

WHERE DO THE ANGLOS WORK? A REVIEW OF EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL TRENDS IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES OF QUEBEC

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Abstract

In the last decade, an increasing amount of effort and resources have been focused on researching and analyzing the socio-economic situation of the English-speaking communities in Quebec.¹ This has been in part a reaction to many of the inaccurate assumptions that were being made by policy makers and program delivery agencies, and partly as a response to the community's need to "re-inform" itself about the state of its own affairs given the substantial demographic, social and cultural shifts that have occurred in Quebec since the emergence of the Quiet Revolution. "Where Do the Anglos Work" provides a labour force portrait of the English-speaking communities of Quebec that is also cross-referenced with educational levels and compared with the French-speaking majority. Important findings are that Anglophones are much more likely to be self-employed than their Francophone counterparts, even as employment rates tend to be lower. In addition, the level of the English-speaking population in Quebec that is "Industry—Not Applicable," that is to say persons who have never worked or have not worked in at least a year prior to the year of data collection (2006), is also significantly higher than that of French speakers. Overlaid with the generally lower levels of formal educational attainment, a portrait of under-employed and under-skilled segments of the population emerges for some of the English-speaking communities in rural and remote regions.

Résumé

Au cours des dix dernières années, de plus en plus de ressources et d'efforts ont été consacrés à la recherche portant sur la situation socioéconomique des communautés anglophones du Québec. Il s'agit d'une part d'une réaction à des suppositions erronées de la part de divers décideurs et d'agences d'exécution de programmes, et d'autre part d'une réponse au besoin des anglophones de s'informer de leur situation socioéconomique à la suite d'importants changements démographiques, sociaux et

culturels au sein de la communauté depuis la Révolution tranquille au Québec. Cet article brosse un portrait de la population active au sein des communautés anglo-québécoises tout en renvoyant aux niveaux d'instruction et en comparant ces données à celles de la majorité francophone. Nous notons que les anglophones comptent notamment plus de travailleurs autonomes que leurs homologues francophones, bien que le taux de chômage soit généralement plus élevé. De plus, la proportion d'Anglo-Québécois qui se disent "Secteur d'industrie—sans objet", c'est-à-dire les individus qui n'ont jamais travaillé ou qui n'ont pas travaillé durant l'année précédant la collecte de données (2006), est sensiblement plus élevée que la proportion de francophones dans la même catégorie. Juxtaposé aux niveaux d'instruction généralement plus bas, un portrait d'une population sous-employée et peu qualifiée émerge pour certaines communautés anglo-québécoises des régions rurales et éloignées.

Introduction

The Local Employability Access Program (LEAP) is a pilot project supported by the Carleton Centre for Community Innovation (and funded by Human Resources & Skills Development Canada) to foster an entrepreneurial culture by looking at ways to encourage individual self-reliance within a framework of community vision. Framed in a collaborative approach, the project aims to develop models of lifelong learning—the key to employability in a knowledge economy—that are essential for rural and remote Canadian communities to be able to act in the face of post-industrial shifts in globalization, environment, knowledge economy, and social innovation.

In addition to employing resource networks for distance delivery and self-directed learning methodologies (personalized plans, coaching, mentoring, etc.), LEAP has also prepared various resource materials to assist communities and partner organizations to situate their efforts within a context of lifelong learning and employability. One of these resources developed by the project is an Asset Map of Employability & Entrepreneurial Development Resources for English-speaking communities in Quebec, the primary purpose being to identify and cross-reference employability and entrepreneurial development within Quebec's English-speaking communities.

A major part of this Asset Map presents a statistical portrait of 'where the Anglos work' in Quebec, and what levels of education Anglos have achieved. This has been compiled from the 2006 Census² and is broken down by province and region. It not only compares the relative situations of the French-speaking majority and English-speaking minority, but highlights points that are compared with a similar analysis that was carried out in 2004, based on the 2001 Census.³

This Asset Map provides an essential body of information to support those who work in organizations, institutions and agencies involved in lifelong learning and employability programs. The report is intended as a vehicle for knowledge sharing and exchange, as well as the starting point for collaboration activities that will respond to service gaps and/or avoid duplication, and to provide solutions for regional agencies and organizations to help individuals develop the attitudes, skills, and community support systems for lifelong employability. This paper is a shorter version of the Asset Map of Employability & Entrepreneurial Development Resources for English-speaking communities in Quebec.

Methodology

The analysis presented in this report was based on the Portrait of Official-Language Communities in Canada, a CD-ROM prepared by Statistics Canada using data from the 2006 Census. As all the statistics used in creating the charts and tables were drawn from the "2006 Census Product" compiled by Statistics Canada, definitions that accompany this material are taken directly from the Census Product itself or the Statistics Canada website, www.statisticscanada.ca.

The data presented in the report comes from the Statistics Canada list of 21 industrial sectors recorded in its 2001 & 2006 Censuses, and using First Official Language Spoken (FOLS)⁴ as the linguistic indicator. The full set of charts, which can be found online at <http://theleapforward.ca/3ci/tiki-index.php?page=Projects>, compares the English-speaking population of each provincial administrative region (except northern Quebec) against the provincial average for the English-speaking population, or the regional average for the French-language majority population (Industry presence of English and French populations as a percentage of total industry employment; Industry presence of English and French populations as a percentage of Official Language Employment in each industry; Employment Status by First Official Language; Presence of English and French self-employment as a percentage of total labour force; Highest Level of Education for English and French populations; Postsecondary Qualifications by Major Field of Study English and French populations). The Magdalen Islands and the Lower North Shore are also broken out as sub-regions with significant and distinct English-speaking populations.

The data was also subject to a sector and minority-majority comparison which was in turn compared with similar results from the 2001 Census. This was presented in a table of sectors, which can be found online at <http://theleapforward.ca/3ci/tiki-index.php?page=Projects>, where the percentage of English-speaking employment was much

higher than the comparative percentage of Anglophones (13%) within Quebec's total work population, and the sectors where the rate of Anglophone employment relative to the overall English-speaking population was much higher than the percentage of Francophone participation relative to the overall French-speaking population. The minority-majority index comparison shows the minority Anglophone population relative to the majority Francophone population in the same industry sector. An MMI greater than 1.00 indicates that employment in that particular sector is more commonly found in the minority population. An MMI less than 1.00 indicates that the level is less present in the minority population. In using the relative indices of the minority-majority index, the following scale and terminology is used to describe the differences between the two populations:

- less than .80 = much lower
- .80 to .95 = lower
- .95 to 1.05 = similar
- 1.05 to 1.20 = higher
- 1.20 and more = much higher

In these types of comparisons, the majority population (Francophone in this case) is considered the norm and the comparison is the degree of difference that the minority displays when compared to that norm.

Highlights

Following are some observations drawn from the table data that are relevant to addressing employment and education issues in the English-speaking communities.

The Good News ...

- Self-employment is up overall, and Anglophones are leading the way in many regions of Quebec
- Anglophones benefit from a positive Minority-Majority Index (MMI) in two-thirds of the employment sectors categorized by Statistics Canada
- Modest increases in employment rates were witnessed in the wholesale trade, real estate and accommodation & food services sectors
- Anglophones are generally maintaining their levels of educational attainment

... and the Not-So-Good News

- There continues to be a wide disparity between Montreal and some rural and remote regions (particularly in Eastern Quebec) in educational attainment and employment levels
- There were job losses for Anglophones between 2001 and 2006 in critical employment areas such as manufacturing and information & cultural industries (even though a positive MMI was maintained)
- Little progress was made between 2001 and 2006 in improving employment prospects in two areas critical to the development of the English-speaking communities: health care & social assistance and public administration
- Anglophones continue to be much less present in construction and utilities, which represent well-paid employment opportunities in all regions
- Anglophones are much less likely than Francophones to obtain a trade certificate even though this can lead to good employment prospects (although this may be currently be addressed by educational institutions through the SARCA and RAC programs⁵)
- The number of Anglophone individuals aged 15 years or older who have never worked or have been out of work for an extended period of time increased between 2001 and 2006—a period of relative economic prosperity. The regional analysis of this indicator suggests an important migration of youth from rural and remote regions to the cities, as well as a disturbingly high number of under-employed Anglophone youth in Montreal, compared to the Francophone community

The Minority-Majority Index (MMI) compares the characteristics of the minority Anglophone population relative with the majority Francophone population in the same industry sector. An MMI greater than 1.00 indicates that the characteristic (i.e. employment in that particular sector) is more commonly found in the minority population. An MMI less than 1.00 indicates that it is less present in the minority population than the corresponding majority population.

Key Observations

Provincial Perspective

From a general perspective, the English-speaking population of Quebec is either more present in specific work force sectors, or is less present than their Francophone counterparts—there is usually little or no happy median. The total English-speaking labour force equals 476,685 people⁶ 15-years old or older, out of a total of 4,015,200 employed and self-employed Quebecers.

Compared with their Francophone counterparts, English-speakers have a strong presence in the following sectors: ⁷

- Management of companies & enterprises (800 persons)
- Wholesale trade (33,010)
- Professional, scientific & technical services (41,200)
- Information & cultural industries (14,935)
- Real estate, rental & leasing (9,340)
- Administrative & support-waste management & remediation services (21,065)

Compared with their Francophone counterparts, English-speakers have a moderate presence⁸ in the following sectors:

- Transportation & warehousing (24,670)
- Educational services (37,940)
- Finance & insurance (20,410)
- Accommodation & food services (34,265)
- Manufacturing (64,235)
- Arts, entertainment & recreation (9,965)

Compared with their Francophone counterparts, English-speakers have a weak presence⁹ in the following sectors:

- Other services (except public administration) (21,975)
- Retail trade (46,610)
- Health care & social assistance (41,850)
- Construction (16,675)
- Public administration (16,385)
- Mining; oil & gas extraction (950)
- Agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting (6,250)
- Utilities (960)

In comparing the results of the 2001 and 2006 censuses, there were a number of changes of particular note. There was an important¹⁰ increase in the presence of Anglophones in the areas of:

- Wholesale trade
- Real estate, rental & leasing
- Accommodation & food services

The English-speaking community of Quebec has also been an integral part of several “hot” economic sectors in recent years, such as the development of video games, films, and aeronautic production (Gouvernement du Québec, ministère des Finances, 2007), in part because the international nature of those industries requires a significant level of functionality in the English language. There were moderate gains in the areas of:

- Arts, entertainment & recreation
- Other services (except public administration)

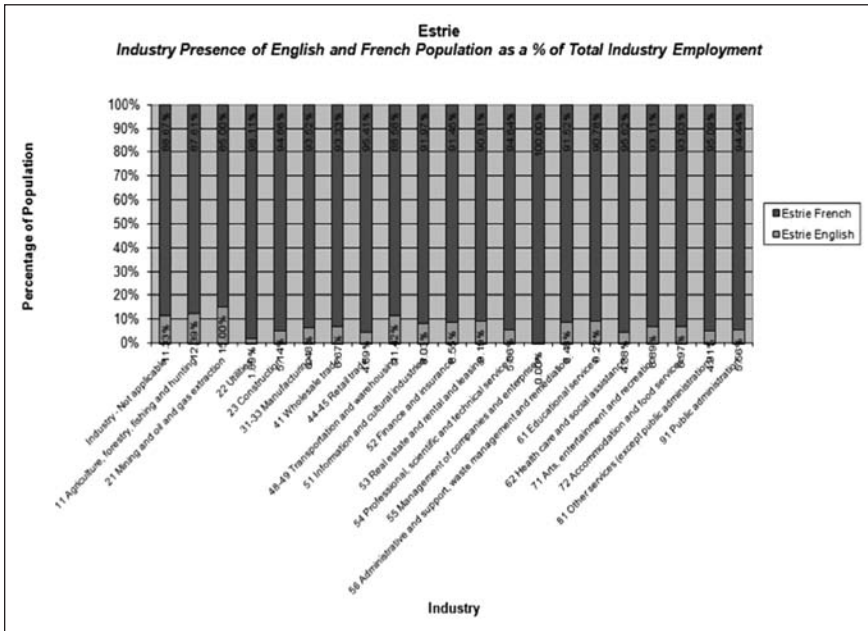
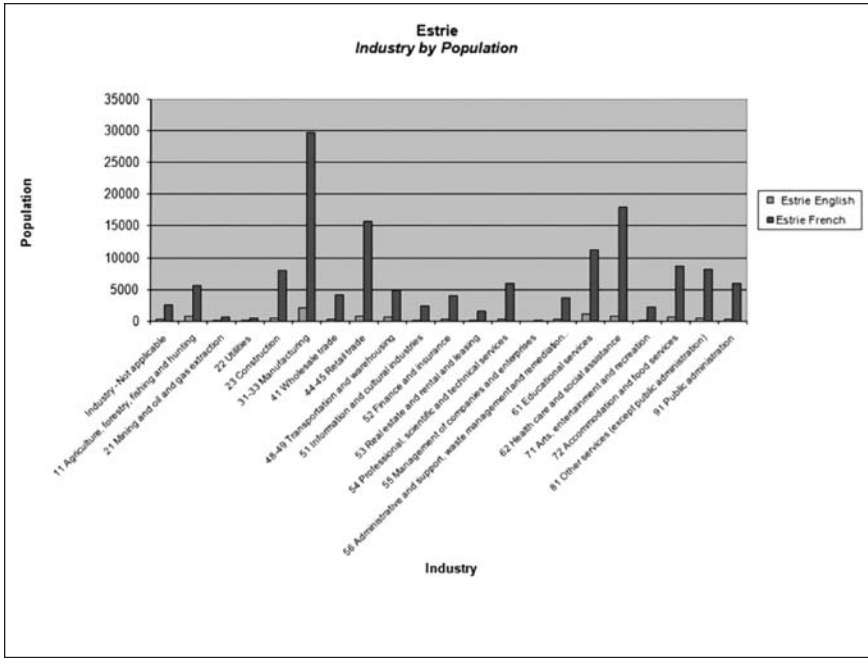
Conversely, even as they still represent notable sources of employment for Anglophones compared with Francophones, there were important declines in the areas of:

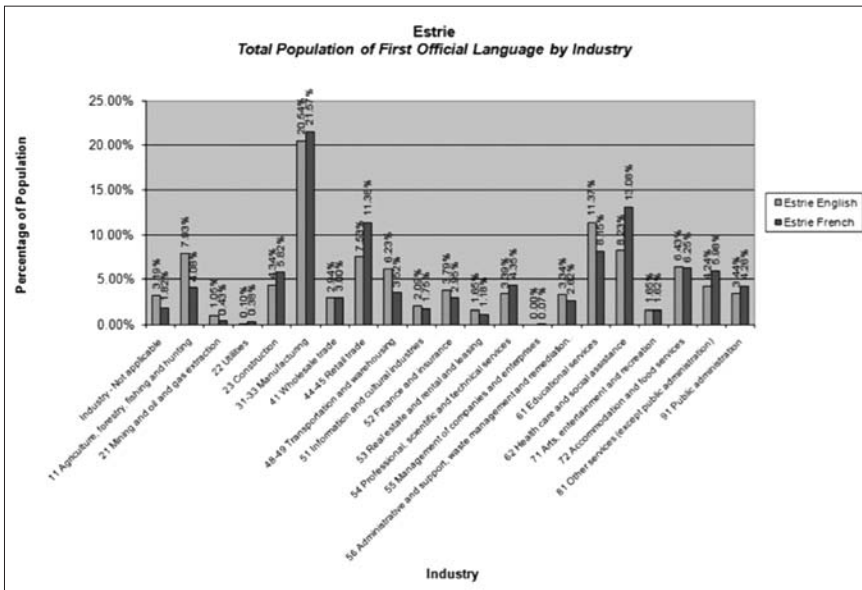
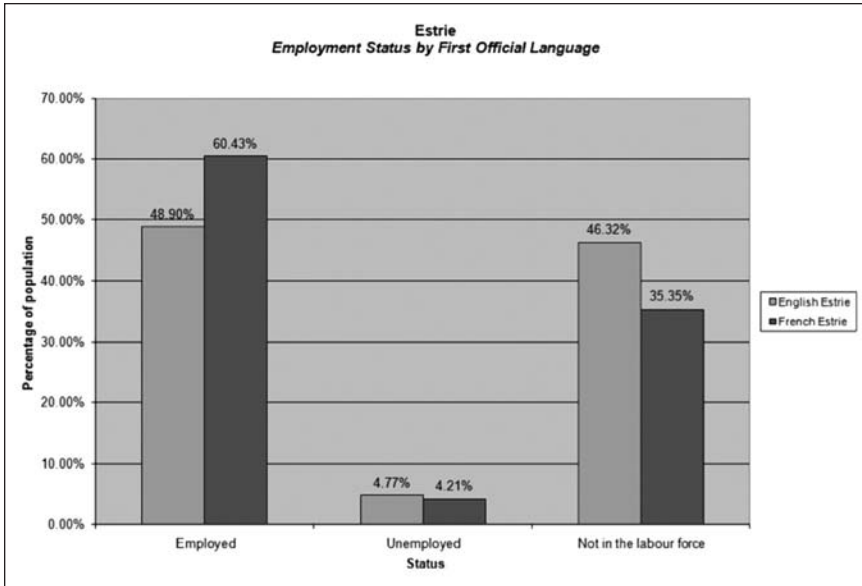
- Management of companies & enterprises
- Information & cultural industries
- Manufacturing

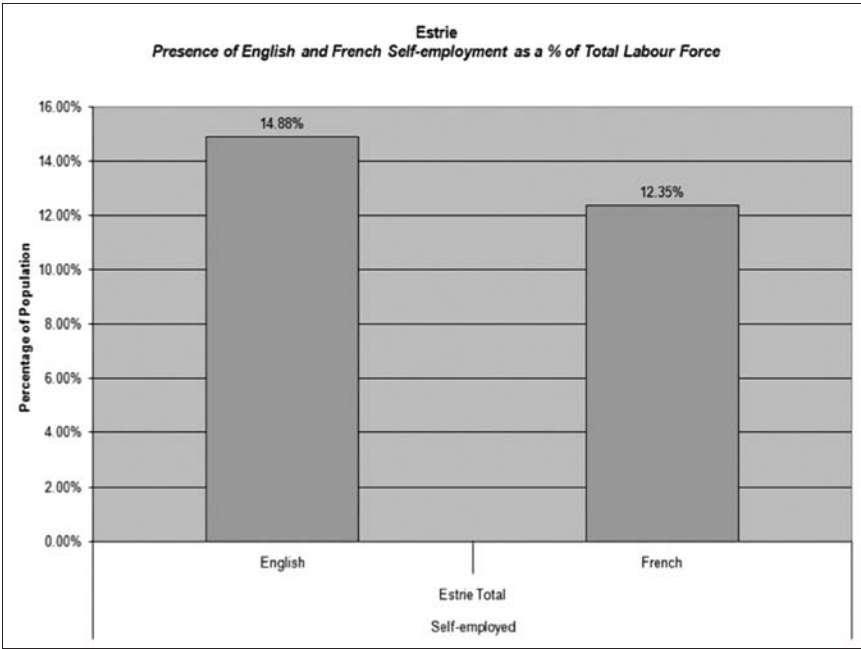
Administrative Region 05 – Estrie (Eastern Townships)

Highlights for this region include:

- Overall, the Anglophone and Francophone populations of the Eastern Townships are comparable in terms of their education levels and fields of study.
- Unemployment rates are similar for both Anglophones and Francophones, although Anglophones are more likely not to participate at all in the labour force (less likely to be seeking employment).
- Higher percentages of Anglophones can be found in Agriculture-Fisheries-Forestry-Hunting and Educational services than their Francophone counterparts, and lower percentages in the retail trade and health care & social assistance.
- Self-employment is more common for Anglophones than Francophones, which is high for both linguistic communities compared to the overall provincial rates.







Sectors and Minority-Majority Comparisons

Statistics Canada lists 21 industrial sectors in its 2001 and 2006 censuses, and using First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) as the linguistic indicator, the following table shows:

- a) the sectors where the percentage of Anglophone employment is much higher than the comparative percentage of Anglophones (13%) within Quebec’s total work population;
- b) the sectors where the rate of Anglophone employment relative to the overall English-speaking population is much higher than the percentage of Francophone participation relative to the overall French-speaking population;
- c) the minority-majority index comparison of the minority Anglophone population relative to the majority Francophone population in the same industry sector.

Industry—Not Applicable (*category*)

This sector signifies those persons over the age of 15 who have never worked for pay or profit or who had worked only prior to January 1st of the previous year (i.e. December 2004). Although the percentage of Anglophones in this category has declined somewhat, the decrease was much less than in the Francophone community, and this resulted in an overall .19 point increase in MMI to 1.44. This means that an in-

creased proportion of the English-speaking community are youth who have never worked, or are workers who have stopped participating in the labour force because they have no prospects for employment or any remaining employment insurance benefits.

When viewed through the lens of regional attribution, a picture of rural exodus emerges. Most rural and remote English-speaking communities have levels in this category that are lower than the provincial average for the English-speaking population, and Montreal and Laval have much higher levels. This would seem to indicate that youth in particular and workers who have dropped out of the labour force have moved from their home communities to urban centres. Given the propensity in the rural regions for very high population percentages (over 30%) to have no formal education diploma or certificate at all, this signifies a large migration of under-employed persons with low-levels of education into the cities.

The only exceptions to this observation are the Magdalen Islands and the North Shore, where there are very high levels of this category of worker present in the region, which would indicate that they would rather stay at home (or have some resources to be able to remain there), even though they are not formally participating in the labour force. It may, for example, mean that persons in this category are older and are living with family (who are employed) rather than moving away (although the exact reason is not evident from the statistical analysis). This is certainly a subject worthy of more detailed examination in order to best determine the programs and policies necessary for addressing this issue.

Employment & Education

At the provincial level, Anglophones are only slightly disadvantaged compared with Francophones in their employment rates and non-participation in the labour force. However, this figure is largely determined by the employment and labour force participation rates in and around Montreal, which is a dominant value within the provincial average. Some regional English-speaking communities such as Abitibi-Témiscamingue, North Shore, Lower North Shore, and Gaspé have much higher levels of both unemployment and non-participation rates in the labour force (even though the weight of their populations within the provincial average is much smaller than it is for Montreal).

Employment rates for Anglophones are generally lower than for their Francophone counterparts within the same region; this is true for 15 out of the 17 regions¹¹ covered in this report and generally epitomizes the rural-urban split. Employment and education statistics for the regions in and around Montreal tend to show Anglophones as

the same as or higher than the Francophone majority, while those in the eastern part of the province, the rural and remote regions, tend to have a lower MMI.¹² Unemployment rates are much higher for Anglophones in five of the 17 regions examined,¹³ and 13 regions reported a higher level of non-participation in the labour force than their Francophone counterparts. Again the differences were more significant in the eastern part of the province for both these categories. Overlaid with the generally lower levels of formal educational attainment, a portrait of under-employed and under-skilled segments of the population emerges for some of the English-speaking communities in rural and remote regions. This shows the need for more detailed examination in order to best determine the programs and policies required to address the disparity.

Retail Trade and Health Care & Social Services

It can be observed that Anglophones are less likely to be employed in the retail trade and health care & social assistance sectors. This is most likely attributed to characteristics of these industries that require employees to work directly in French with the majority population. Despite a modest gain (0.8%) in the percentage of Anglophones employed in the health care & social assistance sector, the increase was much less than that of Francophones, thus Anglophones still remained much less represented compared to Francophones in the sector (MMI=0.77). While considerable work has gone into improving access to health care and social services for the English-speaking communities, the lack of improvement in employability for Anglophones in this sector shows the need for enhanced measures that will reverse this trend (e.g. language training, social economy development, etc.)

Public Administration

The Anglophone presence in public administration is evenly split across the regions examined. Anglophones were either much more likely to work in public administration, or much less likely. In those regions where Anglophone individuals were more likely to work in the area of public administration, they tend to do so as part of a much smaller percentage of Anglophones within the total regional population. In rural regions, the MMI is 0.91, almost twice the level of the provincial average for Anglophones. This indicates that public administration is a much more important employer of Anglophones outside of the Montreal metropolitan area, although it is not clear whether this difference is due to the large numbers residing in the Outaouais and employed by the federal government in Canada's National Capital Region, or whether there is a higher level of employment in the

municipalities of rural regions (i.e. outside of federal and provincial departments). Given that public administration jobs tend to be relatively well-paid and stable, and therefore a potential contributor to enhancing vitality in English-speaking communities, this indicates the need for more detailed examination in order to better determine the programs and policies needed for Anglophones to access this type of employment opportunity.

Natural Resources

Anglophones in the extreme rural regions are much more likely to be employed in natural resource industries, given the predominance of such activities in these areas. Anglophones in Basse Côte-Nord, North Shore, Eastern Townships, Magdalen Islands, Gaspé, and the Outaouais have much higher employment percentages in agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting. (The only region in Quebec where there was a much higher percentage of Francophones working in natural resources was in the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region.) Despite recent down-turns in some of these sectors, they will continue to provide economic development and employability prospects in the outlying regions; this speaks to addressing the limited number of provincial programs that are accessible in English for supporting education and employment in these industries.

Construction & Utilities

Despite the fact that these two sectors provide a relatively small percentage of total jobs, they also represent well-paid and/or stable employment opportunities. Anglophones continue to be much less present in these sectors compared with their Francophone counterparts, especially for utilities, where Anglophones have the lowest MMI of all employment sectors (MMI=0.22). In the construction sector, Anglophones fare slightly better in rural regions, with an MMI=0.81 compared to 0.64 for the overall provincial average. There may be a correlation between this higher participation rate in rural regions and self-employment rates (or at least, small contractors) that would be interesting to explore as a potential area of both economic and employment development.

Education Levels

Overall, Anglophones have higher education levels in comparison to their Francophone counterparts, and this is particularly true at the university level. At the CEGEP level, there is no difference between the two linguistic groups, but Anglophones are much less likely to have acquired trade certification. In rural regions where overall education

levels are the lowest, Anglophone levels of educational attainment often drop below that of their Francophone counterparts. This difference would appear to be due to the lack of proximity to the post-secondary institutions in the Greater Montreal area. However, previous research¹⁴ shows that young Anglophones with a university education tend to leave the province to seek employment, so the provincial average tends to reflect the high levels of educational attainment of the older half of the population rather than that of the younger half. As the well-educated “baby-boomers” thus head towards retirement, this question requires further examination for its implications regarding community economic development.

Again, the rural and remote regions tend to have higher percentages of the population with no formal education diploma or certificate compared with the Francophone majority, and much higher percentages than other English-speaking communities in and around Montreal. This demonstrates the need for improved English access to educational programs of all kinds and levels in Quebec’s rural and remote areas.

Fields of Study

Generally there seems to be a slightly higher number of Anglophones who have an educational background in visual & performing arts, communications technologies, humanities; social & behavioural sciences and law; business, management and public administration; physical & life sciences and technologies; and mathematics, computer, and information sciences. In some regions, where transportation services are important, there are higher levels of Anglophones training in the area of personal, protective, and transportation services.

Generally there seem to be slightly fewer Anglophones with an educational background in education; health, parks, recreation and fitness; agriculture, and natural resources & conservation; as well as architecture, engineering, and related technologies compared with the Francophone majority. The tendency for Anglophones to acquire post-secondary education in fields of study that do not necessarily have specific employment attributes (e.g. social sciences versus engineering), combined with the fact that Anglophones are less likely to seek certification in vocational trades, bears further examination of questions about fields of study that would improve employment prospects for Anglophones in certain sectors. (Is it their relative lack of French language fluency, their lack of access to programs that support career preparation and choice, or an inherent cultural bias towards certain areas of study?)

Self-Employment

One of the most evident findings in the analysis of the Census data is that Anglophones hold consistently higher levels of self-employment than their Francophone counterparts. In all regions but three, self-employment levels were the same as or higher than those of the Francophone majority. In the province of Quebec as a whole, Anglophones are 2.0% more likely to be self-employed, a complete reversal from the results of the 2001 Census. One out of eight Anglophones in the work force is now self-employed, compared to one out of ten Francophones; in the Eastern Townships and Lanaudière, nearly one in six Anglophones are self-employed, and on the Magdalen Islands, one in five. Only on the North Shore was there a much lower number of self-employed Anglophones compared to their Francophone counterparts.

The increasing trend of Anglophone self-employment from 2001 to 2006 begs the question as to why this occurred during a period of relatively stable overall economic activity. Was it because Anglophones became more entrepreneurial, or was self-employment a “last resort” source of livelihood (a possibility in some regions given the chronically higher levels of unemployment)?¹⁵

Notwithstanding the increase in self-employment amongst Anglophones, their levels have only just exceeded the Canadian average (11.8%). Quebec’s overall average rate of self-employment (8.2%) is the third lowest in the country, just above PEI and Nunavut (6.4% and 7.0% respectively), and is half that of Alberta which is the Canadian leader at 16.1%. Given that small businesses (which include the self-employed) have become a major contributor to local economic development and employment across Canada in recent decades, it would be beneficial for Quebec policy and program developers to more completely evaluate the trend to self-employment in the English-speaking communities, as well as the reasons behind the trends.

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ENDNOTES

- 1 For the purposes of this paper, the English-speaking communities of Quebec are located in all administrative regions except the far North and are typically referred to as follows: Bas-Saint-Laurent, Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, Québec City, Mauricie, Centre du Québec, Eastern Townships, Montréal, Outaouais (Pontiac and Gatineau), Abitibi-Témiscamingue, North Shore, Lower North Shore, Gaspé, Magdalen Islands, Chaudière-Appalaches, Laval, Lanaudière, Laurentides and Montérégie (South Shore, Chateauguay Valley and Vaudreuil-Soulanges).
- 2 2006 Census. Portrait of Official-Language Communities in Canada (92-592-XVB). Ottawa, Ontario: Statistics Canada.
- 3 Qu'anglo Communications & Consulting (2004). Economic Renewal for the Rural English-speaking Communities of Quebec: Potential and possibilities for economic development in the natural resource sectors. Ottawa, Ontario: Industry Canada.
- 4 Data on First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) is derived from the responses to questions on knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, and language spoken most often at home. This variable is especially useful because, in the vast majority of cases, it can be used to classify allophones (persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French) into one of the two official-language groups. Based on the definition of FOLS, a person who knows only English is classified as Anglophone. If the individual knows both official languages and his or her mother tongue is English, or English in addition to a third language, then he or she is also classified as Anglophone. If his or her mother tongue is a third language but he or she uses English, alone or with a third language most often at home, then he or she is included among Anglophones. Thus, to the

extent that these allophones are counted among those in either of the two official-language populations, the concept of First Official Language Spoken offers a more inclusive definition of the concepts of “Anglophone” and “Francophone”.

- 5 SARCA — Services d'accueil, de référence, de conseil et d'accompagnement
RAC — Reconnaissance des acquis et des compétences
- 6 This is based on First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) but the analysis excludes the 3.1% of the labour force that declared themselves both English & French.
- 7 A “strong presence” is defined as more than 1.25 on the Minority-Majority Index. The MMI compares the characteristic of the minority Anglophone population relative to the majority Francophone population in the same industry sector.
- 8 A “moderate presence” is defined as between 1.00 and 1.24 on the MMI.
- 9 A “weak presence” is defined as less than 1.00 on the MMI.
- 10 For the table in the following section, an “important” increase or decrease means more than .10 points’ difference on the MMI; moderate increases or decreases mean between .05 and .09 points on the MMI.
- 11 The official number of administrative regions referred to in this report is 15, but two of these have been divided into sub-regions to more accurately reflect English-speaking populations in these areas, bringing the total discussed to 17. Côte-Nord has been divided into North Shore and the Lower North Shore; Gaspésie – Îles-de-la-Madeleine has been divided into Gaspé and Magdalen Islands. Statistics for the Nord-du-Québec region are excluded from this document.
- 12 The Magdalen Islands sub-region, where the employment rate of Anglophones is higher than that of Francophones, is the one exception to the pattern of lower employment levels in rural regions.
- 13 Only in Laurentides and Lanaudière were unemployment rates for Anglophones lower and this by only 0.1% and 0.2% respectively.
- 14 Floch, W. & Pocock, J. (2008). *The Socio-Economic Status of English-Speaking: Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed*. In R.Y. Bourhis (Ed.) *The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival*. Montreal, Quebec: CEETUM, Université de Montréal.
- 15 The latter was probably not the case in Montreal, however, where self-employment is higher for Anglophones than Francophones despite the fact that unemployment rates are similar.