



Employment of English Speakers in Quebec's Public Service

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A Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN) working paper by Celine Cooper, Patrick Donovan, and Lorraine O'Donnell

The Secretariat for relations with English-speaking Quebecers, Government of Quebec, commissioned this working paper.



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QUESCREN is a collaborative network of researchers, stakeholders, and educational and other institutions that improves understanding of Quebec's English-speaking communities and promotes their vitality. It is housed at the School of Community and Public Affairs at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.



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About this document

This document provides background information related to the participation of English speakers in Quebec's Public Service (QPS).¹

The first section synthesizes information from relevant primary and secondary sources. The second section includes summaries of preliminary discussions with key informants, as well as our observations.

The development of the QPS

The origins of the QPS are well documented.² What follows here is a highly condensed summary of some key processes that provide context for further discussion.

The QPS grew throughout the 20th century. From 1900 to 1934, the number of Quebec public servants increased at its highest rate ever.³ This was followed by the development of a true welfare state, initially spurred by the Great Depression of the 1930s. Quebec society was transformed by the emergence of a statist orientation to nation building marked by processes of secularization, modernization, and the rise of Francophone political nationalism. Government expansion was promoted as a way for the Francophone majority in Quebec, which was more economically vulnerable than the English-speaking minority, to progress economically, socially, and politically by claiming positions of

- 1 Although definitions of "English-speaking Quebecer" vary and evolve over time, English-speaking community organizations tend to favour the Federal government definition, First Official Language Spoken (FOLS), which encompasses the diversity of this population. The FOLS concept is derived from three federal census questions: knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, and home language. Until recently, the Quebec government has typically used Mother Tongue, not FOLS, and the term "Anglophone" in discussing English-speaking Quebecers. "Anglophone" in this case means someone for whom English is their first language learned and still understood. Statistics from the Government of Quebec in this report reflect this definition. However, there is indication from the provincial Secretariat for relations with English-speaking Quebecers that there is a growing move toward the FOLS definition within the provincial government. In terms of numbers of English-speaking Quebecers, 718,985 are Mother Tongue English, and 1,103,475 are FOLS-English according to the 2016 census. See: https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-PR-Eng.cfm?TOPIC=5&LANG=Eng&GK=PR&GC=24#fd1_2
- 2 See, for example: J.I. Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise, 1867-1970* (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1986); H. Guindon, *Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity, and Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); J.L. Migué, *Étatisme et déclin du Québec: bilan de la révolution tranquille* (Montreal: Varia, 1998); G. Stevenson, *Community Besieged: The Anglophone Minority and the Politics of Quebec* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); A.G. Gagnon, ed., *Quebec State and Society*, 3rd edition (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004); M. Polèse, *Serions-nous plus libres au lendemain d'un Oui?* (Montreal: Éditions Voix parallèles, 2009); R. Bolduc, *Le Mandarin de l'ombre* (Quebec: Septentrion, 2012); M. Sarra-Bournet, ed., *Les grands commis et les grandes missions de l'État dans l'histoire du Québec* (Quebec: Presses de l'université du Québec, 2016).
- 3 The number of employees in the public service increased at an average annual rate of 7.48% from 1900 to 1934 and at a rate of 6.22% in the 1960s. J.I. Gow, "One Hundred Years of Quebec Administrative History, 1867-1970," *Canadian Public Administration* XXVIII, 2 (summer 1985), 254.

power. The 1960s were marked by another period of growth in the QPS.⁴ Massive reforms in the 1960s and 1970s shifted education, health care, and social services from private/church control into government hands.⁵

These reforms influenced the linguistic orientation of the government. The establishment of the Office de la langue française in 1961 and the passage of language laws including the *Charter of the French Language (Bill 101)* in 1977 established French as the common public language in Quebec. These changes, in turn, further transformed the cultural, linguistic, and political landscape of the province.

In 2017-2018, the QPS was made up of approximately 57,500 people working in some 20 departments and 65 agencies throughout the province.⁶

An evolving context and a shift in political framing

Politicization of language in Quebec led to an increasing polarization of Quebec society along the axes of sovereignty and federalism. Some have argued that these processes set up an antagonistic relationship between Quebec's English-speaking minority communities and provincial government structures, including the QPS.⁷ It is worth pointing out that Quebec's English-speaking population—including its historic English-speaking community—does not represent a single ethnic group with one common culture or origin. As the French language became the central tool in the political mobilization of the Francophone majority in Quebec⁸ and the key symbol of its newly statist national legitimacy, English-speaking Quebecers moved towards coalescing as a linguistic community. They had previously tended to understand themselves along lines of national origin (predominantly English, Scottish, Welsh, and Irish, but also including many other ethnocultural groups) and religion (primarily Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish). They began to increasingly be identified, and to identify themselves, along language lines—as “English speakers” or “Anglophones,” now recast by some as an unpopular and insecure minority.⁹

Beginning in the 1980s, and particularly in the wake of the 1995 referendum on independence in Quebec, efforts were made by some Francophone intellectuals, institutions, citizen groups, and government bodies to transition from an ethnolinguistic conception of the Quebec nation to a civic, territorial conception. This was premised on an “intercultural” model that positions

4 See note 3.

5 Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise*, xvi-xvii.

6 Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, *L'Effectif de la fonction publique du Québec, 2017-2018* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2018).

7 Stevenson, *Community Besieged*.

8 M. Heller and N. Labrie, “Langue, pouvoir et identité : une étude de cas, une approche théorique, une méthodologie,” in *Discours et identités, La francité canadienne entre modernité et mondialisation*, edited by M. Heller and N. Labrie, 9-39 (Corton-Wodil, Belgium: Éditions modulaires européennes, 2003); M. Heller, *Paths to Postnationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

9 Stevenson, *Community Besieged*.

the dominance of Quebec's French language and culture at its core.¹⁰ It is important that these processes be understood within the historical and political context of Quebec's complex colonial past and its more contemporary challenges to reconcile a Francophone population that self-identifies both as the majority language, culture, and people in the national framework of Quebec, and as a language, culture, and people under threat within the broader, predominantly English-speaking, Canadian framework.

Proportion of English speakers in Quebec's public service

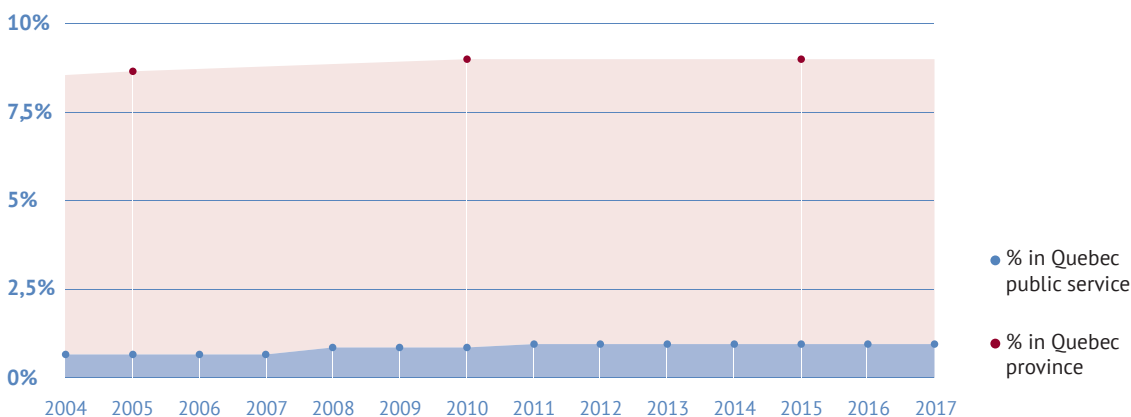
English-speaking Quebecers have long been underrepresented in the QPS. This has been well documented and flagged as a matter of concern for decades, notably in discussions around minority language community vitality and wellbeing,¹¹ but also in terms of broader employment equity measures within the QPS.¹²

In 1941, 7.4% of employees in the QPS were Anglophones. Although it is difficult to compare numbers, given the various ways that studies have defined "Anglophone," it appears that this percentage declined to 4% twenty years later in 1961, then to 1.6% in 1965.¹³ The proportion of mother tongue English speakers¹⁴ in the QPS has hovered around 1% since the early 1970s. Since 1972, proportions have ranged between 0.7% and 1%.¹⁵

- 10 For discussion on interculturalism, see F. Rocher, M. Labelle, A.M. Field, and J.C. Icart, "Le concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécois : généalogie d'un néologisme, Rapport présenté à la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles (CCPARDC)" (Ottawa, Montreal: Centre de recherche sur l'immigration, l'ethnicité et la citoyenneté, 2008); G. Bouchard and C. Taylor, *Fonder l'avenir : Le temps de la conciliation*, Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2008); G. Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme : Un point de vue québécois* (Montreal: Éditions Boréal, 2012); R. Rocher and B. White, "L'interculturalisme québécois dans le contexte du multiculturalisme canadien," Étude IRPP, no. 49 (November 2014).
- 11 See, for example: J. Pycock and L. Legault, *Minority Under-Representation in the Quebec Civil Service* (Montreal: Participation Quebec, 1980); Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, "Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service, Chairman of the Treasury Board" ([Quebec]: [The Committee], 1991 and 1992); Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage, *A Portrait of the English-speaking Communities in Québec* ([Montreal]: Canadian Heritage, 2011); R. Bourhis, ed., *Decline and Prospects of the English-speaking Communities of Quebec* (Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, 2012); J. Pocock, *Building Youth Resiliency and Community Vitality within Montreal's English Language Population* (Quebec: Study commissioned by Community Health and Social Services Network, 2013); Youth Employment Services (YES), *Youth Unemployment: It's Everyone's Issue* (Montreal: YES, 2018). See also: M. Scott, "Anglo Applications," *Montreal Gazette*, October 9, 2010; R. Jacob, "Group Wants More Anglos in Montreal's Civil Service," *Global News*, June 11, 2013; E. Dyer, "Francophones Still Dominate Quebec's Public Service," *CBC News*, September 17, 2013.
- 12 See, for example: Quebec, Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration, *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* (Quebec: Éditeur Officiel, 1981); Task Force on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Québec Society, *Task Force Report on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Québec Society* (Montreal: Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, 2006); B. Schepper, "Politiques d'inclusion dans la fonction publique : État de la situation," *Fiche Socioéconomique : Institut de recherche et d'informations socioéconomique* no. 42 (May 2018).
- 13 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, "Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service" (1991).
- 14 As indicated in the note above, the Quebec government had traditionally used Mother Tongue to identify English-speaking Quebecers. All Quebec government statistics cited in this working paper refer to Mother Tongue English-speaking Quebecers unless otherwise indicated.
- 15 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, "Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service" (1991 and 1992); A. Wilson-Smith, "Quebec's Failed Experiment," *Maclean's* (February 27, 1984); Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, "Archives des statistiques en matière d'accès à l'égalité en emploi" (2004-2017). For more details on the ethno-linguistic composition of the QPS prior to 1970, see Gow, *Histoire de l'administration publique québécoise*, 285.

Figure 1 below shows the important differential between the proportion of mother tongue English speakers in the QPS and in the total population of Quebec.

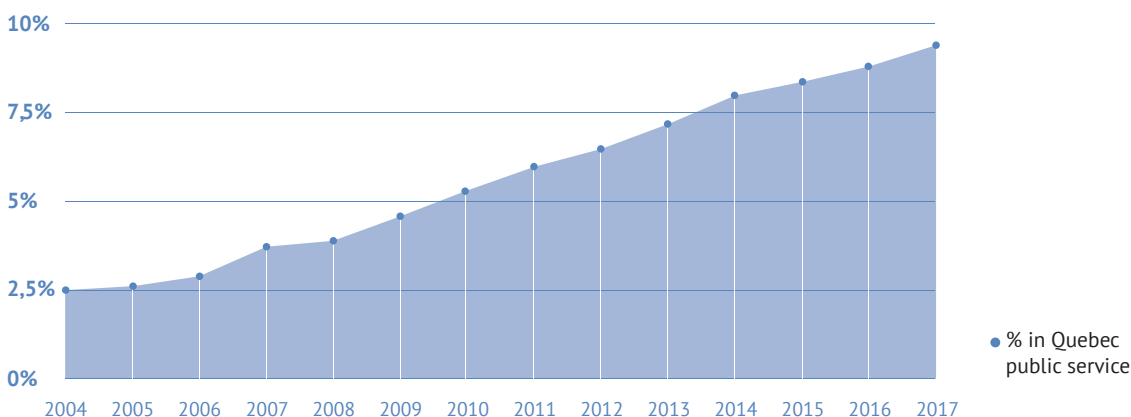
Fig. 1 : Proportion of mother-tongue English speakers within the total population of Quebec and within the QPS



Sources : Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor, "Archives des statistiques en matière d'accès à l'égalité en emploi," 2004-2017; Canada, Statistics Canada, Language Highlight Tables, 2016, 2011, 2006; Note that all Statistics Canada data on mother tongue English speakers includes multiple responses.

Figure 2 below reveals that the QPS has been more successful at increasing the representation of cultural communities¹⁶ within its ranks.

Fig. 2 : Proportion of cultural communities within the QPS



Source : Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor, "Archives des statistiques en matière d'accès à l'égalité en emploi," 2004-2017.

16 Cultural communities include non-white "visible minorities" (regardless of mother tongue), and those with a mother tongue other than English or French. Indigenous populations are not included in this category. See : Quebec, Secrétariat du conseil du trésor, "Programmes et mesures d'accès à l'égalité en emploi" (Quebec, Gouvernement du Québec, 2018).

The decades of underrepresentation of English-speaking Quebecers in the provincial public service has existed despite evidence of some interest among English speakers in working for the government of Quebec,¹⁷ including those who speak French well.

Government measures for English-speaking Quebecers' participation

Since the early 1980s, the Quebec government has taken measures to increase the participation of English-speaking Quebecers in the QPS.

In 1981, Egan Chambers, a former federal politician and a leader in Quebec's English-speaking community, was hired by Parti Québécois (PQ) Cultural Communities Minister Gérald Godin to head an office with the purpose of boosting representation of English speakers in the QPS. It had a budget and salaried personnel.¹⁸ The initiative was part of broader efforts by the PQ to address accusations of hiring discrimination and was related to initiatives of the Committee for the Plan of Action for Cultural Communities (CIPPAC).¹⁹ This initiative involved the translation of recruitment procedures, the preparation of a recruitment slideshow in English, advertisements in English-language media, and recruitment efforts in English-language universities. Awareness was also raised within the different ministries.²⁰ In 1982, a hiring freeze was put on the public service, and the office was eventually abandoned. Writing in *Macleans* in 1984, reporter Anthony Wilson-Smith called it "Quebec's Failed Experiment."²¹ An internal government study in 1986 stated that these promotional efforts had had a limited impact on recruiting English speakers; the study recommended the creation of an equal access employment program.²²

Equal access employment programs were set up in the following years, but they did not target English speakers. The first program, targeting people with disabilities, was set up in 1984. An equal access program targeting women was set up in 1987. Then, in 1990, a program was set up for visible minorities and people with a mother tongue other than English or French.²³

In the latter year, the Chairman of the Treasury Board set up the Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Public Service.

Composed of English-speaking community leaders, this committee led by lawyer David F. Blair met over thirty times and released two reports.

17 Community Health and Social Services Network, *Baseline Data Report 2015-2016, 2015 CHSSN-CROP Survey on Community Vitality, Findings on English-speaking Community Vitality Across Key Sectors*, produced by Joanne Pocock ([Quebec]: CHSSN, 2016), 74-75.

18 A. Wilson-Smith, "Godin Put His Chips on Chambers to Find Jobs for Minorities," *Montreal Gazette* (September 28, 1981); Wilson-Smith, "Quebec's Failed Experiment."

19 Quebec, *Autant de façons d'être Québécois*.

20 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, "Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service" (1991).

21 Wilson-Smith, "Quebec's Failed Experiment."

22 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, "Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service" (1991).

23 Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, *Vers une meilleure représentation de la diversité québécoise dans l'administration publique : Rapport sur l'accès à l'égalité en emploi dans la fonction publique québécoise depuis 1980* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2000), 13-16.

The first report, in 1991, contained seven recommendations:

- 1 Appoint an Anglophone Employment Access Officer
- 2 Set up a Consultative Committee on Anglophone participation in the QPS
- 3 Prepare a promotional campaign
- 4 Improve communication between the QPS and the English-speaking community
- 5 Appoint representatives of the English-speaking community to the Commission de la fonction publique, as Vice-President of the Office des ressources humaines and to sit on selection committees
- 6 Reevaluate French-language skills testing and reinstitute the six-month probationary period
- 7 Develop practicum programs (“stages”) in the QPS²⁴

The second report, in 1992, revealed that some preliminary action on most of these points had been taken, but that this had not yet translated into increased representation of English speakers within the QPS.²⁵ It appears that, like the earlier initiative, this committee’s work ended before it could produce any lasting results.

In 1996, PQ Premier Lucien Bouchard reached out to Quebec’s English speaking community at Montreal’s Centaur Theatre, saying, “the underrepresentation of Anglophones in the public sector is a very real problem.” He emphasized the need for increased appointment of English speakers to government bodies and their participation within decision-making roles and in the government.²⁶

Three years later, in 1999, the Quebec government formally established an objective to raise QPS representation to 25% among cultural communities, “Anglophones” and Indigenous people.²⁷ In 2005, this target group was broadened to also include people with disabilities, and the same 25% objective was maintained.²⁸

However, the Act respecting equal access to employment in public bodies, introduced in 2000, leaves out “Anglophones.” This act covers public bodies with one hundred or more employees in the education, health, and social services networks, as well as municipalities, government corporations and

24 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, “Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service” (1991).

25 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, “Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service” (1992).

26 L. Bouchard, “Speech of the Premier of Quebec, Mr. Lucien Bouchard, Before the Anglophone Community of Quebec (Centaur Theatre, Montreal), March 12, 1996.”

27 Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, *Programme d'accès à l'égalité en emploi pour les membres des minorités visibles et ethniques*; See also Quebec, Emploi-Québec, “Working in the Civil Service.”

28 Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, *Bilan des programmes et des mesures, Accès à l'égalité en emploi au sein de la fonction publique québécoise, 2002-2003, 2011-2012* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2013).

the Sûreté du Québec. It deals solely with “women, aboriginal peoples and members of visible minorities.”²⁹

In 2010, Liberal Premier Jean Charest told the Bastarache Commission studying judicial nominations in the province that “one of the criteria that was very important for us . . . was that we wanted more women, more representatives of cultural communities, and of Anglophones.”³⁰

The last two years have seen a few developments in the issue of employment of English-speaking Quebecers in the QPS. In November 2017, the Secretariat for Relations with English-speaking Quebecers (SRQEA) was created within the Ministère du Conseil exécutif. As indicated on the ministry website, one of its mandates is to:

*Ensure that the concerns of English-speaking Quebecers are taken into consideration in the development of government policy direction and decisions, and in matters of access to government programmes and their application in conjunction with the concerned ministries and agencies.*³¹

Among other activities, the SRQEA has developed knowledge on the socioeconomic status of English-speaking Quebecers and explored opportunities for improving this status. This includes an interest in the place of English-speaking Quebecers in the QPS.

In May 2018, the Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor released its Stratégie de gestion des ressources humaines 2018-2023, including its latest Programme d'accès à l'égalité en emploi pour les membres des minorités visibles et ethniques 2018-2023.³² The document identifies the legal foundations for the program. One is Quebec's Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. According to the Programme:

Le gouvernement est soumis à l'article 92 de la Charte et doit exiger de ses ministères et organismes l'implantation de programmes d'accès à l'égalité en emploi. Toujours selon cette disposition, le gouvernement doit consulter la CDPDJ [Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse] lors de l'implantation d'un PAÉE [Programme d'accès à l'égalité en emploi].

29 Quebec, Assemblée nationale du Québec, “Bill no. 143: An Act Respecting Equal Access to Employment in Public Bodies and Amending the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms,” introduced June 16, 2000, during the 36th Legislature, 1st Session.

30 Scott, “Anglo Applications.”

31 Quebec, Ministère du Conseil exécutif, “Ministère du Conseil exécutif – SRQEA: Mandate of Secretariat.”

32 Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, *Programme d'accès à l'égalité en emploi pour les membres des minorités visibles et ethniques: Une fonction publique forte de sa diversité* (Quebec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2018).

Second is the *Public Administration Act*. The Programme indicates that the Conseil du trésor has:

la responsabilité d'établir les programmes d'accès à l'égalité en emploi en vue de corriger la situation des groupes victimes de discrimination en emploi.

Third is the *Public Service Act*. In regard to this law, the Programme states:

[L'article 3] vise expressément un mode d'organisation des ressources humaines destiné à favoriser la contribution optimale, au sein de la fonction publique, des diverses composantes de la société québécoise. Cette loi définit également certaines modalités d'application en ce qui a trait à la reddition de comptes ainsi qu'aux conditions d'admission et de nomination en matière d'accès à l'égalité en emploi. Plus particulièrement, en vertu de l'article 53 de la Loi sur la fonction publique, les sous-ministres ou les dirigeantes et dirigeants d'organismes tiennent compte, lors de la nomination du personnel, des objectifs fixés en matière d'embauche par les programmes d'accès à l'égalité en emploi.

The latest Programme's target population is members of visible and ethnic minorities, but not specifically "Anglophones":

Le Programme s'adresse aux membres des MVE [minorités visibles et ethniques] qui sont définis comme suit :

- *Membres des minorités visibles : les personnes autres que les Autochtones, qui ne sont pas de race blanche ou qui n'ont pas la peau blanche.*
- *Membres des minorités ethniques : les personnes autres que les Autochtones et les membres d'une minorité visible, dont la langue maternelle n'est ni le français ni l'anglais.*

Nonetheless, the document also indicates that the new program maintains existing Conseil du trésor 25% targets set in 2005 that mention "Anglophones," and that these targets apply within the various QPS sectors:

Atteindre l'objectif d'embauche annuel de 25 % pour l'ensemble des groupes cibles, soit les membres des MVE, les personnes handicapées, les Autochtones et les anglophones, pour chacun des statuts d'emploi suivants :

- *régulier : 25 %*
- *occasionnel : 25 %*
- *étudiant : 25 %*
- *stagiaire : 25 %*

Within this 25%, the government indicates a wish to double its representation of ethnic and visible minorities to reach a global target of 18%.

The program also includes plans for implementation, including attracting candidates and awareness-raising measures to support achievement of the targets. However, once again the focus is on ethnic and visible minorities, and “Anglophones” are not discussed further.

Moreover, English-speaking Quebecers are not identified among the “groupes victimes de discrimination en emploi” by the Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse (CDPDJ). It would be worthwhile to learn whether this is a factor working against the creation of a separate equal access to employment program targeting them, given the Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor’s obligation to consult the Commission.³³

In June of 2018, Kathleen Weil, then minister responsible for relations with Quebec’s English-speaking communities, announced a “hiring blitz” with an emphasis on increasing the number of English speakers, allophones and other members of minority groups in the provincial public service.³⁴

More research on the history and impact of these initiatives would be useful. At this point, it appears that none has had enduring positive effects. As mentioned earlier, English-speaking Quebecers remain a small proportion of the QPS, around one percent since the 1970s.

Socioeconomic status of today’s English-speaking Quebecers

Despite the perception in some circles of a wealthy English-speaking minority elite still pulling the levers of power in Quebec, contemporary research shows that, even though English-speaking Quebecers have high levels of education, they also register higher levels of unemployment than Francophones.³⁵ They have lower median incomes, and are proportionally more likely to live below the low-income cut-off (LICO).³⁶

33 Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse, “Les programmes d’accès à l’égalité.”

34 Quebec, Cabinet de la ministre responsable des Relations avec les Québécois d’expression anglaise, “The Québec Public Service Is Recruiting - Launch of a Large-scale Call for Applications,” Press release, June 7, 2018.

35 See for example J. Jedwab, *Going Forward: The Evolution of Quebec’s English-speaking Community* ([Ottawa]: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2004); W. Floch and J. Pocock, “The Socio-Economic Status of English-Speaking Quebec: Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed,” in *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, edited by R.Y. Bourhis (Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, 2012).

36 M.H. Lussier, *The Socioeconomic Status of Anglophones in Québec* ([Québec]: Institut nationale de santé publique, 2012); J. Jedwab, *Low Income in Quebec: No Matter How You Slice It, Anglophones Fare Worse than Francophones*, Non-published research by the Association for Canadian Studies (December 28, 2017); M. Scott, “Quebec Anglos, Allophones More Likely to Be Poor than Francos: Study,” *Montreal Gazette* (January 2, 2018).

Discussions with key informants

Sixteen well-placed individuals in the fields of government, public administration/political life, academia/university administration, media, and the community sector were consulted to provide data for this working paper. Discussions typically lasted thirty minutes to an hour, and were loosely organized around two central questions. First, the respondents were asked to identify any active outreach efforts by the provincial government over the years to recruit English-speaking youth into the public service, notably through partnerships with universities and other post-secondary institutions serving the English-speaking community. Second, they were asked to identify factors that they had observed in the course of their work that affected levels of representation of English speakers in the QPS and, more broadly, Quebec's political life. Themes in their responses were then identified and analyzed.

We have grouped the information gathered from informants under themes. For each theme, we present findings from the data collected from respondents, as well as our observations drawn from these findings.

Short-term solutions to a perennial issue

Findings

Respondents all agreed that underrepresentation of English-speaking Quebecers within Quebec's public service and in political nominations has been well documented and acknowledged as a problem by the provincial government. It is, as one respondent suggested, a "hardy perennial issue."

Respondents also said that the government has addressed this problem through short-term and "one-off" initiatives.

Our observations

We think that a more thorough policy approach could address underrepresentation of English speakers in the public service. Further research could shed light on the causes and effects of this situation and propose solutions by assessing strategies that have been applied elsewhere or for other minorities.

Lack of specific employment equity measures targeting English-speaking Quebecers

Findings

Respondents noted that, while there have been a systematic acknowledgment and some effort to redress the underrepresentation of ethnic, cultural, and visible minority populations in Quebec’s public service, there currently exists no specific plan of action when it comes to equity and increasing participation of English speakers in the public service.

One respondent referred to it as a “definition issue,” emphasizing that sometimes measures around equity include “Anglophones” and other minority groups, and sometimes they do not. It was noted that this definition issue was addressed by the Task Force Report on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Québec Society chaired by Yolande James.³⁷

Several respondents mentioned or alluded to the 1999 QPS hiring target of 25% for members of visible minorities, ethnic minorities, persons with disabilities, aboriginals, and “Anglophones” (as discussed above).

Respondents also identified potential resources for addressing inequalities, including:

- An “intersectional” approach, taking into account the mutually reinforcing factors that may be linked to employment barriers, including minority language, visible minority status and race³⁸
- The *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms* in addressing barriers and access to employment for English-speaking Quebecers in the QPS

Our observations

It appears that a more systematic effort to create employment equity measures targeting English-speaking Quebecers, with clear goals, integration measures, and budgets attached, would be required to address the underrepresentation of this group in Quebec’s public service. Devising such measures should also draw on research into best practices and resources available.

37 Task Force on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Québec Society, *Task Force Report on the Full Participation of Black Communities in Québec*.

38 O. Hankivsky, *Intersectionality 101* (Vancouver: The Institute for Intersectionality Research & Policy, Simon Fraser University, 2014).

Need to stimulate interest among English-speaking youth in provincial affairs and build QPS employment pathways

Findings

Several respondents in the university and political sectors spoke of a tendency for English-speaking Quebecers interested in public service jobs to look at federal rather than provincial opportunities. English-speaking youth, even those born and raised in the province, do not always see opportunities and career prospects for themselves in the QPS or within the province's political life. Respondents suggested that this "orientation to Ottawa" might also be reinforced by a tendency of relevant programs with internship components at universities serving Quebec's English-speaking community to focus their curriculum on the federal government, not the provincial government.

Our observations

Statistics have corroborated the point that there is an "orientation to Ottawa" tendency among English-speaking Quebecers. In 1987, only 0.5% of applicants to QPS competitions were mother tongue English speakers.³⁹ Following the promotional efforts carried out in 1991, this number rose slightly to 0.7%.⁴⁰ In the mid-1990s, 2.3% of applicants were "Anglophones," which is still well below their representation in the total population.⁴¹

More recent quantitative and qualitative research is needed to determine whether the tendency continues in the 21st century, and in the wake of recent efforts to target English speakers. Moreover, it would be useful to have access to statistics using the broader definition of English speakers that is used within the community, rather than the narrower one of mother tongue.⁴²

Also, qualitative research could allow us to better understand this apparent reticence on the part of students and universities: is it a lack of interest, a sense of resignation that it is not worth applying, or something else?

39 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, "Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service" (1992).

40 *Ibid.*

41 Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, *Vers une meilleure représentation de la diversité québécoise dans l'administration publique*, 26.

42 See footnote 1 for details.

Need for more QPS jobs in areas with high concentrations of English speakers

Findings

Respondents said that it seems that English-speaking job seekers were reluctant to relocate to Quebec City, where the majority of provincial public service jobs are located. Respondents said that job seekers are concerned that, because the city has fewer English-speaking people, it has fewer English-language cultural and social resources.

Our observations

Research would be required to determine whether creating more public sector jobs where most English speakers currently live, such as the Montreal region, would facilitate recruitment.

It is worth pointing out, however, that representation of English speakers in the QPS is low even in regions where English-speaking Quebecers are more numerous. For instance, the proportion of mother tongue English speakers in QPS jobs in Montreal has traditionally hovered at less than one percent. In the late 1980s, it was at 0.9%,⁴³ and in 2017, at 1.3% among regular employees.⁴⁴ This is slightly higher than the provincial average, but lower when placed in relation to the size of Montreal's English-speaking population.

43 Consultative Committee on Anglophone Participation in the Quebec Civil Service, "Report to the Minister for Administration and the Public Service" (1991).

44 Quebec, Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor, "Archives des statistiques en matière d'accès à l'égalité en emploi."

Final remarks

This working paper is neither exhaustive nor conclusive. Rather, it should be understood as a starting point for discussions on building pathways for English-speaking Quebecers to employment in the QPS.

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