography”²⁹ (p.31). What is new on the migration front is the “lack of migratory dynamism,”³⁰ that is, the combination of massive departures of Anglo-Quebecers and low rates of interprovincial and international in-migration of Anglophones (QCGN, 2002; Termote, 2002; 1997, p. 84; Locher, 1988). Termote (2002) notes that, whereas Quebec is only a modest part of the migration territory for the Anglophone group of other Canadian provinces, Canada is definitely part of the migration territory for the Anglophone group of Quebec. Gauthier (1998) stresses that the period between 1971 and 1996 was marked by a high migratory deficit. The highest level of interprovincial out-migrants was observed between 1976 and 1981 (Gauthier, 1998). As regards the rate of natural increase in this period, it should also be added that the English mother tongue population experienced a situation that was close to a “zero growth”³¹ (Termote, 2002).

Since 1981, however, the decline in the proportion of Anglophones in Quebec has slowed down (*Idem*, 2002). Anglophone emigration has markedly decreased (Marmen and Corbeil, 1999). Caldwell (1994) concludes that this decrease in interprovincial migration, in conjunction with some growth in the fertility rate of Anglo-Quebecers, will help to stabilize the proportion of this linguistic group in Quebec. He does not, however, deny that the group is destined to decrease over time. Termote (2002), in particular, makes the point that “it is clear that we are witnessing an ongoing and

²⁷ In the early 1970s, the number of children in the Anglophone group was below the replacement rate of 2.1 children per woman (Termote, 2002).

²⁸ However, Termote (2002) notes that the death rate is more favourable to Anglophones than to Francophones.

²⁹ In French: “la migration a toujours joué un rôle primordial pour ce qui est de la démographie du Québec anglais.”

³⁰ In French: “manque de dynamisme migratoire.”

³¹ In French: “croissance zéro.”

significant erosion of the Anglophone group in Quebec”³² in all regions of the territory³³ (p.24). Between 1996 and 2001, the decrease in the number of Anglo-Quebecers was higher than in the 1991-1996 period (Castonguay, 2003); 53,300 of them left Quebec for other Canadian provinces and territories (Statistics Canada, 2002a, n.p.; 2001, n.p.). In 1996, taking into account the “mother tongue” variable, the proportion of Allophones surpassed the proportion of Anglophones for the first time (Jedwab, 2002) (see Table 1 for the evolution of the provincial out-migration rate from 1966 to 1991).

Even if there is a consensus in the literature about the ongoing decline of English Quebec, the way the issue is perceived differs from one researcher to another. For example, Newbold (1996) describes the ghettoization of Quebec. He argues that Canada’s unique linguistic duality also entails a territorial duality (Newbold, 1996). He indicates that the existence of this Francophone ghetto could have political repercussions, and in this way, be conducive to Quebec’s independence. On the other hand, Castonguay (2002) notes that the Anglophone generations are replacing themselves quite well in comparison to the Francophone generations. He explains this renewal by the stabilization of Anglo-Quebec subfertility, the pre-eminence of English as a language of assimilation and the low rate of interprovincial migration observed since 1980. In a more recent article, Castonguay (2003) states that the indicator of the linguistic vitality of English in Quebec, which divides “the number of speakers by home language, by the number of speakers by mother tongue,”³⁴ is constantly on the rise (p. 238). With regards to Montreal, he states that English prevails over French in the labour market and among linguistically mixed couples. He concludes that “there is a considerable discrepancy between the actual strength of French in real-life contact situations, and the official rhetoric, whereby French is the common language of Quebec

³² In French: “il est clair que l’on assiste à une érosion significative et continue du groupe Anglophone au Québec”.

³³ However, Termote (2002) mentions that this decline is not as significant in Montreal.

³⁴ In French: “le nombre de locuteurs selon la langue d’usage par celui de ses locuteurs selon la langue maternelle.”

³⁶ In French: “il existe un écart considérable entre la force réelle du français en situation de contact sur le terrain et le discours officiel voulant que le français soit la langue commune de la société québécoise.”

Table 1
Interprovincial out-migration rates (%) by English mother tongue,
age and five-year periods, 1966 to 1991

| | 5+ | 5-9 | 10-14 | 15-19 | 20-24 | 25-29 | 30-34 | 34-39 | 40-44 | 45-49 | 50-54 | 55-59 | 60-64 | 65-69 | 70-74 | 75-79 | 80-84 | 85+ | |
|--------------------------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|--|
| 1966-1971 ^{1,3} | 12.7 | 16.8 | 13.9 | 11.4 | 16.5 | 20.6 | 19.3 | 15.8 | 13.1 | 10.9 | 7.7 | 5.6 | 5.5 | 5.6 | 4.0 | | | | |
| 1971-1976 ^{2,3} | 12.1 | 14.2 | 12.2 | 12.1 | 17.1 | 19.6 | 16.8 | 14.1 | 12.0 | 9.9 | 7.9 | 5.8 | 5.5 | | | | | | |
| 1976-1981 | 17.6 | 21.7 | 17.3 | 16.1 | 23.1 | 26.8 | 24.1 | 21.2 | 16.8 | 14.9 | 12.5 | 10.9 | 10.1 | 10.8 | 9.5 | 7,6 | 9,1 | 9,2 | |
| 1981-1986 ⁴ | 10.8 | 13.1 | 10.4 | 8.9 | 14.2 | 17.7 | 14.9 | 12.8 | 10.1 | 7.9 | 7.1 | 6.2 | 7.8 | 8.1 | 6.5 | 5,3 | 5,0 | 4,5 | |
| 1986-1991 ⁴ | 9.2 | 12.0 | 9.7 | 7.1 | 12.0 | 17.6 | 13.5 | 9.7 | 8.8 | 6.0 | 4.6 | 5.1 | 5.5 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 4,0 | 4,7 | | |

¹ The last age group represents those 70 years of age and over.

² The last age group represents those 60 years of age and over.

³ Undeclared people were proportionally distributed.

⁴ Multiple responses were equally distributed over declared languages.

Source: Hervé Gauthier (1998). "La migration" in *D'une génération à l'autre: évolution des conditions de vie vol. II*, Québec, Bureau de la statistique du Québec, p. 101.

society”³⁶ (p.251). Following the example of Caldwell (1994), Castonguay (2002) thus predicts a stabilization of the Anglo-Quebec population.

Although interprovincial migration affects all Anglo-Quebecers, the highest rates are found within young adults (especially those with the highest levels of education) (Termote, 2002; Lo and Texeira, 1998; Caldwell, 1994; Amit-Talai, 1993; Alliance Quebec, 1992; Locher, 1991; 1988). For the 1996-2001 period, the highest out-migration rate to other Canadian provinces is found among youths aged 25-34, a rate slightly higher than that observed in the 1991-1996 period (see Table 2). Since 1971, the proportion of young Anglophones under age 25 in English Quebec has significantly decreased (Harrison, 1996).

Table 2
Out-migration rates (%) from Quebec to the rest of Canada by English mother tongue and age, 1991-1996 and 1996-2001

| | Age Groups | Out-migration rates ³ | |
|-------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|------------|
| | | 1991-1996 | 1996-2001 |
| English ¹ | 5-14 | 9.6 | 11.6 |
| | 15-24 | 8.9 | 9.3 |
| | 25-34 | 14.8 | 15.8 |
| | 35-44 | 9.5 | 9.5 |
| | 45-54 | 5.6 | 6.7 |
| | 55-64 | 5.0 | 5.3 |
| | 65 and + | 3.9 | 4.2 |
| | Total | 8.3 | 8.9 |
| Total Population ² | 5-14 | 1.7 | 2.1 |
| | 15-24 | 1.7 | 1.8 |
| | 25-34 | 3.0 | 3.4 |
| | 35-44 | 1.7 | 2.0 |
| | 45-54 | 1.0 | 1.2 |
| | 55-64 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| | 65 and + | 0.7 | 0.7 |
| | Total | 1.6 | 1.7 |

¹ Refers to people who gave a single response (i.e., English) to the mother tongue question.

² Total includes people who gave single or multiple responses to the mother tongue question.

³ Rates are based on the population living in Quebec at the beginning of the period, that is, the respondents of the 1991 Census for the out-migration rates of the 1991-1996 period and the respondents of the 1996 Census for the 1996-2001 rates, while taking into account that the people included at the denominator are five years younger at the beginning of the period.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 Census, 93F0028XDB96000 and 2001 Census, 97F0008XCB2001005 (data compiled by the *Direction de la population et de la recherche du ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration*).

In 2001, the English mother tongue population aged 15-34 represented 1.7% of the total Quebec population, whereas these numbers were as high as 2.7% and 3.2% when home

language and first official language spoken were taken into account.³⁷ This reduction is due to, among other things, the impact that the ageing of the population has on the Anglophone group's age structure or, more specifically, to the declining birth rate and increasing life expectancy (Jedwab, 1996).

However, it is clear that, in the case of English Quebec, the interprovincial exodus is also an explanatory factor for the widening gap between the numbers of youths and older people (Jedwab, 1996), particularly as the arrival of young Anglophone immigrants to Quebec does not seem to compensate for the emigration (see Table 3). Analysis using first official language spoken³⁸ reveals that the proportion of youth aged less than 20 within the Anglo-Quebecer population is less than that of the Francophone majority (NHRDC, 2000). As Harrison (1996) notes, the number of young Anglophones aged less than 25 dropped more quickly from 1971 to 1991 than it did for the non-Anglophone group (p. 48).³⁹ On the basis of these observations, the NHRDC is concerned, because youth represents the future of the English-speaking community of Quebec. Anglo-Quebecers are thus deprived to some extent of their potential for population replacement. The Committee points out that the English-speaking minority of Quebec is particularly vulnerable due to the youth exodus observed in several Quebec regions.

However, when taking into account the first official language spoken, Warnke (1999) notes that the proportion of youths within the Anglophone group is increasing more than in the Francophone group. Castonguay (2002) states that the Anglo-Quebec generations are replacing themselves at the same rate as are the Anglophone generations of other Canadian provinces. For his part, Termote (2002) notes "a regular and significant increase in the self-replacement capacity of the English group in Quebec"⁴⁰ (p. 28). In

³⁷ Authors' calculations made with information from the following documents: Statistics Canada 2002c, 2002d and 2003b. The rates refer to people who declared only English as their mother tongue, home language or first official language spoken. Multiple responses are thus not included in these calculations.

³⁸ The NHRDC uses the "first official language spoken" variable to define the English-speaking population. The number of respondents reporting English as their first official language spoken is added to 50% of those respondents reporting French and English as their first official language spoken.

³⁹ Harrison includes the under-25 population when he talks about youth. He justifies his choice by stating that this definition makes it possible to ascertain the demographic future of linguistic minorities more precisely. The most recent data used by Harrison date from the 1991 Census. Additionally, he uses the multiple and single responses to the mother tongue question to define the Anglophone group in Quebec.

⁴⁰ In French: "une augmentation régulière et significative de la capacité de renouvellement du groupe anglais du Québec."

2001, English mother tongue youths below the age of 25 represented 33.8% of the whole English-speaking population of Quebec, compared to 31.6% for the Francophone majority⁴¹ (Statistics Canada, 2003c).

Table 3
Migratory exchanges between Quebec and the rest of Canada by English mother tongue¹ and age, 1996-2001

| Age Groups | In-migration | Out-migration | Net migration |
|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 5-14 | 3,525 | 9,515 | -5,990 |
| 15-24 | 4,920 | 7,200 | -2,280 |
| 25-34 | 6,960 | 12,855 | -5,895 |
| 35-44 | 4,105 | 9,220 | -5,115 |
| 45-54 | 2,110 | 5,770 | -3,660 |
| 55-64 | 965 | 3,175 | -2,210 |
| 65 and + | 720 | 4,290 | -3,570 |

¹ Refers to people who declared a single response to the question on mother tongue.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, 97F0008XCB2001005 (data compiled by the *Direction de la population et de la recherche du ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration*).

Another point to consider is destination: which Canadian provinces are young Quebec Anglophones migrating to most often? Between 1996 and 2001, the main Canadian destinations of English mother tongue youths⁴² aged 20 to 34 were Ontario (11,345 in-migrants), British Columbia (1,910 in-migrants), Alberta (1,735 in-migrants) and Nova Scotia (570 in-migrants) (Statistics Canada, 2002e, n.p.).

1.2 Distribution over the Quebec territory

At the time of Confederation, the highest regional concentration of Anglo-Quebecers was in the Eastern Townships (Rudin, 1986). However, after 1867, the English-speaking proportion of the population decreased in most regions outside Montreal. Between 1861 and 1996, the proportion of Anglo-Quebecers living in the Montreal area tripled (Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Rudin, 1986).⁴³ Today, the greatest concentration of Anglo-Quebecers is found in the region of Montreal: about three-quarters of them were

⁴¹ Authors' calculations made with information from the following document: Statistics Canada 2003c. The rates refer to people who declared either only English or only French as mother tongue. Multiple responses are thus not included in these calculations.

⁴² This category refers only to people who provided a single response (i.e., English) to the mother tongue question.

⁴³ The data presented here refer to the English mother tongue population.

living there as of 1996 (Marmen and Corbeil, 1999, p. 10). In that year, using the first official language spoken data, the proportion of Anglo-Quebecers within the Montreal population was about 30% (NHRDC, 2000, p. 11). In 2001, using the mother tongue data this time, this proportion was only 12% (Lamarre et al., 2002, p. 48).

Table 4
Population Distribution of the 18-34 age group by English mother tongue
and administrative regions, 2001 Census

| Administrative regions | English ¹ | | Total population | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|
| | Number | % ² | Number | % ³ |
| 01 Bas-Saint-Laurent | 155 | 0.1 | 39,205 | 2.5 |
| 02 Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean | 230 | 0.2 | 58,225 | 3.6 |
| 03 Capitale-Nationale | 1,615 | 1.3 | 143,510 | 9.0 |
| 04 Mauricie | 315 | 0.3 | 48,585 | 3.0 |
| 05 Estrie | 3,450 | 2.9 | 61,380 | 3.8 |
| 06 Montréal | 74,250 | 61.5 | 462,615 | 28.9 |
| 07 Outaouais | 9,110 | 7.4 | 69,495 | 4.3 |
| 08 Abitibi-Témiscamingue | 855 | 0.7 | 30,495 | 1.9 |
| 09 Côte-Nord | 955 | 0.8 | 21,185 | 1.3 |
| 10 Nord-du-Québec | 395 | 0.3 | 10,485 | 0.7 |
| 11 Gaspésie–Îles-de-la-Madeleine | 1,490 | 1.2 | 17,090 | 1.1 |
| 12 Chaudière-Appalaches | 445 | 0.4 | 82,175 | 5.1 |
| 13 Laval | 4,410 | 3.6 | 73,505 | 4.6 |
| 14 Lanaudière | 940 | 0.8 | 75,280 | 4.7 |
| 15 Laurentides | 3,935 | 3.3 | 92,920 | 5.8 |
| 16 Montérégie | 17,815 | 14.8 | 265,575 | 16.6 |
| 17 Centre-du-Québec | 335 | 0.3 | 46,415 | 2.9 |
| Total | 120,720 | 100.0 | 1,598,140 | 100.0 |

¹ Refers to people who reported a single response to the mother tongue question.

² Percentages are based on the total population of the 18-34 age group reporting English as mother tongue.

³ Percentages are based on the total population in the 18-34 age group.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, 95F0334XCB01006.

The distribution over the Quebec territory of young English mother tongue adults aged 18 to 34 is relatively similar to that of all Anglo-Quebecers. In 2001, 61.5% of them were found in the Montreal Urban Community (See Table 4). The others were mainly concentrated in the Montérégie (14.8%), Outaouais (7.4%), Laval (3.6%), Laurentides (3.3%) and Estrie (2.9%) regions. This distribution over the territory diverges from that for the whole Quebec population aged 18 to 34. Overall, the population is concentrated in the following regions: Montreal Urban Community (28.9%), Montérégie (16.6%), Laurentides (5.8%), Chaudière-Appalaches (5.1%), Lanaudière (4.7%) and Laval (4.6%).

1.3 Bilingualism, education and employment

The proportion of Anglo-Quebecers able to speak French is increasing (Jedwab, 2001; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999). There are more bilingual Anglophones than bilingual Francophones in Quebec (QCGN, 2002). Also, they are using French at work more and more often (Jedwab, 2001). This increase in bilingualism is due in part to unilingual Anglophones leaving Quebec (Jedwab, 1996). However, it is also true that the number of Anglophones who have developed their French language skills has increased since 1971 (*Idem*).

The highest bilingualism rates within the Anglophone group are found among youths. Harrison notes that, between 1971 and 1991, the proportion of young Anglophones under the age of 25 and able to speak French rose from 32% to 61% (Harrison, 1996, p. 52). According to the 2001 Census data, this proportion was up to more than 80% among the 15-24 year olds (Gauvin, 2003, n.p.; Marmen, 2003, n.p.). The CROP survey carried out for the Missisquoi Institute reveals that, in 2000, 90% of young Anglophones aged 18 to 24 could carry on a conversation in both languages, this percentage being only 62% among young Francophones (Missisquoi Institute, 2000, n.p.).⁴⁴ Jedwab (1996) notes that Anglophones usually acquire their second language at an earlier age than Francophones. Lamarre et al. (2002) explain that Anglophones in Quebec generally become bilingual before age 15 with the help of bilingual programs developed by English schools; Francophones become bilingual later, after age 15, “as they move into post-secondary institutions and the workplace” (p. 51). Also, within Quebec’s Anglophone community, it is younger people who most use French outside the home, specifically, at work. (Jedwab, 2002; 2001). More and more young Anglophones make use of both French and English in the course of a single conversation (*Idem*, 2002). Lamarre et al. (2002) even point out that, “Young Anglophones...are more likely to converge toward French in social encounters than in the past” (p. 68). The *Commission des États généraux sur la situation et l’avenir de la langue française au Québec* (2001b) makes note of this rise in bilingualism levels and concludes that youths “are better equipped than their elders to participate fully in

⁴⁴ The Missisquoi Institute–CROP survey was carried out in 2000. It covers the whole territory of Quebec. Two separate studies were conducted, one among 3,126 Quebec Anglophones aged over 18 and the other among 1,264

Quebec society” (p. 10). The Commission sees this as a sign of linguistic openness and social cohesion.

However, some researchers criticize the way that Statistics Canada measures bilingualism (Jedwab, 1996; Amit-Talai, 1993). Bilingualism is measured by the following census question: “Can this person speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation? Choices: French only, English only, both French and English, neither French nor English.”⁴⁵ Thus, respondents who speak French only with difficulty might nonetheless reply that they can conduct a conversation in French (Amit-Talai, 1993). Also, this question does not measure the ability to read and write in French. Locher (1994a) and Amit-Talai (1993) took a more precise measurement of the quality of French among young Anglophones in Quebec. In these two studies, respondents had to evaluate their comprehension of spoken French and their ability to speak, read and write in French. While Locher (1994a) concluded that mastery of the French language among Anglophones was somewhat problematic, Amit-Talai (1993) pointed out that the majority of the non-Francophones in her sample evaluated their French language skills as being excellent or very good. The Missisquoi Institute–CROP survey also asked a question affording a more precise measurement of language skills: “How well can you write French?” The respondent could choose between “very well,” “quite well,” “not very well” and “not well at all.” Sixty-nine per cent of young Anglophones aged 18 to 24 said that they were able to write French very well or quite well (Missisquoi Institute, 2000, n.p.). In light of these findings, knowledge of French among young Anglophones would surpass the ability to simply conduct a conversation.

In its 1992 report, Alliance Quebec⁴⁶ maintained that the main problem observed among young Anglophones was not lack of French language skills. Indeed, as we have seen, the majority of them are bilingual. The problem is more a matter of lack of confidence in their French abilities. The Alliance Quebec study (1992) revealed that young

Francophones of the same age. Samples were randomly selected from a disproportionate stratified sampling method in order to represent residents from the 17 administrative regions of Quebec.

⁴⁵ In French: Cette personne connaît-elle assez bien le français ou l'anglais pour soutenir une conversation? Choix de réponse : Français seulement, anglais seulement, français et anglais, ni français ni anglais .

⁴⁶ This report by Alliance Quebec (1992) is based on a review of the literature on the tendency of young Anglo-Quebecers to look for jobs outside the province of Quebec. In order to understand their experiences better, Alliance Quebec met with both young Anglo-Quebecers and the associations representing them.

Anglophones believed they had less chance of being hired than Francophones. Moreover, this feeling seemed to be shared among all Anglo-Quebecers. Indeed, Caldwell (1994) stated that more than half of Quebec's Anglophones did not think they had the same chances as a Francophone of getting a job, even if they spoke French. However, the Missisquoi Institute–CROP quantitative study conducted in 2000 revealed that about two-thirds of Anglophones aged 18 to 24 thought that the teaching they had received in the French language had prepared them to succeed in Quebec. Furthermore, the quantitative study titled, "Reconnecting Government with Youth V," undertaken in 2002 by the Ipsos-Reid Corporation, indicated that 73% of the young Anglophones being questioned said their studies had allowed them to acquire good knowledge of a second language (Floch, 2003, n.p.).⁴⁷ According to the study, young Anglophones now evaluate their chances for success in Quebec more positively than when the Alliance Quebec study appeared in 1992.⁴⁸

Two reports, neither based on quantitative studies, are refuting these results. According to the *Commission des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec* (2001a), a number of young members of the English-speaking community think that the education they are receiving privileges the acquisition of oral rather than written language skills and the associated culture. These youths deplore the fact that they are poorly equipped upon entering the labour market. The report of the forum organized by the *Conseil permanent de la jeunesse*, which gathered about forty representatives of Quebec's young Anglophones, likewise indicates that Anglophones do not have the impression that they are acquiring the skills necessary to be "full and successful participants in Quebec society" (CPJ, 2003b, p. 15). These youths maintain that the education they receive does not allow them to develop an oral and written bilingualism that would allow them to be functional. They hold that young Francophones have an advantage over them when it comes to entering the labour market. The report's recommendations include "a shift in the current view on bilingualism within the political culture" and more exchange programs between French

⁴⁷ These data are based on a random sample involving 174 Anglophones from Quebec aged 12 to 30. The "first official language spoken" variable is used to define the Anglophones; single responses are added to the multiple responses that were equally distributed over the different categories.

⁴⁸ It should be pointed out that this Alliance Quebec report (1992), unlike the Missisquoi Institute–CROP and Ipsos-Reid Corporation studies, was not based upon quantitative data.

and English schools in order to foster the development of linguistic and cultural abilities of all Quebecers (*Idem*, p.16).

Turning to the issue of schooling, Anglo-Quebecers are more educated than the majority of Francophones in Quebec, especially in terms of university education (QCGN, 2002; NHRDC, 2000). In 2001, 30.4% of the English mother tongue population had completed post-secondary education, while this percentage was only 25.1% for the French mother tongue population (Statistics Canada, 2003c).⁴⁹ However, the unemployment rate is higher within the Anglophone group in Quebec (QCGN, 2002; NHRDC, 2000). In 2001, the unemployment rate of the English mother tongue population was 8.7% as compared to 7.7% for the Francophone majority (Statistics Canada, 2003c).⁵⁰

According to Harrison (1996), similar patterns were found among young Anglophones in Quebec in the 1991 Census. In 1991, among the 25-34 age group, 23% of Anglophones had a university degree, while this percentage was only 14% among Francophones (p. 55). In 1991, the unemployment rate of young Anglophones (18.7%) was slightly higher than that of young Francophones (18.3%) (*Idem*, p. 59).

1.4 Cultural identity

The expression “English Quebec” is relatively new; it goes back to the Quiet Revolution (Jedwab, 2002; Caldwell, 1994). In the 1960s, the terms being used were still “English Canada” and “French Canada.” The more recent acceptance of the general concept of “Quebecers” led Anglophones in Quebec to reconsider their ethnic identity (Jedwab, 2002; Caldwell and Waddell, 1982a). Changes occurring over the last few decades have raised the issue of the English-speaking community of Quebec. Since 1960, the people now called Anglo-Quebecers went from having a majority status to a minority status (Caldwell and Waddell, 1982a). The notion of “survival” now applies more to the “old

⁴⁹ Authors' calculations made with information from the following document: Statistics Canada, 2003c. The rates refer to people who declared either French only or English only as their mother tongue. Therefore, multiple responses are not included in these calculations.

⁵⁰ The rates refer to people who declared either French only or English only as their mother tongue. Therefore, multiple responses are not included in these calculations.

stock”⁵¹ Anglo-Quebecers than to the “old stock” Francophone Quebecers (Schmitz, 1997, p. 223). Socio-political transformations occurring in the post-1960 period, such as the Quiet Revolution, Bill 22 and Bill 101, contributed to this upheaval. The Parti Québécois and the Francophone business sector thereupon gained access to the power that was previously in the hands of the Anglophone elite (*Idem*).

The “new collective identity”⁵² (*Ibid.* p. 221) now characterizing Anglo-Quebecers is hard to define (Jedwab, 2002). The ethnic heterogeneity of Quebec’s English-speaking community makes the process of identification rather hazy, even for those within the group (Locher, 1994a). Locher (1988) indicates that the Anglo-Quebec group “has no consciousness of a common past, no shared ideology, or any political organization in common”⁵³ (p. 32). While the majority of researchers agree that it is mainly the linguistic factor that characterizes the different identities in Quebec (Jedwab, 2002), Caldwell (1994) asserts that the conception of English Quebec should, instead, be extended to include cultural criteria. He points out that the culture of a given group, more than its language, is what creates community.

The English linguistic minority has several characteristics. Firstly, Quebec’s political environment partly determines the group’s identity, which makes it different from English Canada (Jedwab, 2002). Also, it differs from other minorities because “its frame of reference is more encompassing”⁵⁴ (i.e., it includes Canada) (Locher, 1994a, p. 69). In addition, whereas in earlier times the Anglophones of Quebec were mainly of British descent, they are now increasingly multiethnic (Jedwab, 2002; 1996; Caldwell, 1994). Jedwab (2002) mentions that Anglophones in Quebec “are quite different from the Anglophone Quebecers of earlier times”⁵⁵ (p.193). Also, the massive exodus of Anglo-Quebecers would have contributed to their collective imagination or rather their “imagined community”⁵⁶ (ref. Anderson, 1991) (Radice, 2000a). For example, the departure of relatives and friends from Quebec led the majority of Anglo-Montrealers

⁵¹ In French: “de souche.”

⁵² In French: “nouvelle identité collective.”

⁵³ In French: “ne possède ni la conscience d’un passé commun, ni une idéologie commune, ni une organisation politique commune.”

⁵⁴ In French: “son cadre de référence est plus global.”

⁵⁵ In French: “ne ressemblent pas beaucoup aux Anglophones québécois des époques antérieures.”

⁵⁶ In French : “ communauté imaginée ”.

interviewed by Radice to ask themselves the following question: “Should I stay or should I go?” (Radice, 2000b, p. 29). These interprovincial migrations have weakened the sense of rootedness that Anglophones have in Quebec (Jedwab, 2001). Moreover, the majority of Anglo-Quebecers, when turning their attention to the status of their ethnolinguistic group, are showing feelings of insecurity and marginalization (Radice, 2000a; Locher, 1994a). Locher (1994a) even suggests the possibility that this feeling of being under threat is part of the Anglo-Quebec identity. The Quebec Anglophones questioned by Lo and Teixeira (1998) prior to the 1995 Referendum thought the existence of Quebec’s Anglophone minority was in jeopardy. What is more, Anglo-Quebecers have a different spatial identity than do Francophones (Lo and Teixeira, 1998). They usually identify with the local space constituted by Montreal and with the Canadian nation (*Idem*). As Radice (2000b) notes, Anglo-Montrealers “do not identify as stakeholders in Québécois society.” (p. 140).

Young Anglophones in Quebec feel some adherence to this ethnic identity. However, they differentiate themselves from previous generations. At the Quebec Youth Summit in 2000, they described the experience of being young Anglophones in Quebec as follows:

Growing up in Quebec as an English-speaking Quebecer is, in many ways, an exhilarating experience. We live constantly at the confluence of two or more languages, two cultural networks. We share with our French-speaking neighbors a sense that life cannot be taken for granted. They feel that they are a minority within Canada and North America. We are a minority within the minority. That gives a sense of adventure, an invitation to explore, to broaden our consciousness, to cross bridges and wander in unfamiliar forests. [...] We cannot live here as young English speakers without developing a stereoscopic vision. We know that there are two sides to every folk tale. (Johnson, 2000, n.p.)

In this text, they are defining themselves as a multilinguistic and multiethnic group. Jedwab (2002) notes that, at census time, young Anglophones respond more often than their elders that they have multiple ethnic backgrounds. Young Anglophones assert that Francophone Quebec makes up part of their identity (Johnson, 2000). Indeed, many of them were born of parents having French and English as their mother tongues: “The number of marriages between Anglophones and Francophones increased so much that children born from these parents, and who are bilingual and deeply bicultural, are on the verge of surpassing in number the traditional troop of Quebec Anglophone children

raised by Anglophone parents”⁵⁷ (Jedwab, 2002). In the survey, “Reconnecting Government with Youth V,” 77% of the young Anglo-Quebecers questioned indicated that both official languages were important for their Canadian identity (Floch, 2003, n.p.). For them, the concept of the two solitudes, so often evoked, does not exist. Moreover, they strongly object to the constant references to what they call “the ugly Anglo of the mystical past” (Johnson, 2000, n.p.). They wish they could get rid of this difficult history. Like the rest of Quebec’s Anglophones, they have a feeling of being left out (Johnson, 2000; Locher, 1994a). They said as much at the 2000 Quebec Youth Summit: “We know that we will never achieve full acceptance, whether as English-speakers or as members of visible minorities” (Johnson, 2000, n.p.). Kalulambi Pongo (1998), who analyzed the written accounts of young Anglo-Quebecers, also points to this feeling of rejection and suspicion and to the impression of being judged by the Francophone majority.⁵⁸ He quotes a young Anglo-Quebecer—cautioning however against making generalizations about such an attitude: “Quebec is fun and it’s very different, but people here are biased. They see one way and if you’re different from them, they make fun of you. I hate Quebec”⁵⁹ (*Idem*, p. 139).

The exodus and the desire to leave are an integral part of the identity of young Anglo-Quebecers (Johnson, 2000; Locher, 1994a). They point out that the reality of their generation, in regions outside Montreal, is that of the Anglo-Quebec community’s demographic decline (Johnson, 2000). The spatial identity of the youths is similar to that of Anglo-Quebecers on the whole. The CROP survey carried out in 1991 for the Montreal Board of Trade reveals that young Anglophones have developed a strong sense of belonging to Montreal (CROP, 1991 in Alliance Quebec, 1992). On the other hand, the results of Locher’s study show that 83% of young Anglophones consider themselves Canadians rather than Quebecers (Locher, 1994a, p. 65). Locher (1994a) emphasizes that these results should be interpreted with caution because the two cultural

⁵⁷ In French: “Les mariages entre Anglophones et Francophones ont connu une telle augmentation que les enfants qui en sont nés, et qui sont bilingues et profondément biculturels, sont en voie de dépasser en nombre la cohorte traditionnelle d’enfants Anglophones du Québec élevés par des parents qui sont tous les deux des Anglophones.”

⁵⁸ The article by Kalulambi Pongo (1998) is based upon a survey aimed at probing the identity consciousness of young Franco-Quebecers, Anglo-Quebecers and neo-Quebecers. The study was undertaken in the fall of 1994 in the public high schools of Quebec City and of the Montreal area. The youths were required to compose texts touching on their space of identity. However, the author does not mention the variables he used to create the “Francophone,” “Anglophone” and “Allophone” categories.

⁵⁹ In French: “Le Québec, c’est amusant, c’est très différent et le monde ici ont des préjugés. Ils te voient d’une façon et s’il est différent d’eux-mêmes, il faut se moquer de cette personne. Je déteste le Québec.”

identities, which he qualifies as arbitrary and artificial, are not mutually exclusive in real life. Results of the more recent study by Kalulambi Pongo (1998) on the identity consciousness of young Quebecers show that Anglo-Quebecers differ from the majority in identifying with the geopolitical space of Canada more than that of Quebec; they are not able to identify with Quebec as a whole. Kalulambi Pongo (1998) concludes that, “they operate using different understandings of belonging that influence their consciousness and the very process of forming 'historical memory'”⁶⁰ (p. 134). He points out that the identity universe of young Anglo-Quebecers does not include references to Quebec and Anglo-Quebec history; rather, it includes “Canadian historical traces”⁶¹ (Kalulambi Pongo, 1998, p. 148). Kalulambi Pongo (1998) explains this situation by the fact that Anglo-Quebecers feel excluded from the history being taught at school because the historical role played by their linguistic group is almost entirely left out.

The study, “Reconnecting Government with Youth V,” carried out in 2002, reveals some of the attitudes held by young Anglophones towards their linguistic community. For example, 80% of them consider the future of their community to be important; 82% say they will contribute to their language and culture; 75% note that their generation is committed to passing on English; 61% believe their community will improve over the next 20 years; 64% indicate that their community has solid leadership; and 58% believe that youths are welcome to take on leadership roles (Floch, 2003, n.p.). The Missisquoi Institute–Crop survey also shows that young Anglophones aged 18 to 24 are less concerned by the demographic decline of their linguistic group than is the overall group of Anglo-Quebecers of all ages that was questioned; more than one in five do not consider this decline to be an important issue (Jedwab, 2001, p. 8). According to these results, therefore, young Anglophones seem to be optimistic about their ethnolinguistic group. Floch (2003) concludes that young Anglophones in Quebec are strongly committed to enhancing the vitality of their community. However, this optimism is not expressed in the following text, presented by young Anglophones at the 2000 Quebec Youth Summit (a text that, once again, is not representative of the opinion of Anglo-

⁶⁰ In French: “ils fonctionnent avec différentes logiques d'appartenance qui influent sur la conscience et le processus même de formation de “la mémoire historique.”

⁶¹ In French: “traces historiques canadiennes.”

Quebecer youths as a whole): “Too many young people see too little future for themselves and for English-speaking institutions in Quebec. A sense of pessimism and fatalism with respect to the future is probably the single greatest problem facing the young, and hence all of English-speaking Quebecers” (Johnson, 2000, n.p.).

1.5 Interactions with Francophones

Anglophones are increasingly coming into contact with Francophones (Jedwab, 2001; Locher, 1991). This is due, in part, to the high level of bilingualism observed within the English-speaking community (Jedwab, 2002). An increasing number of young Anglophones are interacting in French in all kinds of situations: at school and work, in neighbourhoods or even in their conjugal life (Jedwab, 2002; Locher, 1991). Indeed, Jedwab (2001) points out that the number of mixed marriages between Anglophones and Francophones has increased over the last decade. The CROP survey carried out for the Montreal Board of Trade 1991 indicates that young Anglo-Quebecers are expressing the desire to have more contact with Quebec’s Francophone community, and that they support the idea of more tolerance between the two linguistic groups (CROP, 1991, in Alliance Quebec, 1992). In particular, this attitude seems to be manifesting itself in the increasingly bilingual and multilingual interactions taking place between Anglophone and Francophone Montrealers. Lamarre et al. (2002)⁶² state that “if the politics of language still underlies interactions, young Montrealers seemed to be dealing with it with a fair amount of equanimity and good humour. Often, they appeared to be using French-English codeswitching as a strategy to level boundaries and neutralize tensions” (p. 66). In the text prepared for the 2000 Quebec Youth Summit, young Anglo-Quebecers even say that Francophone Quebec is part of their identity. Locher (1991), for his part, denounces the myth of the two solitudes. He states that by constantly harping on this idea, “we are using a political symbolism that denies the very existence of all of the contacts and interactions, all the collaboration and efforts to understand

⁶² This exploratory ethnography, lasting eight months, had the goal of observing the way in which young Montrealers aged 18 to 35 are using languages in areas of the city associated with different linguistic communities, as well as in areas representing various social functions (e.g., cafés, employment centres, etc.). The non-participatory observation method was used. Observation periods could last between 15 and 60 minutes; they were carried out by three graduate students in anthropology who were of an age that allowed them to blend into the population under study. The total study set consisted of 190 observation moments.

each other, and all the attempts to overcome the experience of a sometimes painful past”⁶³ (p. 215).

1.6 Attitudes towards the socio-political reality of Quebec

Young Anglo Quebecers are frustrated with the linguistic situation and the uncertain political future of Quebec (Jedwab, 2001; Alliance Quebec, 2000; 1992). The Missisquoi Institute–CROP survey shows that, among the different age groups questioned, young Anglophones made more spontaneous mention of Bill 101 as the main problem experienced by the community (Jedwab, 2001). Young Anglophones believe that their linguistic rights are violated by the imposition of French (Alliance Quebec, 1992). Moreover, equal rights were identified unanimously by the entire body of people questioned in the Missisquoi Institute–CROP survey (i.e., a corpus representative of the Anglophone group as a whole, including all ages) as being an important issue within the Anglo-Quebec community. In the survey, “Reconnecting Government with Youth V,” young Anglophones in Quebec, unlike Francophones in Quebec, Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones outside Quebec, were less likely to consider the future of the French language to be threatened in Canada (Floch, 2003, n.p.). Surprisingly, in the Missisquoi Institute–CROP survey, the national unity question was not one of the problems brought up by the all-ages Anglo-Quebecer group (i.e., the whole corpus). According to Jedwab (2001), this can be explained by the low proportion of Anglophones in Quebec who believe that the province of Quebec will separate from Canada.

Conclusion

From this portrait of young Anglo-Quebec adults, the following points stand out:

- Within the Anglo-Quebec community, young adults with the highest level of education are the most inclined to leave Quebec. This important exodus is the

⁶³ In French: “nous employons un symbolisme politique qui nie l’existence même de tous les contacts et échanges, toute la collaboration et les efforts pour se comprendre, et toutes les tentatives de surmonter l’expérience d’un passé parfois douloureux.”

main factor contributing to the reduction of their proportion within English Quebec. Nonetheless, it seems that the Anglo-Quebec population is replacing itself quite well.

- In 2001, 61.5% of young adults aged 18 to 34 and reporting English as their mother tongue were living in the Montreal Urban Community.
- Youths have the highest bilingualism rates among Anglo-Quebecers. According to the 2001 Census, more than 80% of young Anglophones aged 15 to 24 were able to conduct a conversation in French. Moreover, the bilingualism of young Anglophones clearly goes far beyond the capacity to conduct a conversation in a second language.
- Young Anglo-Quebecers are more educated than young Francophones. However, their unemployment rate is slightly higher.
- Young Anglo-Quebecers are a multilingual and multiethnic group. Young Anglo-Quebecers are optimistic about their ethnolinguistic group; they are strongly committed to their community.
- Young Anglo-Quebecers are increasingly coming into contact with Francophones. They are open to the idea of establishing a good relationship with them.
- Young Anglo-Quebecers are dissatisfied with the linguistic and political situation in Quebec.

2. MIGRATION

Few studies have been carried out on the migration of young Anglo-Quebecers. When the subject is broached in the literature, interprovincial migration is the main topic of discussion. For this reason, in the first section, we will present the migration and retention factors related to migration out of Quebec. We will then communicate the results of research that has been done on interregional migration. Here again, we provide conclusions from studies of the whole Quebec Anglophone population, since that is the subject more analysts have studied. This makes it possible to perceive the similarities and differences between the migration patterns of youths and those of the Anglo-Quebec community as a whole.

2.1 Interprovincial migration

When they think about their future, most young English-speaking adults in Quebec are caught in a complex dilemma: that of staying in Quebec or leaving it (Johnson, 2000; Locher, 1992). This questioning seems to be at the heart of their concerns: “To stay or not to stay: that is the question that torments almost every English-speaking young person” (Johnson, 2000, n.p.). Massive departures of Anglophones for other Canadian provinces represent an issue that is part of their social environment, and even of their identity. (Radice, 2000a; Locher, 1994a, 1992). The Anglo-Quebec community calls the reality of exodus, “getting out of Quebec” (Locher, 1992, p. 14). According to Locher (1991), staying in Quebec means learning French, accepting the now-minority status of the Anglo-Quebec community, and facing a tough labour market for those who have poor French language skills. On the other hand, leaving Quebec results in drawbacks that are both psychological (e.g., becoming uprooted, loss of developed social networks, “loss of a privileged social status”⁶⁴) and material (having accreditation recognized, moving, new job without any pre-established professional social network) (p. 211). These drawbacks are well expressed by a community leader questioned by Lo and Teixeira (1998): “It is easy to say, ‘Yes I will move’...but in fact for some, it will not be possible to move, to find a new job, to leave relationships behind...it is difficult to leave

a place that you were born and [have been] living for a long time” (p. 489).⁶⁵ However, leaving can be liberating and increase chances for professional success (Locher, 1991). This possibility of leaving seems to be a concern for Anglo-Quebecers throughout their lives. Radice (2000b) found this to be the case in the qualitative interviews she carried out among Anglo-Montrealers: “Those who had stayed framed their staying in relation to those who had left” (p. 41).

2.1.1 Migration factors

The Anglo-Quebecer migration phenomenon can be explained by a combination of several closely related factors (Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Jedwab, 1996; Locher, 1992). Locher (1992) states that migration intentions cannot be explained by any single factor or set of factors. Moreover, it should be remembered that explanatory variables differ from one person to another. Researchers who are interested in the question generally take several elements into consideration in their analysis of the Anglophone exodus. The variables they study speak of conditions in Quebec and of the attractiveness of other Canadian provinces. While recognizing that the causes of Anglophone emigration are interrelated, we have divided them by topic in the presentation below, in order to draw parallels between the different research results achieved for each group of factors.

It is also important to mention that most of the studies carried out on the subject are about migration intentions.⁶⁶ Locher (1992) gives the following reason for this methodological decision: “Tracking down migrants at their new destinations is the single most difficult and costly part of studying the 'Anglophone exodus;' it hardly ever

⁶⁴ In French: “perte d'un statut social privilégié.”

⁶⁵ Lo and Teixeira (1998) carried out a survey on the migration intentions of 411 non-Francophones living in the Notre-Dame-de-Grâce area two weeks prior to the 1995 Referendum. Some 60% of the members of the sample had English as their mother tongue. It is important to note that the participants questioned were mostly middle-aged, had a university education, were professionals or managers, and were from a high-income bracket.

⁶⁶ Since the early 1990s, only two researchers have studied the interprovincial migration of young Anglo-Quebecers. In 1987, Amit-Talai carried out a survey among 1,295 students at the secondary V level (i.e., in their last year of high school) of English-language schools in Quebec and among 501 students in French-language schools. The data analysis mainly pertained to French-language skills, motivations for a future migration, and possible destinations. Efforts were made to ensure that the sample be a reflection of all secondary V students in Quebec's English schools. Therefore, the youths studied had various ethnic origins, mother tongues and home languages. However, most of the results are analyzed by mother tongue. Students answered a questionnaire in class. Locher also carried out a quantitative study of the intentions of young Anglo-Quebecers to leave Quebec. The most recent results were published in 1994. This research was undertaken by the *Conseil de la langue française*. Some 4,082 students at the secondary IV and V level as well as at the CEGEP [a French acronym designating colleges of general and professional instruction in Quebec] level answered a questionnaire in class. Whole classrooms of respondents were selected in a random sample. The youths came from 19 different establishments. These institutions were selected to represent the five main linguistic environments in English Quebec. The questionnaire used in this study was essentially the same one Locher used in 1979, which made diachronic comparisons possible.

gets done” (p. 5). Researchers are aware that migration intentions do not always materialize (Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994a; Amit-Talai, 1993). Locher (1992) indicates that migration intentions are more a measure of perceptions, professional career plans, and dissatisfactions with the living environment in Quebec than of a real resolution to leave the province. However, Locher (1992) states that studying migration intentions does allow the determining factors of a future migration to be identified. He points out that, in the previous research carried out on Anglophone migration, migration intentions proved to be the best predictor of migration patterns.

2.1.1.1 Linguistic factors

Linguistic factors include three explanatory variables identified by the analysts who studied the issue of Anglophone migration: mother tongue, French language skills and linguistic concentration in a given area.

There is a consensus among researchers on the impact of mother tongue on migration between Quebec and the other Canadian provinces. This variable largely determines the interprovincial migration observed in Quebec: Quebec Anglophones emigrate more than Francophones and Allophones (Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Newbold, 1996; Liaw, 1990).

The same findings hold among young Anglo-Quebecers. For example, Amit-Talai’s quantitative study (1993) reveals that students in French schools are more inclined to want to migrate within Quebec than students in English schools; the latter express more of a desire to leave the province of Quebec. Locher (1994a; 1992), who also carried out a quantitative study, observes that more Anglophones indicate an intention to migrate from Quebec. However, he concludes that mother tongue has only a minor impact on the migration intentions expressed by the members of his corpus; he argues that this variable explains only a small portion of the phenomenon (1992). Locher (1992) points out that the low impact of this variable is due to the fact that intentions to migrate from Quebec are generalized to his entire corpus, that is, even to the young Francophone group. Amit-Talai (1993) also found that linguistic categories are not the main explanatory factor for migration intentions. She concludes, “If therefore we are going to

continue to use categories such as English- or French-speaking, we should be careful not to confuse classification with cause” (Amit-Talai, 1993, p. 58).

Only two studies focusing on Anglo-Quebecers as a whole analyze the impact of French-language skills on migration: Locher’s quantitative study (1988) and Radice’s qualitative study (2000a). Locher (1988) found that the French-language skills of Anglo-Quebecers (all ages taken together) have a minor impact on their migration patterns⁶⁷. Radice, for her part, observed some discrepancies within her corpus over the possible link between the French-language skills of Anglophones and their migration patterns. For example, several informants reported having observed people leaving Montreal for fear that their lack of French skills would prevent them from finding a job (Radice, 2000a). Keith, an informant in his thirties, made the following point:

When you’re English from Montreal they do really tell you right from a young age, ‘Right, you’ve got to learn French, you’ve got to learn French,’ and they send you to immersion and stuff. Huge numbers of kids are really pushed into learning French, and if they don’t learn French a lot of the kids just move away to Toronto because they’re terrified of the whole thing (Radice, 2000b, p. 40).

However, other participants without a good knowledge of French expressed, in the course of the interviews, their satisfaction with living in Montreal.

The same pattern is observed among young Anglo-Quebecers (Termote, 2002; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994a; Amit-Talai, 1993; Alliance Quebec, 1992). In fact, it seems that the high bilingualism rate observed among young Anglophones did not have the effect of reducing their propensity to emigrate to other Canadian provinces (Termote, 2002; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994a; Amit-Talai, 1993). The results of Amit-Talai’s quantitative study (1993) reveal that students in English schools who had evaluated their French language skills as being just average were the most likely to consider leaving Quebec. However, the latter represented a minority in the sample. In fact, 55.3% of those who expressed their intention to migrate considered themselves to be very good in French (p. 55). Amit-Talai (1993) concluded that the lack of French-

⁶⁷ Locher (1988) traced the migration pattern of 251 Anglo-Montrealers from 1978 to 1983. He takes mother tongue into account in defining the Anglo-Quebecer group. However, he also included people whose home language was English and who were born in an Anglophone country.

language skills had very little to do with the relatively high proportion of Anglophone students wishing to migrate to other provinces.

Locher's quantitative study (1994a; 1992) produced the same results as Amit-Talai's (1993). Locher (1994a; 1992) explains the low impact of the "French-language skills" variable by Anglophones' feeling of injustice and discrimination. Knowledge of a second language rarely equals that of mother tongue. Thus, young Anglophones might be convinced that, despite their efforts to develop their French language skills, they will still not have the same opportunities on the labour market as their Francophone counterparts. This perception might lead them to believe that the best choice is not to apply themselves to learning French, but rather to leave the province of Quebec. Likewise, Lo and Teixeira (1998) and Alliance Quebec (1992) come to the conclusion that the problem of young Anglo-Quebecers is not a lack of French-language skills, but rather a sense that discrimination exists: "They may well leave because they perceive a lack of equal opportunities and they sense that their contribution is not welcomed or wanted" (p. 15). The report of the forum organized by the *Conseil permanent de la jeunesse* for representatives of young Anglophones in Quebec also pointed out that the level of language proficiency required to obtain a professional license in Quebec spurred Anglo-Quebec graduates to emigrate to the United States or Ontario (CPJ, 2003a).

The other factor that could explain the low impact of bilingualism on the phenomenon under study is that the French-language skills acquired by young Anglophones make them very mobile in Canada; at least, that is what the text presented by the young Anglophones from Quebec at the 2000 Quebec Youth Summit (Johnson, 2000) reveals. The report of the forum directed by the *Conseil permanent de la jeunesse* underlined the increased mobility of the Anglophone group (CPJ, 2003a). Moreover, according to Alliance Quebec's report (1992), some youths believe that their French knowledge makes them competitive in labour markets in other Canadian provinces, while in Quebec their ability to speak English is undervalued. Termote (2002), who bases his

study on census data, makes a similar hypothesis: “no doubt 'bilingualism' gives them a comparative advantage in the labour market outside of Quebec”⁶⁸ (p. 34).

Among the total population of Anglophones in Quebec, linguistic concentration or the desire to reside in a more “Anglophone” environment seems to be one of the explanatory factors for migration. Kaplan (1995), who uses data from the 1981 and 1986 Censuses, mentions that the linguistic composition of a given area plays a key role in the retention and attraction of migrants.⁶⁹ In effect, Quebec Anglophones tend to want to go live in regions where Francophones are a minority. Radice (2000a) also found out, through her qualitative interviews, that a push factor for Anglo-Montrealers would be the disappearance of English-language institutions in the sectors of education, health, cultural expression and sports: in short, the non-existence of an infrastructure that would allow Anglophones to gather together.

This information notwithstanding, linguistic concentration seems to have a minor impact on the migration intentions of young Quebec Anglophones. In her quantitative study on the future exodus of young Anglophones, Amit-Talai (1993) found out that only 12.2% of the respondents who had stated their intention to migrate indicated that they wanted to leave the province in order to live in a more English-language environment (p. 57).

2.1.1.2 Cultural factors

Researchers put forward three cultural factors to explain Anglophone migration patterns: ethnic identity, cultural climate and the rootedness of Anglophones in Quebec.

Lo and Teixeira (1998), who carried out a survey among residents of Notre-Dame-de-Grace, stress that Anglo-Quebecers identify with English Canada more than with Quebec, which would explain their propensity to emigrate to the other provinces. With regards to young Anglo-Quebecers, Locher’s quantitative study (1994a) reveals some sense of attachment for Canada, which is reflected in the choice of their migratory destinations. Unlike their Francophone counterparts, many young Anglophones choose

⁶⁸ In French: “sans doute le ‘bilinguisme’ leur permet-il d’avoir un avantage comparatif sur le marché du travail à l’extérieur du Québec.”

English Canada; this sense of attachment to Canada seems to be absent in the Francophone milieu.

Cultural climate also seems to play a role in the migration of Anglo-Quebecers. Marmen and Corbeil (1999), who analyze Canadian census results, mention that the cultural and social context, created among other things by the linguistic situation prevailing in Quebec, has a certain impact on migrations observed between Canadian provinces. Lo and Teixeira (1998) state that the phenomenon of interprovincial migration can be explained by Quebec's culture clash, in particular. However, according to the results of his longitudinal quantitative study, Locher (1988) points out that, in statistical terms, cultural factors such as social integration have only a minor impact on the migration of Anglo-Quebecers; those evidencing distant behaviour towards the Francophone majority are not more likely to emigrate out of the province.

A partial explanation for the exodus of young Anglophones to other Canadian provinces is the feeling of not being accepted by the Francophone majority (Johnson, 2000; Alliance Quebec, 1992). In the text presented at the 2000 Quebec Youth Summit, young Anglophones specified the following feelings as being explanatory factors for their massive departures: "a sense of limited acceptance," "a sense of rejection at home," and "a sense of discomfort and alienation" (Johnson, 2000, n.p.). It should be noted, however, that this text is not representative of the views of all young Anglophones.

Rootedness, measured in particular by birthplace and birthplace of parents, also seems to have an impact on the migration of Anglo-Quebecers. Newbold (1996), who uses data from the 1986 and 1991 Censuses, states: "The high out-migration rate from Quebec [...] can be largely attributed to English-speaking non-native migrants returning to their province of birth" (p. 14).⁷⁰ Locher (1988) notes, however, that places of origin and residence of the previous generation and descendants have little impact on the massive departures of Anglophones from Quebec to other provinces.

⁶⁹ Kaplan (1995) analyzes migratory movements from one region of Canada to another using mother tongue data from the 1981 and 1986 Censuses.

⁷⁰ Newbold (1996) uses data from the 1986 and 1991 Censuses to analyze interprovincial migration in Quebec. He uses the "mother tongue" variable.

Among young Anglo-Quebecers, the “birthplace” and “birthplace of parents” variables seem to explain some of the migration. Young Anglophones born in Quebec appear to be less inclined to migrate to other Canadian provinces than young Anglophones born outside Quebec (Locher, 1994a; 1992; Caldwell, 1983⁷¹). According to Locher’s quantitative study (1994a), 87.1% of the students born in other Canadian provinces had the intention to migrate, compared to 60.7% of the students born in Quebec (p. 95). The rootedness of parents seems to have a similar effect on the exodus of youth; children whose parents were born in another province are much more prone to leave Quebec (Locher, 1994a; Caldwell, 1983). However, Locher (1994a) notes that, according to the results of his study, the correlations between birthplace and migration patterns are weak.

2.1.1.3 Political and legislative factors

Political climate and language laws in Quebec also explain the emigration of Anglo-Quebecers to the rest of Canada (Stevenson, 2000; CNDRHC, 2000; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Termote, 1997; Newbold, 1996).

Termote (1997), who uses data from the 1991 Census, indicates that the interprovincial migration rate of Anglo-Quebecers varies according to the political context⁷². During periods of significant political change, more Anglo-Quebecers emigrate (Stevenson, 2000; Termote, 1997). For example, Gauthier (1998), who tracks the evolution of migration patterns using the Censuses from 1966 to 1996, explains that the political events of the 1970s were factors in the record number of Anglophone emigrants in the 1976–1981 period⁷³. The level of interprovincial out-migration was higher when the Parti Québécois was elected in 1976 and at the time of the Referendum in 1980 (Stevenson, 2000; Rudin, 1986). The Anglophones from Notre-Dame-de-Grâce who were questioned by Lo and Teixeira (1998) on the eve of the 1995 Referendum indicated that a vote in favour of Quebec separating from the rest of Canada would be a factor in their increased interprovincial out-migration rate. The uncertain political future

⁷¹ Caldwell carried out a longitudinal study. He followed the migratory experience of 975 young Anglo-Quebecers from 1970 to 1983. He is the only one, as far as we know, to have undertaken such large-scale research on the subject. Within the framework of this project, he conducted, in 1980, 110 qualitative interviews with Anglo-Quebecers who had decided to stay in Quebec after having completed their secondary school studies.

⁷² The main subject of Termote’s article (1997) is the future demolinguiistic evolution of the Anglo-Quebecer group. Termote uses the “home language” variable of the 1991 Census.

⁷³ Gauthier (1998) uses mother tongue to define Anglophones.

in Quebec seems to play an important role in the migratory decisions of Anglo-Quebecers (CNDRHC, 2000; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Newbold, 1996). Nevertheless, results of the study carried out by Lo and Teixeira (1998) do not indicate that the Quebec sovereignty referendum is the main explanatory factor for the interprovincial migration of Anglophones. According to Radice's qualitative study (2000a), Quebec secession would not necessarily be a push factor causing the members of her interview group to leave Montreal. Locher (1998) nicely sums up these contradictions found in the literature: "Political reasons, including an opposition to the Charter of the French Language, have played an important secondary role that was significant at times. But nothing suggests that the 'exodus of Anglophones' should be interpreted as an escape motivated mainly by political or linguistic factors"⁷⁴ (p. 44).

The impact of political factors on migration is also observed among young Anglo-Quebecers. Quantitative data collected by Locher (1992) show that the main reasons for which young Anglophones would leave Quebec in the near future are political (here, political factors include Quebec's language laws). Alliance Quebec (1992) emphasizes that few young Anglophones were definitively expecting to stay in Quebec in the long term and that the decision to stay depended, for a number of them, on the political context.

The language laws prevailing in Quebec provide another explanation for provincial out-migration of Anglo-Quebecers of all ages (CPJ, 2003a; NHRDC, 2000; Stevenson, 2000; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999). For example, the rate of interprovincial out-migrants increased when Bill 101 was adopted in 1977. As was mentioned above however, Locher (1988) maintains that the language-related laws have played only a secondary role in the exodus of Anglophones: 17.8% of the members of his sample mentioned the Charter of the French Language as being the main reason for their departure (p.41). On the other hand, the report of the forum for representatives of young Quebec Anglophones, held by the *Conseil permanent de la jeunesse* in 2002, showed that Bill 101 had a negative impact on immigration of Anglophones in the province of Quebec

⁷⁴ In French: "les raisons politiques, y compris une opposition à la Charte de la langue française, ont joué un rôle secondaire parfois important. Mais rien ne suggère que 'l'exode des Anglophones' devrait être interprété comme une fuite motivée principalement par des facteurs politiques ou linguistiques."

(CPJ, 2003a). However, it should be noted that this statement is not based on any survey data.

As for young Anglo-Quebecers, the majority of students questioned by Locher (1992) revealed that language laws are the main reason for their future exodus. About half of the young Anglophones said that language laws in Quebec accounted for the exodus of Anglo-Quebecers. However, Locher (1992) brings up the point that it is impossible to explain the exodus of Anglophones solely by the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977. He states that the level of interprovincial out-migration has remained relatively constant since 1966, and that in fact the majority of Anglophones did not leave Quebec during this period.

2.1.1.4 Economic factors

According to Radice's qualitative study (2000a) and Locher's quantitative study (1994a), economic variables are the most important determinants of migratory decisions for the Anglo-Quebec population, all ages taken together. Addressing this topic, Locher (1991) points out that the motivations for Anglophone migrations are essentially the same as those observed in other countries. The importance of economic determinants is revealed in the migration intentions that were expressed, the reasons that emigrants provided for their departure, and macro-economic and demographic analyses (1994a; 1992). The Anglo-Montrealers questioned by Radice (2000a) explained the exodus of Anglo-Quebecers mainly with reference to economic factors. Locher (1988) explains the preponderance of economic factors in the following manner: "If the migration stream is, in fact, long-term, the reasons for this are found above all in the country's economic structure, not in short-lived political changes"⁷⁵ (p. 117).

In the research under review here, economic factors are said to include the following elements: economic context, employment opportunities and "economic progress" (i.e., schooling outside Quebec).

Quebec's economic context seems to be an explanatory factor for the migration patterns of Anglo-Quebecers as a whole (NHRDC, 2000; Radice, 2000a; Stevenson, 2000;

Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo and Teixeira, 1998). It seems that the economic decline observed in Quebec since the end of World War II (i.e., among other aspects, the relocation during the 1970s of important Anglophone head offices from Montreal to Toronto), coupled with the favourable economic conditions prevailing in other provinces, have led Anglo-Quebecers to leave Quebec (Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Lo and Teixeira, 1998). Locher (1988) indicates that the search for a better economic environment partly explains the departure of Anglo-Quebecers. His quantitative study reveals that 26.7% of the emigrants “left in search of better economic benefits or because they did not like the economic conditions in Quebec”⁷⁶ (p.41).

In addition, a number of Anglo-Quebecers leave Quebec for employment-related reasons such as a job transfer or a new job (*Idem*). Some Anglo-Quebecers also emigrate in order to benefit from better employment opportunities and consequently, from a higher quality of life (Radice, 2000a; Locher, 1991; 1988). Rudin (1986) states that it is inevitable that some Anglo-Quebecers, even bilingual ones, emigrate to the other Canadian provinces to better their opportunities. Radice (2000a), for her part, argues that, for the Anglo-Montrealers she interviewed, inability to find work would cause them to leave Quebec.

The desire to benefit from better future prospects likewise explains the exodus of young Anglophones from Quebec to other provinces (Johnson, 2000; Lo and Teixeira, 1998; Amit-Talai, 1993). Lo and Teixeira (1998) state that economic factors determine the interprovincial migration of young Anglophones more than the political context does. They analyze the emigration of young Quebec Anglophones in the following manner:

These are people at the beginning of their careers, relatively well educated, mobile, and characteristic of all language communities across the country [...]. They do not have much to lose in leaving Quebec. They are looking for better opportunities elsewhere, apparently conforming to classical migrants leaving on a voluntary basis (p. 489).

The results of Amit-Talai’s study (1993) reveal that the main reason Anglophone students provided for leaving Quebec was the pursuit of studies, followed by looking

⁷⁵ In French: “Si le courant migratoire est en fait de longue durée, c’est surtout dans la structure économique du pays qu’on trouve ses causes, et non pas dans des changements politiques éphémères.”

⁷⁶ In French : “sont partis à la recherche de meilleurs avantages économiques ou parce que les conditions économiques du Québec leur déplaisaient”.

for work. It is interesting to note that these factors also help to understand the inter-regional migration patterns of young Francophones (Gauthier, Molgat and Côté, 2001). However, Amit-Talai (1993) points out that students who indicated a desire to migrate within Quebec expressed the same motivations. Amit-Talai (1993) concludes that the main difference between intraprovincial and interprovincial migrants lies in the choice of location in which the students want to pursue their studies and professional career. She also states that the Anglophone students questioned wanted to migrate to other provinces, not because they thought their chances to succeed in Quebec were slim, but rather because they were interested in the long-term opportunities available in other provinces: “To put it in classic migration ‘push/pull’ terms [...], these students were not being pushed out of the province by a perceived lack of opportunities. They were being pulled away from it by their perception of attractive opportunities elsewhere” (p. 56). However, Alliance Quebec noted in its 1992 report that young Anglophones were migrating because they thought their chances of succeeding in Quebec were limited; they believed they were less likely to be hired than Francophones. However, the data used by Alliance Quebec (1992) are not based on quantitative research, as it is the case in Amit-Talai’s study (1993).

Nevertheless, in contrast to the results presented by Lo and Teixeira (1998) and Amit-Talai (1993), Locher (1994a) indicates that, according to the results of his study, the desire to have better professional prospects for the future accounts for only a fraction of the intentions that young Anglophones expressed for leaving; “We cannot say, therefore, that it is only those with socio-economic ambitions and means who express the desire to leave Quebec”⁷⁷ (p. 97).

2.1.1.5 Factors related to the social network and socialization

Migration motivations related to the social network and socialization have not been studied much in the literature on Quebec Anglophone migration. Nonetheless, some studies have looked into these factors.

⁷⁷ In French: “On ne peut donc pas affirmer que seuls ceux qui ont les moyens et les ambitions socioéconomiques expriment le désir de quitter le Québec.”

Social network seems to have an impact on the interprovincial migration of Anglo-Quebecers. Lo and Teixeira (1998) indicate social ties outside the province is one explanatory factor for the future emigration of the non-Francophones they questioned. However, only 14% of the respondents expecting to leave Quebec within the next five years explained their decision by the need to reunite with members of their family (p. 493). Instead, the results obtained by Lo and Teixeira (1998) reveal that the migration intentions of Anglo-Quebecers can be explained above all by economic and political factors. As has already been mentioned, this study by Lo and Teixeira (1998) discusses only residents of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. Locher (1988), whose study covers all Anglo-Montrealers, states that a lack of family members in Quebec has very little influence on the migratory movements of Anglo-Quebecers; therefore, the family network is not the main reason for the massive departures of Anglo-Montrealers. On the other hand, a complete absence of relatives in the province would appear to increase the propensity of Anglophones to leave Quebec; Locher (1988) mentions that respondents with no family members in Quebec have the highest departure rate.

To our knowledge, there are no studies available on the impact of the social network—inside and outside Quebec—on the migration of young Anglo-Quebecers. As regards the topic of socialization however, Alliance Quebec (1992) indicates that a number of young Anglophones are urged by their parents and teachers to go and settle in the other Canadian provinces. It seems that the Anglo-Quebec community is rather pessimistic about its future and the chances of its youth for success. Alliance Quebec (1992) sums up the situation in the following terms: “This can easily become a self-fulfilling prophecy for young English-speaking Quebecers and a self-defeating prophecy for the English-speaking community of Quebec” (p. 11). These assertions, however, need to be verified quantitatively.

2.1.2 Retention factors

To our knowledge, only two studies have looked at the retention factors of the total population of Anglo-Montrealers: those of Locher (1998) and Radice (2000a). Locher (1988) mentions that about two-thirds of the non-migrants in his sample stayed in Quebec for economic reasons, while 11.6% justified their decision by a strong sense of

belonging to their community (p. 40). Moreover, Radice (2000b) found out that the Anglo-Montrealers she questioned had consciously chosen to stay in Montreal. This reality is well expressed by the informant named Fiona: “Most people are here because they want to be” (p. 42). Reasons to stay are numerous. Radice (2000b) emphasizes that the choice not to leave the province of Quebec is “likely to be the result of years of micro-decisions, improvisation and compromise” (p.45). Above all, the interviews make clear the respondents’ feelings of love and affection for Montreal. Two female informants also said they came back to Quebec after having divorced in order to be closer to their family and to the place where they were born. However, the decision to stay is always linked to a possible departure. Massive departures are part of the social environment of Anglo-Montrealers, a situation that requires them to constantly question their decision to stay.

As for young Anglo-Quebecers, two qualitative studies, by Alliance Quebec (1992) and Caldwell (1981), asked them what would make them stay in Quebec. Young Anglophones made the following suggestions in 1992: providing more public services in English; offering free French courses in order to develop the language skills of young Anglophones and to better their chances of being hired; fostering good communication, mutual understanding and tolerance between the two linguistic communities; and promoting the benefits of bilingualism, particularly by broadcasting bilingual programs (Alliance Quebec, 1992). In addition, young Anglo-Quebecers made the following point at the 2000 Quebec Youth Summit: “The will of English-speaking youth to build a future in Quebec is there” (Johnson, 2000, n.p.). They said that better future prospects and reconciliation between the Anglophone minority and the Francophone majority would induce them to stay in Quebec. The report of the forum for representatives of Quebec’s young Anglophones, organized by the *Conseil permanent de la jeunesse* in 2002, reveals that employment is a strong encouragement for young Anglophones to stay in the province of Quebec (CPJ, 2003a).

When the suggestions made back in 1979–80 are considered, an evolution becomes apparent in the perception of young Anglophones towards the issue of migration. These suggestions referred more to the political context in Quebec. They demonstrated less open-mindedness and a rather pessimistic attitude regarding the exodus phenomenon.

One-third of the sample stated that nothing could make Anglophones stay in Quebec (Caldwell, 1981, p. 26). Caldwell (1981) states that underlying this response was the following fatalistic thinking: “Those who were going to leave would leave, in any case, and those who wanted to stay would manage” (p. 26). Among the respondents who made suggestions, one-fifth said that the best solution would be to eradicate the Parti Québécois and the independence movement; another fifth expressed their desire to see a legislative change, that is, the abolition of the unilingual government and Bill 101; one-tenth mentioned the improvement of the economic climate; and one-fifth indicated that initiatives taken by community leaders would encourage Anglo-Quebecers to stay in Quebec. However, it is worth noting that Caldwell (1981) observed among the young non-migrants he questioned a strong sense of belonging to a specific place in Quebec.

Moreover, an analysis of discussion groups led by the Megantic English-speaking Community Development Corporation (MCDC)⁷⁸ reveals that young Anglophones and Francophones who decided to stay in the Chaudière-Appalaches and Érable regions explain their decision by the fact that they had found a job, met their husband or wife in the region, and by the quality of life there (Gignac, 2003). Gignac (2003) mentions that even the loss of a job would not induce these non-migrants to move to a larger city.

2.2 Interregional migration

Interregional migration is a nearly-nonexistent topic in the literature on Quebec’s Anglophones. What the research on this issue does bring out is the under-representation of Anglo-Quebecers among people who migrated from one region to another in Quebec (Paillé, 1999).⁷⁹ In contrast, Francophones are over-represented in interregional migrations (*Idem*). When Quebec’s Anglophones migrate, they usually leave the regions and move to the Montreal Urban Community. The attraction of Montreal is stronger among Anglophones outside of the metropolitan region than among their Francophone

⁷⁸ The MCDC conducted four discussion groups with 14 young Anglophones and 10 young Francophones from the Chaudière-Appalaches and Érable regions. This study was aimed at better defining the migration patterns of young Anglophones. A sample of young Francophones was created to determine whether linguistic and cultural factors had an impact on the decision to migrate to larger cities. For each linguistic category, two discussion groups were conducted: one with youths who had decided to stay in their native region, and one with youths who had left their native region for a larger city (the youths living outside the region were questioned during a conference call).

⁷⁹ Paillé (1999) uses home language data from the 1986 and 1991 Censuses in order to analyze interregional migrations in Quebec.

counterparts (Ibid). On the Island of Montreal, in the period from 1971 to 1996, the proportion of Francophones declined more rapidly (from 61.2% to 55.6%) than that of Anglophones (from 27.4% to 25.6%) (Termote, 2002, p. 29). This exodus from Quebec's regions to Montreal constitutes an explanatory factor for the general demographic decline to which Anglo-Quebecers are destined (Government of Canada, 2003). Also, Anglo-Quebecers are much less inclined than Francophones to leave Montreal to settle elsewhere in Quebec (Termote, 2002; Paillé, 1996, in Jedwab, 1996). Jedwab (1996) explains this by the scarcity of public services available in English in the regions, which is due to the demographic decline of the Anglo-Quebec community outside the Montreal region. As mentioned earlier, other Canadian provinces are the main destination point of Anglophone migrants (Jedwab, 1996). For the 1991-1996 period, 70% of the Anglophone migrants on the Island of Montreal and 77% of the Anglophone migrants outside the metropolitan region chose to migrate to other Canadian provinces rather than moving within the province of Quebec, compared to 4% and 6% respectively for the Francophone migrants of Quebec (Termote, 2002, p. 46).

The demographic situation in English Quebec is even more critical in the regions with a small proportion of Anglophones and a large number of youths leaving to pursue their post-secondary studies or find a job (Government of Canada, 2003). According to Amit-Talai's study (1993), the main interregional migration factors among young Anglo-Quebecers are the desire to study and to look for employment. At the 2000 Quebec Youth Summit, young Anglo-Quebecers named the lack of future prospects as the reason for their massive departures from rural regions (Johnson, 2000). The proceedings of the discussion groups conducted by the MCDC reveal that young Anglophones who left the Chaudière-Appalaches and Érable regions for a larger city do not explain their departure by cultural or linguistic factors (Gignac, 2003). However, statistical data show that young Anglophones in these regions are more inclined to emigrate than their Francophone counterparts. Gignac (2003) makes this point in the following terms: "The statistical information tends to show that [linguistic and cultural factors] might [have] a greater impact than conscientiously admitted by the participants" (p. 18). Young Anglophones of the Chaudière-Appalaches and Érable regions, just like the young Francophones from these regions, indicated having left their native region because they

had found a job in an urban region, had made new friends or had developed a love relationship during their post-secondary studies, and because they appreciated the range of choices and options available in the big urban centres. As noted by Gignac (2003), “employment opportunities provided in urban areas, along with the limitless opportunities in culture and sports, cultural diversity and multiculturalism, and finally, no interest in rural life constituted strong incentives for them to establish themselves in urban regions” (p. 10).

Without having focused specifically on the question of interregional migration, Element (2003) analyzed the rural exodus of young Anglophones living in the Gaspé Peninsula⁸⁰. According to him, several factors explain the massive departures for urban areas: the region’s poor economic context; the institutionalization of migration or the prevailing migratory culture, that is, the tendency of the community to urge youths to leave the region; the high value local people give to education and training, which induces youth to migrate in order to study, and eventually to work; and the lack of services, leisure activities, diversity, community spirit, social initiatives, options and future prospects that characterize the community, and, consequently, the inability of the latter to live up to the youth’s expectations. However, it is useful to note that, just like in Gignac’s study (2003), Element’s report (2003) concerns only rural exodus. The desire of young Anglophones to leave the province of Quebec is not mentioned at all. Linguistic, cultural, political, and legislative migration factors are likewise not touched upon. Perhaps this absence is due to the fact that these motives were simply not mentioned by the young English-speaking Gaspésians interviewed, or because of the comparative rural-urban approach adopted by Element.

⁸⁰ Element (2003) questioned 18 Anglophone CEGEP [a French acronym designating colleges of general and professional instruction in Quebec] students from the Gaspé Peninsula. Given that he was a sociology professor at the Gaspé CEGEP, he selected one of his own classes. He was able to trace the 18 students throughout their CEGEP studies (by the last semester, there were only 14 students remaining). He conducted qualitative interviews with the latter at four intervals. He also carried out a study of 84 Anglophone high school students aged 15 to 18 (also from the Gaspé Peninsula). He wanted to compare these young students to the CEGEP students he had previously interviewed. He also carried out participatory observation.

Conclusion

The migration patterns of young Anglo-Quebecers are complex and may not be reduced to a single factor. Research results vary from one study to another. Key points from the research under review include:

- The majority of young English-speaking adults in Quebec are faced with a dilemma when thinking about their future: to stay or not to stay in Quebec.
- More young Anglo-Quebecers express an intention to migrate from Quebec than do their Francophones and Allophones counterparts. However, linguistic categories are apparently not the main explanatory factor for the migration intentions of young Anglophones.
- The high level of bilingualism observed among young Anglophones does not counteract their propensity to leave Quebec. This might be explained by the fact that young Anglophones, despite their French skills, are convinced they cannot compete with their Francophone counterparts. This perception of discrimination is what would lead them to leave. At the same time, bilingualism would facilitate their mobility across Canada.
- The desire to live in a more English-speaking environment accounts for only a fraction of the migration intentions of young Anglo-Quebecers.
- A certain attachment to Canada is reflected in the choice of young Anglo-Quebecers to migrate to other Canadian provinces instead of staying in Quebec.
- The feeling of not being accepted in the Francophone majority would partly explain the exodus of young Anglophones from Quebec.
- Young Anglophones born in Quebec would be less likely to migrate to other Canadian provinces than young Anglophones born outside of Quebec. Moreover, children whose parents were born in another province would be more likely to express the desire to leave Quebec. However, birthplace can only explain a part of the migration intentions of young Anglo-Quebecers.

- Locher's study (1994a) reveals that the main reasons given by young Anglo-Quebecers to leave Quebec are political. The majority of Anglophone students questioned pointed to language laws as the main reason for their future exodus.
- The desire to benefit from better future prospects also explains the exodus of young Anglophones from Quebec. As opposed to Locher (1994a), Amit-Talai (1993) states that the main reasons expressed by young Anglo-Quebecers for leaving Quebec in the near future are the pursuit of studies and looking for work.
- Young Anglo-Quebecers are urged by those around them to go and settle in the other Canadian provinces.
- Young Anglo-Quebecers are willing to build their future in Quebec. When asked what would induce them to stay in the province, they made suggestions that appeared to demonstrate a desire to integrate into Quebec and a determination to establish good relationships with the Francophone majority.
- As for interregional migration, a large number of young Anglo-Quebecers are leaving the regions in order to pursue post-secondary studies or to find work.

Conclusion

The proportion of young adults within Quebec's Anglophone community is significantly decreasing. One reason for this demographic decline is the exodus of young Anglo-Quebecers to other Canadian provinces. The causes for these massive departures are multiple and interrelated. No one factor or group of factors suffices to explain on its own the complexity of these migratory movements. There is no consensus in the literature on the predominance of particular variables. However, the interprovincial migrations of young Anglophones do seem to be the result of linguistic, cultural, political, legislative and economic factors, as well as of factors related to socialization. Despite their strong propensity to emigrate, young Anglo-Quebecers demonstrate a determination to integrate into Quebec society and establish good relations with Francophones. This literature review reveals the extent to which the migration patterns of young Anglophones corresponds to a sociocultural reality that is complex and in need of further analysis.

Locher in 1991, Amit-Talai in 1987 and Caldwell between 1976 and 1983 carried out the only studies on the migrations of young Anglo-Quebecers. Locher (1994a) and Amit-Talai (1993) limited themselves to the study of the migration intentions of Anglophone students. However, intentions to leave Quebec do not necessarily result in actual migratory movement. Caldwell (1983; 1981) was the only researcher to follow the migration path of young Anglo-Quebecers over time; he is also the only one to have studied young Anglophone adult non-migrants. Moreover, it should be pointed out that Locher (1994a; 1992) and Amit-Talai (1993) only looked into the hypothetical factors of interprovincial migration. Consequently, the following types of migrants remain unexplored or nearly unexplored in the literature: interprovincial migrants, interprovincial returnees⁸¹, interregional migrants, interregional returnees, intraregional

⁸¹ Regarding interprovincial returnees, Ms. Sharon McCully, author, journalist and editor of the *Sherbrooke Record*, indicated during her presentation to the forum held for representatives of young Anglophones in Quebec by the *Conseil permanent de la jeunesse* that "more and more, young Anglophones who left the province after completing their education have gained some working experience and decided to return to Quebec" (CPJ, 2003b, p. 8). However, this assertion still remains to be verified in the course of future research. Note that the forum report also reveals that few measures have been established to encourage Anglophone graduates to return to Quebec. Apparently, difficulties exist in having post-secondary diplomas obtained outside the province recognized in Quebec. The task that remains is to study the real impact of these assertions on migratory decisions.

migrants, intraregional returnees and non-migrants⁸². Retention, attraction and migration factors remain to be studied for each of these. Comparisons between the different types of migrants could eventually shed some light on the subject. A comparative study of the migration patterns of young Anglophones living in and outside the Montreal area would be useful. It would also be worthwhile to delineate the similarities and differences between migration patterns of young Anglophones, young Francophones and young Allophones. Moreover, Locher (1994a; 1992), Amit-Talai (1993) and Caldwell (1983; 1981) all adopted a quantitative approach, which means that the qualitative aspect of the migration flows of young Anglophones is an avenue that has yet to be explored. Furthermore, several factors that might account for the interprovincial migration of young Anglo-Quebecers are absent from the reviewed literature. The studies on the subject were carried out mainly from a language perspective. Amit-Talai (1993), however, mentions that we should not make the mistake of considering linguistic categories to be the main causes explaining Anglophone migration. Also, sociodemographic variables, such as education level, gender and marital status, are nearly absent from literature⁸³. Moreover, the internal and external social networks that young Quebec Anglophones possess could perhaps help explain their propensity to emigrate from Quebec; young Anglophones with significant networks in other Canadian provinces might be more inclined to leave Quebec. Nor has the cultural identity of young Anglo-Quebecers been thoroughly studied in the literature. It would be interesting to understand, in conjunction with the issue of interregional and interprovincial migration, how the sense of belonging among youths is being expressed. On the one hand, would a strong sense of belonging to English Canada

⁸² The "interprovincial migrants" category refers to young Anglo-Quebecers who left the province of Quebec. The "interprovincial returnees" category refers to youth who left the province and came back. The "interregional migrants" category refers to youth who migrated from one region to another within Quebec. The "interregional returnees" category includes youths who left a region in Quebec and then returned to it. The "intraregional migrants" category refers to youths who migrated from one town to another within the same region. The "intraregional returnees" category refers to youth who migrated from one town to another within the same region and then returned to their town of origin. In the context of interprovincial migration, the "non-migrants" category refers to young Anglophones who stayed in Quebec. In the context of interregional migration, the "non-migrants" category refers to young Anglo-Quebecers who decided to stay in their region of origin. In the context of intraregional migration, the "non-migrants" category refers to young Anglo-Quebecers who decided to stay in their town of origin. This typology draws upon the one used by Gauthier, Molgat and Côté (2001).

⁸³ Locher (1994a) is the only researcher, to our knowledge, to have tested the impact of certain sociodemographic variables on the migration intentions of young Anglophones. He concludes that age and sex have no real impact on the phenomenon being studied. Given that his study was on young Anglophones in secondary schools and CEGEP [a French acronym designating colleges of general and professional instruction in Quebec], he was not able to evaluate the impact of education level on migration intentions. It would be interesting to verify the correlation between education level and the migration of young Anglophones, especially since Locher (1988) found out that this

be an explanation for the massive departures of young Anglophones? On the other hand, would a strong identification with a specific place in Quebec or with Quebec itself help explain the decision of some youths to stay? Caldwell (1981) had discovered, among those he called the “non-movers,” a strong sense of belonging to a given place in Quebec. In addition, the interprovincial and international immigration of Anglophones to Quebec remains an aspect to be explored; in fact, the main explanation that Termote (2002) and Locher (1988) provide for the recent decline of English Quebec is the low in-migration rate of English-speaking people. As a final point, the few studies on the subject were carried out more than ten years ago. It is clear that new research must be undertaken in order to understand the migration patterns of today’s young Anglo-Quebecers.

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