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**The Chambers Report, Ten Years After:
The State of English Language Education in
Quebec, 1992-2002**

The Missisquoi Reports, Volume 4

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I. Introduction

This month marks ten years since the presentation of the provincial Government's Task Force on English-Language Education in Quebec chaired by Gretta Chambers. Since its release in early February 1992, the Chambers Report has become an important reference for much of the ensuing discussion around the state of English language education in Quebec.

In 1992, the English language school system had seen its enrollment fall considerably in the fifteen years after the adoption of the Charter of the French Language. Citing a 57% decline in English enrollment between 1972 and 1990, from 250,000 to 108,000, the Task Force on English education in Quebec presented a rather gloomy picture of the future of the English language school system in the absence of changes aimed at widening admission to that sector. (French enrollment declined by 24% over the same period). They noted that the greatest decline occurred between 1976 and 1986 and that the drop was particularly felt on the Island of Montreal (some 64% between 1970 and 1990).

As the members of the Task Force noted, "a community's education of its young is one of the building blocks on which its future is founded. If it leaves the education of its young people to others, others will eventually define its cultural values and choose its social priorities" (Task Force on English Language Education, February, 1992). One of the aspects of the mission of English education in Quebec was to give students knowledge of their English-language cultural heritages and the contribution their community has made to the development of this society. Undoubtedly an important link was made between enrollment trends and the control and management of the English-language school system.

According to the Task Force, "Bill 101, restricting admissibility to English schooling, has accelerated the decline by shutting out a significant portion of the English school network's traditional replacement clientele." In further commenting on the status of the English-speaking community, the Task Force warned, "if it is prevented from renewing itself, it will simply fade away. Continuing to shut it off from its traditional sources of replenishment can and will be construed as a delayed but deliberate death sentence."

What has happened since the 1992 release of the report and what does the future promise in regard to English language schooling in Quebec? That which follows will examine enrollment trends in the English language school system since the issuing of the Chambers Report and look at the situation of English-speaking students in Quebec's education system.

II. Demographic Change and the Quebec School System

During the period 1991-2001 there have been significant changes in the composition of Quebec's population largely arising from immigration that has increasingly become the principal source of growth. Interprovincial and interregional migration and urban sprawl also have an important bearing on demographic realities. The ongoing changes to our demographic condition often require some rethinking of policies and programs in the education sector. The focus here is on the demographic shifts in the schools. At the time the Chambers report was released, the percentage of mother tongue Francophone students in Quebec's school system was just below 85% and thus somewhat above the overall share of the broader Francophone provincial population.

In real numbers, the enrollment of Francophones has actually decreased by about 4% in the last ten years. In consequence, since 1992 there has been a slight decline in the proportion of mother tongue Francophones in the school system. While the percentage of those of English mother tongue in Quebec schools has remained stable, there has been a rise in the proportion of Allophones since 1992. Indeed as seen below, Allophones now collectively constitute a more important number than the Anglophone group.

Table 1

Number and percentage of students by mother tongue in schools (public and private) in the province of Quebec for the school years 1991-92 and 2000-01

	1991-92	%	2000-2001	%
Francophone	961,611	84.3	920,823	82.2
Anglophone	95,432	8.4	94,887	8.5
Allophone	91,003	7.3	110,097	9.3
Total	1,148,046		1,125,707	

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92 and 2000-01

Amongst Quebec's non-Francophone student population, some 54% are Allophones and 46% Anglophone. This trend is consistent with that of the entire non-Francophone population as the 1996 census revealed that there were more mother tongue Allophones than Anglophones in Quebec. With respect to evolving demographic trends, the changes to the school system that are cited above are especially pronounced in Montreal where the vast majority of the Allophone population is concentrated. In Montreal, the mother tongue Allophone student population jumped by about 24 % over a ten- year period (1991-2001) while the percentage of Francophones dropped by nearly 5%.

Table 2

Number and percentage of students by mother tongue in schools (public and private) in the administrative region of Montreal for the school years 1991-92 and 2000-01

	1991-92	%	2000-2001	%
Francophone	120,050	52	114,404	47
Anglophone	51,314	22	51,610	21
Allophone	62,359	26	77,719	32
Total	233,723		243,733	

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92 and 2000-01

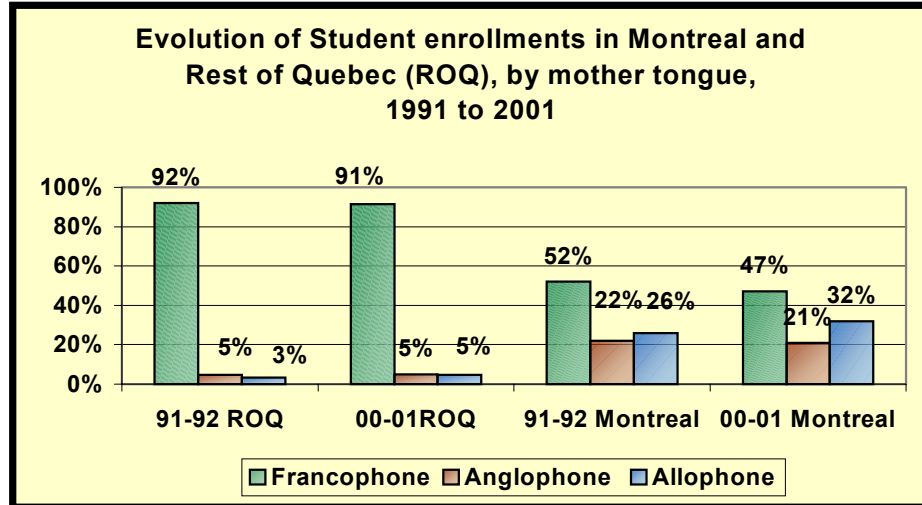
Outside the Montreal region the mother tongue Francophone population remains very dominant, representing over ninety percent of the school population despite the declines in their enrollments. Thus, there is a growing disparity in the linguistic profile of the school population of Montreal and that of the rest of Quebec (ROQ).

Table 3

Number and percentage of students by mother tongue in schools (public and private) in the rest of Quebec (outside Montreal) for the school years 1991-92 and 2000-01

	1991-92	%	2000-2001	%
Francophone	841,561	92.0	806,419	91.4
Anglophone	44,118	4.8	43,277	4.9
Allophone	28,644	3.2	32,378	4.7
Total	914,323		882,074	

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92 and 2000-01



Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92 and 2000-01

Under the education provisions of the Charter of the French Language, those who immigrated to Canada after 1977 were required to send their children to French language schools. This measure prompted the Chambers Task Force to issue its dire predictions for the English language sector, as it was cut off from the most important source of growth to the school system, namely the children of immigrants. For a number of reasons, despite the Bill 101 restrictions, English language schools have surprisingly experienced some modest growth in enrollment in recent years.

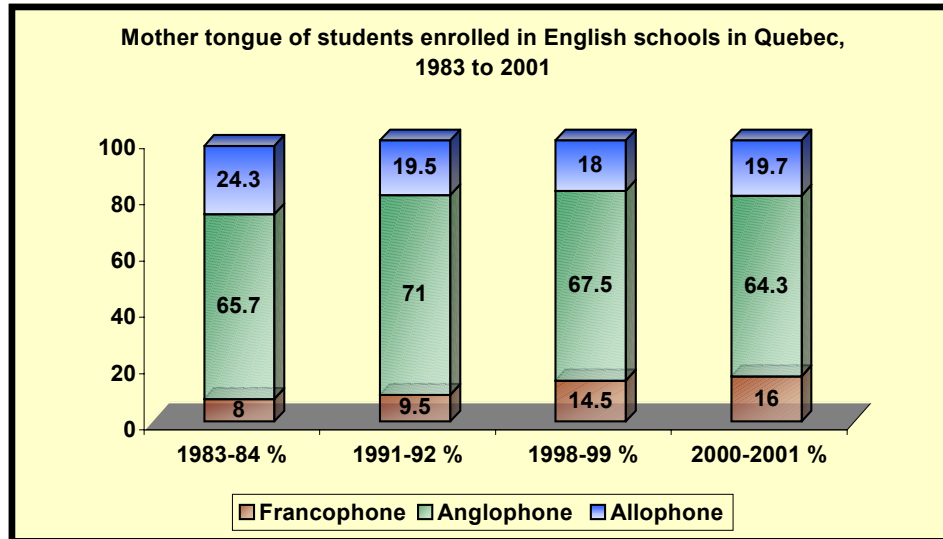
Since the early 1990's, the enrollment of Francophones in the English language sector has risen by about 1, 000 per year. By consequence, the mother tongue Francophone enrollment has jumped from below ten percent in 1991-92 to over 16%, or nearly one out of six students in the English sector. If the trend continues, by the year 2006 some one out of five students in the English language system will be of French mother tongue. While the principal source of the recent increase stems from Francophone children, there has also been a rise in the number of Allophones in the English sector.

Table 4

Number and percentage of students by mother tongue in English public schools in Quebec for the school years 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	1983-84	%	1991-92	%	1998-99	%	2000-2001	%
Francophone	10,207	8.0	9,464	9.5	14,808	14.5	16,875	16.0
Anglophone	83,907	65.7	70,037	71.0	68,783	67.5	68,120	64.3
Allophone	33,493	24.3	19,401	19.5	18,936	18.0	20,595	19.7
Total	127,607		98,902		102,527		105,590	

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01



Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

While Anglophones and Francophones experienced declines in their overall enrollment through much of the 1980's, the numbers of Allophones in Quebec public schools grew substantially. Largely as a result of the education provisions of the Charter of the French Language, the number of Allophones in the English sector plummeted from just over 33,000 in 1983-84 to below 19,000 in 1998-99. As seen in Table 4, the erosion in Allophone numbers and percentage in the English sector has come to a halt and their enrollment has risen by ten percent since 1998. Connected to this is a recent increase in the number of Allophones that hold the right to attend English language schools (see table 12), likely attributable to rise in the number of eligible children in Anglophone-Allophone and/or Allophone-Allophone marriages where at least one partner holds the rights as well a higher birth rate amongst some of the English sector's clientele. The rise in the share of mother tongue Francophones and Allophones respectively enrolled in English language schools has meant that the share of Anglophones has fallen below its level of 1983-84.

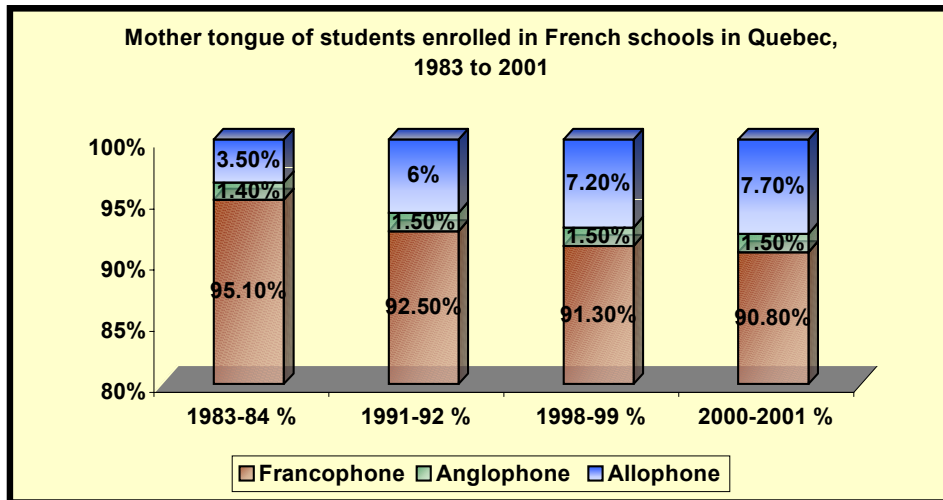
Between 1998 and 2001 there was an increase of 4,500 Allophone students in Quebec public schools. Over 1,600 students or over one-third of that increase went to the English sector, as seen below the other near 2, 800 or just below two-thirds went to the French public sector.

Table 5

Number and percentage of students by mother tongue in French public schools in Quebec for the school years 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	1983-84	%	1991-92	%	1998-99	%	2000-2001	%
Franco-phone	890,974	95.1	872,139	92.5	850,143	91.3	825,419	90.8
Anglo-phone	13,095	1.4	13,839	1.5	14,191	1.5	13,984	1.5
Allo-phone	32,108	3.5	56,46	6.0	67,596	7.2	70,394	7.7
Total	936,177		942,445		931,930		909,797	

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01



Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

It may seem ironic that while the share of Francophone students in French language schools decreases, their share in the English language sector has risen. At the same time that Bill 101 has obliged most children of Anglophone immigrants to attend French-language schools, there has been an increase in the number of French mother-tongue students attending English-language schools. And as we observe in the table below, the number of Anglophones in the French language public sector has remained virtually unchanged between 1991 and 2001.

Table 6

Number and percentage of students of English mother tongue in English and French public schools in Quebec for the school years 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	Anglophone-English Schools	%	Anglophone-French Schools	%
1983-84	83,907	86.5	13,095	13.5
1991-92	70, 037	83.5	13,839	16.5
1998-99	68,783	82.9	14,191	17.1
2000-2001	68,120	82.9	13,984	17.1

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

III. Holding the Rights

The evolving number of those who hold the rights to English language education has been the key to changes in enrollment in the English public sector. The increase in mother tongue Francophone rights' holders that was observed in an earlier inquiry is continuing and will imply further changes to the composition of English language schools, particularly those outside the Montreal region. For the most part these French mother tongue children acquired eligibility as products of marriages between Anglophones and Francophones where the former were 'rights holders'. Such marriages between Anglophones and Francophones have been continually on the rise and have had a small multiplier effect that further increases such enrollment in English language public schools. In effect, the French mother tongue population of the English public school sector has risen by about 1,000 students, or nearly 15% per year over the past three years.

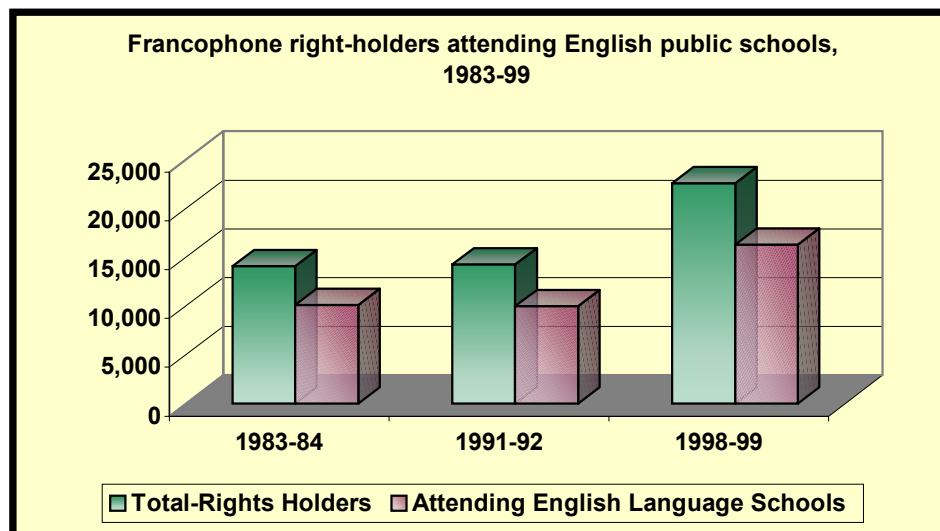
There has been a continued increase in the numbers and share of Francophone and Anglophone students in the English and French language sectors respectively. In 1983-84 about 14,000 French mother-tongue students had the right to attend English-language public schools. A little more than 10,000, or 71.6%, exercised that right to attend English language schools. In percentage terms, the share stayed roughly the same until the years 1998-99 when it stood at 71% or approximately 15,150 'eligible' Francophone students who were attending English language schools. Since then, the situation changed further as in the year 2000-01 some 73.8% or nearly 17,200 eligible Francophones attended English language institutions.

Table 7

Number and percentage of Francophone students in Quebec that are eligible for English language schools and those who attend such institutions, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	Total-Rights Holders	Attending English Language Schools	
1983-84	14,130	10,120	71.6
1991-92	14,200	10,000	69.5
1998-99	22,620	16,310	71.0
2000-01	23,320	17,200	73.8

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01



Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

As we can observe in the following tables, the vast majority of French mother tongue students that hold the rights to English language schooling reside outside the Montreal region where they currently represent some 78% of all those who hold such rights. Moreover a slightly higher share of the non-Montrealers exercise their right to attend English language schools. This is reflected in the regional variations in French mother tongue enrollment in English language schools that will be examined in the next section.

Table 8

Number and percentage of Francophone students in Montreal that are eligible for English language schools and those who attend such institutions, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	Total-Rights Holders	Attending English Language Schools	
1983-84	4,489	3,187	71.1
1991-92	3,860	2,668	68.5
1998-99	4,840	3,331	68.9
2000-01	5,170	3,701	71.7

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

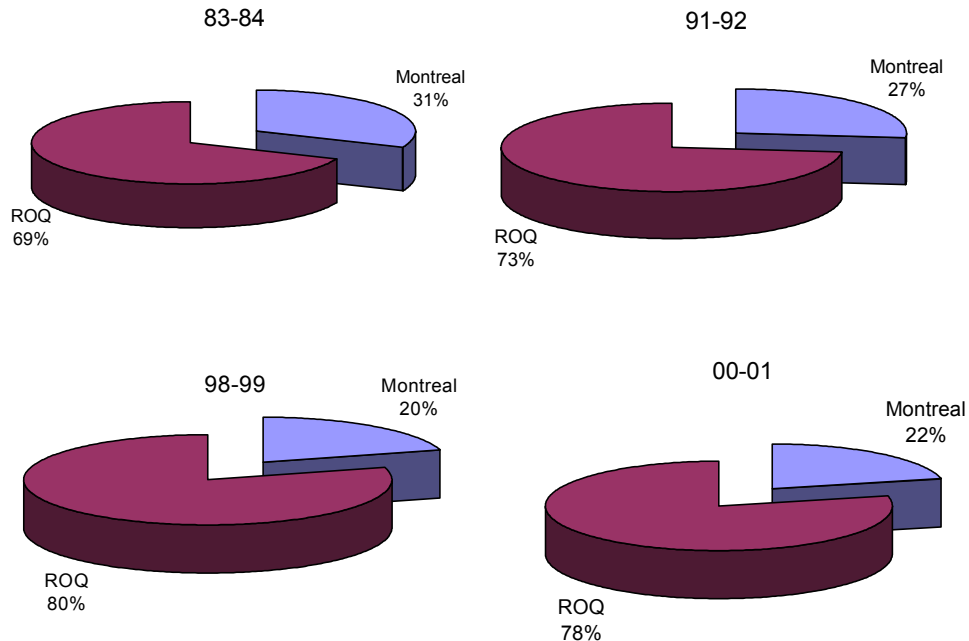
Table 9

Number and percentage of Francophone students that are eligible for English language schools outside of Montreal and those who attend such institutions, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	Total-Rights Holders	Attending English Language Schools	
1983-84	9,641	6,933	71.9
1991-92	10,340	7,332	70.5
1998-99	17,780	12,979	73.0
2000-01	18,150	13,499	74.5

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

Francophones attending English-school Montreal vs the Rest of Quebec over time



IV . Anglophones attending French-Language schools

In 1983-84, 7.8% or 7,325 persons who had the right to attend English-language schools chose to attend French language schools. A major decrease in the share of rights-holder Anglophones in French language schools occurred between the years 1986-87 and 1991-92, when the percentage dropped from 8.5% or 7,510 students to 6.6% or 5,466 students. Over the next eight years the number and share of Anglophone right holders attending French language schools stayed relatively flat. But perhaps the sharpest decline in the number and share of Anglophones attending French language schools occurred between the years 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 with a drop of approximately 7.5% or nearly 400 students. At the same time there was a decrease in the enrollment of Anglophones in the English language sector, possibly arising from net losses through the interprovincial migration of Anglophones in recent years

In the table below we can see the change in the ratio of those Anglophones who attend French language schools by choice and those who do so by obligation.

Table 10

Number and percentage of Anglophone students attending French language institutions by choice and by obligation, 1983-84 to 2000-01

	Attending French Language Schools-by choice		Attending French Language Schools-by obligation	
1983-84	7,325	40.2	10,905	59.8
1991-92	5,466	33.3	10,951	66.7
1998-99	5,144	29.7	12,139	70.3
2000-01	4,633	26.6	12,777	73.4

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

There is an interesting regional dimension to the changing pattern of Anglophone enrollments wherein the share of rights holders in Montreal that attend French language schools has experienced a particularly important downturn.

Table 11

Number and percentage of Anglophone students that are eligible for English language schools and attend French language institutions, in Montreal and in the rest of Quebec (ROQ), 1983-84 to 2000-01

	Montreal		Rest of Quebec	
1983-84	5,035	68.7	2,290	31.3
1986-87	5,080	67.7	2,430	32.3
1991-92	2,656	48.6	2,810	51.4
1998-99	2,546	49.5	2,598	50.5
2000-01	2,255	48.7	2,322	51.3

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1986-87, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

V. Allophone right-holders and language of education

Traditionally, very few of English those Allophones who held the right to go to English language schools chose to attend French language institutions. The period 1983-1987 saw an increase in the numbers of 'rights holder' Allophones attending French language schools (rising from 960 students to 1,371). From then until the year 1999, the number and share of such persons attending French language schools has remained rather stable. In the last two years, however, this trend seems to be reversing

Table 12

Number and percentage of Allophone students that are eligible for English language schools in Quebec and those who attend such institutions, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	Total-Rights Holders	Attending English Language Schools	%
1983-84	32,000	31,040	97.0
1991-92	19,099	17,810	93.3
1998-99	19,528	18,150	92.9
2000-01	20,581	19,375	94.1

Source : Government of Quebec : Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1983-84, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

Data issued by the Missisquoi Institute from a poll conducted in the summer of 2000 supports the idea that marriages between persons of different language communities explain the increases cited above. The poll reveals that in the areas of the Mauricie, Abitibi, Chaudière and the Saguenay region, a majority of persons of English mother tongue have spouses whose mother tongue is French. In Quebec City, Outaouais, Lanaudière and the Laurentians, approximately forty percent of the persons are in such linguistically mixed marriages. One of the main sources for growth in French mother tongue enrollment in English language schools is the Montérégie area where some thirty percent of couples are linguistically mixed. In Montreal and Laval the percentage of mixed English-French couples represents between ten and twenty percent according to the Missisquoi survey. In Montreal East, Montreal-Center and Laval, unions between English speakers and persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French are prevalent. In the Eastern part of Montreal such Anglophone-Allophone couples constitute the majority of all unions, while they represent the largest share of relationships in Montreal Center and Laval. Only in the Western part of Montreal are unions between Anglophones in the strong majority.

Table 13

What is Your Spouse's Mother Tongue, that is, the First Language Learned and Still Spoken?

	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER
Lower St. Lawrence	47%	47%	6%
Saguenay-Lac St. Jean	35%	54%	11%
Quebec	51%	43%	6%
Mauricie	27%	66%	7%
Estrie	65%	29%	5%
Mtl West	58%	16%	25%
Mtl Center	41%	10%	48%
Mtl East	24%	18%	57%
Outaouais	62%	35%	3%
Abitibi-Temiscamingue	19%	62%	19%
North Shore	71%	29%	0%
Northern Quebec	20%	6%	71%
Gaspé-Ile de la Madeleine	69%	30%	1%
Chaudiere-Appalaches	41%	59%	0%
Laval	31%	19%	48%
Lanaudière	43%	39%	19%
Laurentides	45%	39%	17%
Montréal	52%	28%	19%
Quebec-province	46%	22%	31%

Source : CROP-Missisquoi, 2000

VI. Enrollments by Region

Whereas in 1991-92, the majority of students enrolled in English language public schools were in Montreal, in 2001 it is the regions outside Montreal that, taken together have more students. The principal reason for this reversal is the substantial rise in enrollment from mother tongue Francophones in those areas. In fact virtually the entire increase in enrollment in English language public schools occurred outside the Montreal region.

Table 14

Number and percentage of students by mother tongue in English public schools in Montreal and in the rest of Quebec (ROQ), 1991-92 and 2000-01

	Montreal 1991-92	%	Montreal 2000-01	%	Rest of Quebec 1991-92	%	Rest of Quebec 2000-01	%
French	2 159	4.3	3 139	6.2	7 305	15.0	13 736	25.0
English	34 788	68.7	33 416	65.9	35 249	73.1	34 704	63.3
Allophone	13 664	27.0	14 188	29.3	5 737	11.9	6 407	11.7
	50,613		50 743		48 249		54 847	

Source : Government of Quebec : Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92 and 2000-01

As seen above 25% of those enrolled in English language public schools outside of Montreal are of French mother tongue whereas a decade earlier it was one out of six. By comparison, in Montreal mother-tongue French enrollment in English language public schools is just over six percent.

As noted previously, there is an important regional dimension to the enrollment patterns of those who hold the rights and notably amongst students of French mother tongue outside Montreal. In a few regions (Chaudiere, Lower St. Lawrence and Quebec center), Anglophone enrollment in French language schools exceeds enrollment in English institutions. But in a larger number of regions (Chaudiere, Lower St. Lawrence, Quebec Center, Saguenay-Lac St. Jean, Quebec City, Lanaudière, Northern Quebec and Mauricie), the majority of the student population is of French mother tongue.

Table 15

Enrolment of mother tongue Anglophones in English-language schools and French-language schools by region, 1991-92

	ENGLISH SCHOOLS- 1991-92	FRENCH SCHOOLS- 1991-1992	ENGLISH SCHOOLS- 1998-1999	FRENCH SCHOOLS- 1998-1999	ENGLISH SCHOOLS- 2000-2001	FRENCH SCHOOLS- 2000-2001
Chaudière	94	110	54	240	62	221
Bas St. Laurent	25	79	24	68	11	69
Centre du Québec			42	107	42	97
Saguenay-Lac St.Jean	158	48	119	68	102	73
Quebec City	843	259	785	396	819	309
Lanaudière	423	190	462	225	557	243
Abitibi	590	223	525	219	490	232
Nord du Québec	105	80	75	28	77	24
Mauricie	277	180	188	66	219	61
Estrie	2744	577	2 532	628	2 416	627
Outaouais	6186	1344	6 840	1 646	6 763	1 647
Laurentides	2417	585	3 294	747	3 072	733
Laval	3540	597	2 718	559	2 750	544
Quebec (province)	70 037	13 839	68 783	14 191	68 120	13 984
Cote Nord	877	166	820	156	728	135
Montreal	34 788	6097	33 441	6 384	33 146	6 383
Montérégie	15 560	3 068	15 732	2 550	15 542	2 424
Gaspésie	1 416	166	1 157	160	1 054	162

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

In some regions, the viability of the English language schools appears dependent on presence of the Francophone students. For example, the ratio of Francophone to Anglophone students in Quebec Center is about seven to one and is between three and four to one in Chaudiere, Saguenay –Lac St. Jean and the Mauricie.

Much of the increase in French- mother tongue enrollment is concentrated in a few areas within the province. As we can observe in Table 16, the Montérégie accounts for more than twenty-five percent of this increase, followed by Montreal with over twenty percent , the Laurentians with over ten percent and the Eastern Townships and Quebec City each with approximately seven and a half percent.

Table 16

Enrolment of mother tongue Francophones and Anglophones in English-language schools by region, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	MT- FRENCH in ENGLISH SCHOOLS- 1991-92	MT- ENGLISH in ENGLISH SCHOOLS 1991-1992	MT- FRENCH in ENGLISH SCHOOLS- 1998-1999	MT- ENGLISH in ENGLISH SCHOOLS -1998-1999	MT- FRENCH in ENGLISH SCHOOLS -2000-2001	MT- ENGLISH in ENGLISH SCHOOLS -2000-2001
Chaudière	102	94	154	54	180	62
Bas St. Laurent	13	25	12	24	12	11
Centre du Québec	N/A		162	42	281	42
Saguenay- Lac St.Jean	221	158	373	119	369	102
Quebec City	741	843	1 282	785	1396	819
Lanaudière	348	423	681	462	795	557
Abitibi	296	590	241	525	214	490
Nord du Québec	70	105	73	75	85	77
Mauricie	497	277	788	188	802	219
Estrie	715	2744	1 133	2 532	1399	2 416
Outaouais	395	6186	514	6 840	580	6 763
Laurentides	412	2417	1 633	3 294	1888	3 072
Laval	847	3540	868	2 718	1001	2 750
Quebec (province)	10,362	70 037	15 879	68 783	18 215	68 120
Cote Nord	158	877	196	820	222	728
Montréal	2 814	34 788	3 536	33 441	3959	33 146
Montérégie	2 419	15 560	4 089	15 732	5066	15 542
Gaspésie	55	1 416	50	1 157	50	1 054

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

VII. Allophones

Until the mid-1970's Allophones were by far the most important source of growth in the English language school system. As noted previously from the early 1980's to the late 1990's their numbers decreased rather sharply in the English sector and instead there was over that same period a sizeable increase of Allophones in French language schools and notably in the Montreal area. The table below illustrates some of the significant changes in the composition of the school population and the reduction in the number and share of the longer- established European origin groups like the Italian, Greek and Portugese groups (in some cases this was a function of English becoming the mother tongue of persons of these ethnic backgrounds) and the rapid and sizeable increase in

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children of Spanish, Arab and South Asian mother tongues who for the most part are members of what Statistics Canada defines as visible minorities. Already there are more students of Spanish and Arab mother tongue in Quebec schools than Italian that for several decades prior was the demographically dominant student group. In a few years those students of Arab mother tongue will be the most numerous in Quebec schools as they surpass Spanish mother tongue students. In terms of the percentage increase in the last ten years, students of Russian, Romanian and certain South Asian mother tongues have risen faster than others. Over the past ten years the only one of the groups that contributed to increasing enrollments in the English were of various South Asian mother tongues (if we add the six most important South Asian groups we get a total for 1991-92 of 2,283 and for 2000-2001 of 6,447).

Table 17

Change in the number of students of neither English nor French mother tongue in Quebec schools for selected groups, 1991-92 and 2000-01

	1991-92		2000-2001
Italian	13 468	-2,0	10 965
Greek	6 792	-2,982	3 810
Arab	8 717	+5,535	14, 252
Polish	2 253	-611	1 642
Créole	5 518	+2,533	8 051
Portugese	6 018	-2,045	3 973
Spanish	11 056	+3,652	14 708
Chinese	5 176	+1,469	6 645
Vietnamese	3 696	+ 436	4 132
Russian	258	+2,066	2 324
Armenian	1 977	+56	2 033
Romanian	563	+977	1 540
Bengali	345	+1,150	1 495
Gujarti	361	+467	828
Hindi	377	+25	402
Ourdou	461	+1,204	1 665
Penjabi	322	+1,091	1 413
Persan*	969	+538	1 507
Tagal/Phillipino	526	+1,106	1 632
Cambodian	1 707	-72	1 635

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92 and 2000-01

In 1983-84, there were slightly more Allophones enrolled in English public schools than in the French language sector. By 1991 nearly three-quarters of all Allophones enrolled in the public system were in French language schools and in 2000-2001 nearly 78% of such students were in the French sector.

Table 18

Change in the numbers of students by mother tongues other than English and French public sector in the province of Quebec, 1991-1992 and 2000-2001

	1991-92-English	%	1991-92-French		2000-2001-English		2000-01French	
Italian	8,570	68.9	3 867	31.1	8,745	88.0	1 196	12.0
Greek	1,609	34.9	2 995	65.1	1,348	63.1	788	36.9
Arab	349	4.8	7 025	95.2	393	3.4	11 124	96.6
Polish	338	17.3	1 619	82.7	228	16.8	1 126	83.2
Créole	40	.7	5 132	99.3	29	.4	7 482	9.6
Portugese	1431	25.2	4 243	74.8	1181	32.2	2 579	67.8
Spanish	451	4.3	9 862	95.7	679	4.9	13 124	95.1
Chinese	990	21.7	3 572	78.3	995	17.4	4 709	82.6
Vietnamese	127	4.1	2 964	95.9	24	.7	3 125	99.3
Russian	58	12.9	200	87.1	61	3.4	1 721	96.6
Armenian	81	3.8	1 896	96.2	106	17.1	511	82.9
Romanian	14	2.5	549	97.5	31	2.4	1 236	97.6
Bengali	83	25.5	243	74.5	318	22.8	1 073	77.2
Gujarti	115	34.3	221	65.7	427	56.2	332	49.8
Hindi	168	47.0	189	53.0	180	49.5	184	50.5
Ourdou	154	37.0	263	63.0	559	35.7	1 005	64.3
Penjabi	141	46.1	165	53.9	448	33.9	872	66.1
Persan*	82	9.6	771	90.4	112	8.7	1173	92.3
Tagal/Phillipino	118	24	373	76.0	104	6.5	1 487	93.8
Cambodian	127	2.4	2 964	97.6	95	5.2	1728	94.8

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92 and 2000-01

In the table above we observe that the vast majority of Allophone groups are overwhelmingly concentrated in French language public schools. The major changes since the year 1991-92 are the decline in the share of students of Italian mother tongue in the French language system relative to the English sector, some of this attributable to a shift to the English sector as well as language loss amongst the newer generation of youth from that ethnic background. There has also been a shift in enrollment of students of Greek mother tongue arising from an important shift of such students from French public to private schools. Led by European origin groups, students of Italian mother tongue represent by far the dominant Allophone presence in English language schools. Whereas in 1991 they constituted some 44% of all Allophones in the English public sector, in 2000-2001 they represent about 42.5%. Over that period, the biggest increase in the share of the Allophone group came from various South Asian linguistic groups that saw their cumulative percentage rise from just above one out of ten students in the year 1991 to about one-third of all Allophones in that sector in the year 2000-01.

VIII. Private Schools

Over the course of the 1990's, Quebec's English private schools experienced some moderate growth in its numbers as it increased by nearly ten percent between the years 1991-92 and 2000-01. While real growth was spread quite evenly across linguistic communities, there was a fifty percent rise in the real numbers of French mother tongue students in the English private sector (898 to 1,340) between 1991 and 2001. Nearly one of ten students in English language private schools are of French mother tongue. Of all mother tongue Anglophones attending English language schools some 12% are in private institutions. In the case of Francophones, some 7.5% of their total enrollment is in Quebec's private schools. Approximately 13% of all Allophone students are enrolled in private schools. While some 14% of Allophone enrollment in the French language institutions are in the private sector, in the case of the English sector about 11.3% of its Allophone contingent are in private schools.

Table 19

Composition of English Private Schools by mother tongue, province of Quebec, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	1991-92	%	1998-99	%	2000-2001	%
English	8 967	72.3	8 960	69.4	9 307	68.4
French	898	6.6	1 071	8.2	1,340	9.5
Allophones	2 625	21.1	2 897	22.4	3 006	22.1
	12 490		12 928		13 653	

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

As to French private schools, while their overall numbers decreased over the 1990's, there was a rise in the number of non-Francophones in these institutions. While the number of students of English mother tongue increased by some 30% between 1991 and 2001, there was a more than twenty percent increase in the percentage of Allophones during that same period. Of all students of English mother tongue attending private schools some 27% are in French language institutions. Conversely of all Francophones enrolled in private schools, some 1.7% is in English language institutions.

Table 20

Composition of French Private Schools by mother tongue, province of Quebec, 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

	1991-92	%	1998-99	%	2000-2001	%
English	2 578	2.7	3 092	3.4	3 426	3.7
French	79 100	85.1	76 092	84 .7	76,780	83.9
Allophones	11 257	12.2	10 702	11.9	11 377	12.4
TOTAL	92 935		89 886		91 583	

Source : Government of Quebec: Ministère de L'Éducation, Direction des statistiques et des études quantitatives 1991-92, 1998-99 and 2000-01

IX. Conclusion and Summary

The English language school system has undergone considerable evolution since the report generated by the Task Force on English Education in Quebec. At the time the report was released in 1992, the Quebec Ministry of Education predicted that the declines in English enrollment would end and that there would be an increase in the numbers over the course of the 1990's. Their forecast was accurate, but the source of the increases may have major ramifications not only for the future of the English school system but also for the Quebec Anglophone community. In January 1992, Task Force referred to a "trend away from the regions to the Montreal area –that –has increased the drain on many schools in smaller centers, while the emptying of central Montreal in favor of the suburbs has further strained educational services in the city core."

While there has always been a difference in the composition of English schools in Montreal and the regions in the rest of Quebec, the divergence has grown over the past decade. The increasing presence of Francophones in English language schools outside of Montreal no doubt has an important bearing on the 'community' mission of English language schools. It is an issue that merits further inquiry.

Below one finds the major trends that have shaped the English language school system over the past decade and are likely to affect future enrollment trends amongst linguistic groups.

- The important increase in the total number of students of neither English nor French mother tongue. More and more, these students outnumber the Anglophone segment of the school population. This is particularly apparent in Montreal, where nearly one-third of all students are Allophone and one-fifth are Anglophone.
- The continued increase of students of French mother tongue in the English language school system. In 1991-92 in Quebec's English language public schools such students represented less than one out of ten students whereas a decade later those of French mother tongue constitute one out of six students in the English public sector.
- This phenomenon is attributable to the significant increase during the last decade in the number of Francophones who are eligible for English language schooling. Between 1991-2001 the real numbers of eligible mother tongue Francophones increased by sixty percent, in large part due to the greater number of children from English-French marriages where one of the parents transmits the right to attend English language school. Some seven out ten students of French mother tongue that hold the right in fact exercise it, and the percentage has gone up slightly in recent years.
- The majority of French mother tongue students who are eligible for English schooling reside outside of Montreal. For this reason French mother tongue students represent only 6% of total enrollment in Montreal's English language schools and about one quarter of the

English sector in the rest of Quebec. As it is the regions where English schools have benefited most from the influx of French mother tongue students, the total enrollment in the English language sector outside of Montreal is greater than enrollment in Montreal. In some regions outside of Montreal, the demographic viability of English language schools depends on the presence of the Francophone students.

- Marriages between members of different linguistic communities are undoubtedly the principal factor in widening access of non-Anglophones to English language schools. Marriages between Anglophones and Francophones seem increasingly common outside of Montreal with the exception of Laval and Lanaudière where mixed marriages are more often between Anglophones and Allophones. In the Western part of Montreal it is marriages between Anglophones that are prevalent.
- In the past few years there has been a decrease in the number of Anglophones who are voluntarily attending French language schools. There are now more mother tongue Francophones in English language schools than there are Anglophones in French language schools. While growth of the student population in the English public sector is largely a function of the rising presence of French mother tongue students for the first time in fifteen years since the year 1998 there has been an increase in the number of Allophone students in the English language schools.
- Few Allophones that are eligible for English language schooling voluntarily attend French language schools. A recent increase in Allophone students in the English sector, overwhelmingly concentrated in Montreal, is largely attributable to the growth of the South Asian groups. The English sector in Montreal is becoming increasingly multiracial in its composition while much of the English sector outside of Montreal is characterized by a high degree of biculturalism.
- While the demographic situation in private schools remains quite stable, over the past few years the English sector has experienced a modest increase in Francophone enrollment while the French sector has benefited from a rise in Anglophone enrollment.

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