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Freedom of School Choice and Nonfrancophone Leaders

Douglas Allan Hewitt

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
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ABSTRACT

Freedom of School Choice
and Nonfrancophone Leaders
Douglas Allan Hewitt

This study has dealt with the context that influences support for freedom of choice in education among the non-francophone leadership in Quebec. The factors which shape the opinions, decisions and readiness to act among these leaders were examined. Special attention was given to the conditions which limit the ability of an influential minority leadership to emerge with sufficient resources to organize a concerted communal movement. The theoretical model adopted was a modified version of the resource mobilization perspective. The working hypotheses operate on the theory of cost/benefit as the primary motivating factor inducing leaders to act.

The analysis relies primarily on crosstabulation of survey data gathered on a random sample of 527 leaders. In general the hypotheses were supported by the data. Non-francophone leaders most segmented from the francophone majority and who felt that Bill 101 was a bad law were the most likely to support freedom of choice in education. The analysis has also shown that the Freedom of Choice Movement lacks some of the basic resources to organize a concerted communal movement.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, subsequent governments in Quebec have implemented legislation that has profoundly altered the functioning of Quebec's educational system. In the 1960's, the legislation was aimed at reforming what was seen by the provincial government as an outdated, traditional educational program no longer in tune with a modern industrial state. In the 1970's the legislation was aimed at strengthening French as the official language of Quebec and French language schools as the educational institutions for new Quebecers.

The legislation of the 1970's brought an angry outcry from the English-speaking community of Quebec, who claimed that it constituted a violation of their minority educational rights. But the minority response was extremely diverse, ranging from grudging acceptance to outright defiance, and a number of distinct non-francophone movements emerged representing these conflicting minority viewpoints. Discussing the contradictory minority stands, LeCavalier (1980) notes that:

The absence of a co-ordinated interest position and a concerted communal movement are striking given that the non-francophone population exhibits many of the characteristics that are considered to encourage communal mobilization and protracted communal conflict. The non-francophone community is a highly segmented population, in that it controls an institutional sector distinct from and parallel to the majority sector. It is also characterized by a high level of internal organization having a large number of communally based organizations and

leaders attending to a wide range of the group member's needs. High levels of segmentation and internal integration are thought to facilitate mobilization for collective action by providing a set of experienced communal leaders with well developed networks of communication and influence, able to attract and pool a significant amount of the communal members' resources for collective ends.

The goal of this thesis is to examine some of the factors which shape the opinions, decisions and readiness to act of English-speaking communal leaders around the issue of freedom of choice in Quebec's educational sector. The main aim is to investigate the conditions which limit the chances that an influential minority leadership might emerge with sufficient resources to organize a concerted communal movement for the promotion of freedom of choice in education.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN QUEBEC

A review of the development of English educational institutions is essential for the theoretical framework of this study.¹ This will allow a better understanding of the hypothesis developed in a later section and the importance of LeCavalier's theoretical specification of the resource mobilization perspective.

The recent changes in education were preceded by a series of transformations related to the fact that francophones and anglophones as well as Catholics and Protestants had to share educational resources in Quebec.

¹A great deal of this brief historical account is based on the writings of Magnuson, R. (1980), Mair, N.H. (1980) and L. Bissonnette, D. Rome and W. Tetley in Caldwell and Waddell (1982).

The English Protestants

Already under the Union Act, Of 1894, Protestants were anxious about their status as an educational minority in Quebec, believing they were vulnerable to abuse from the French-Canadian majority. In order to protect their educational rights, Protestants, through their representative in Cabinet, Alexander Tilloch Galt of Sherbrooke, successfully pressed for the inclusion of Article 93 in the British North America Act. Article 93 designated education as the exclusive responsibility of the provinces except that no provincial legislature could pass any law which would prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to the denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province, at the Union.

In the 1860's, the Council of Public Instruction was responsible for the preparation of school texts, financial aid to schools, framing regulations for the local boards of examiners, and was under the control of the Ministry of Public Instruction. In 1869 the Protestants were successful in having the Council split into two committees, one Protestant and the other Catholic.

In 1875, legislation was passed through the Assembly which replaced the Ministry of Public Instruction by the Department of Public Instruction. The Department was headed by an appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction whose duties were administrative, and were to be answerable to the Council of Public Instruction which had become the province's paramount educational authority. The 1875 Act also acknowledged

that the two committees of the Council were supreme in their respective spheres of influence. Thus the Protestant Committee was now the final authority in matters relating to Protestant schools.

The gap between Protestant and Catholic education increased in the years following the 1875 Act. By the late nineteenth century Quebec public education had achieved its final form, a dual denominational system with parallel institutions.

Even though the two committees were the chief educational authorities, the system had not become highly centralized. Local school boards prior to Confederation had acquired a number of important responsibilities, such as control over much of the curricular and pedagogical matters, teacher recruitment and school finance. Provincial authorities were sometimes powerless to enforce their regulations on defiant school boards since provincial funding of local education was minimal. Public education in Quebec was a shared responsibility between local and provincial authorities.

The educational system was based on a dual society, in which school children were either French Catholic or English Protestant. This system made sense prior to Confederation when most people belonged to either of the two communities, but less so in the second half of the nineteenth century, when growing numbers of immigrants, who were neither denomination, came to Quebec.

The English Catholics

Irish immigration to Montreal in the 1830's and 1840's

reshaped the ethnic structure of the city and created a new power group. Because the Irish immigrants were both English-speaking and Catholic there was no natural place for them in the educational system. Since schools were officially divided along religious lines, Irish Catholics were accommodated in the Catholic system. Throughout the nineteenth century Irish Catholic children attended French Catholic schools in which English language classes were set up.

In the twentieth century, the main efforts of the English-Catholic community were toward the development of public educational facilities. A main step in this direction was the establishment in 1931 of D'arcy McGee, the third English-Catholic, and first public high school in Quebec. Until 1939, the English curriculum in Catholic schools was a translation of French Catholic curriculum; however in that year, the Catholic Committee modified its policy by agreeing to separate regulations for the English Catholic schools.

The arrival in Quebec of large numbers of Italian immigrants after the Second World War had the effect of expanding the English Catholic school system. Prior to the War, Italian children had been equally divided between French and English Catholic schools, but the postwar immigrants showed a preference for English-language schools.

Bolstered by postwar European immigrants, English Catholic education acquired many of the trappings of an independent system, separate and distinct from the French Catholic and English Protestant systems.

The Jews

If Quebec's educational system was not made with English Catholics in mind, it was even less so for Jews, who began to arrive in Montreal in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Jews chose to send their children to Protestant schools, because Protestant schools taught in English, were only mildly religious, and steered their students toward higher education.

Another interpretation of why Jews entered the Protestant system is put forth by David Rome (Caldwell & Waddell, 1982). He contends that during that period

"The Catholic church became aggressively ultramontanist: intercourse with an infidel became prohibited; freemasonry became the arch-enemy and somehow became identified with the Jews, even in Canada. The trauma of the domestic French condition was imported into Canada; Quebec awareness became a hatred and fear of "les autres"; the old and the new institutions of the church, not least the pulpit and the press, were frequently put at the service of extremism. Although there were no overwhelming objections to the admission of Jews into Quebec they were seen as guests of the anglophone liberal government in Ottawa. Quebec stood aside from the process and French Québec was rather pleased to see them enter the English fold rather than its own."

In 1869 a panel system was introduced to insure tax revenues on real estate were allocated equitably to Catholic and Protestant schools. The first panel listed Catholic property owners; the second, Protestant property owners, and the third, "neutral", included incorporated companies and individuals other than Protestants and Catholics. The revenues collected under the neutral panel were divided between Protestant and Catholic schools in proportion to their population.

All property owners were free to designate the panel of their choice, therefore Montreal's Jewish community directed their taxes to the Protestant panel.

In 1886, educational relations soured between the Jewish community and the Protestant School Board of Montreal owing to a dispute over the appointment of a Hebrew teacher. The members of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue decided to retaliate by redirecting their tax revenues to the Catholic panel. In the succeeding years Montreal's Protestant School Board educated 80 percent of the city's Jewish school population while receiving only 20 percent of Jewish school taxes.

Jewish-Protestant school conflicts came to a head in 1902 when a Jewish pupil was refused a scholarship because his father had not paid taxes into the Protestant panel. In 1903, the father of the pupil took the case to the Superior Court of Quebec. The Court ruled against the plaintiff on the grounds that his son was attending Protestant school by grace rather than by right. Although the Jewish community was prepared to appeal the decision to a higher court, an agreement was reached between the Protestant Board and Jewish representatives. The agreement which was formalized in the 1903 Act, provided that for educational purposes Jews were to be regarded as Protestants, that the religious rights of Jews attending Protestant schools were to be respected and that the school taxes of Jewish tax-payers were to be paid into the Protestant panel.

The 1903 Act created a new problem: the Jewish community claimed that as "Protestants" and ratepayers they were eligible for membership on the Protestant School Board of Montreal. Protestant school authorities responded by pointing out that the 1903 Act made no provision for Jewish representation on the Board.

A new issue arose; after the First World War, large numbers of Central European Jews came to Montreal, most of whom were too poor to be property owners but whose children were attending Protestant schools, thus putting the board in a poor financial situation. In fact, in 1922-23 about 40 percent of the Protestant school population in Montreal were Jews. In later years the percentage of Jews would level off at 25.

To investigate these issues, the government in 1924, appointed a special commission on education composed of three Catholics, three Protestants, and three Jews. The commission could not agree and recommended that the government submit the 1903 Act to the courts for clarification. In 1925 the courts ruled the 1903 Act unconstitutional, thus leaving the Jews without any rights in public education.

In an attempt to get the ruling overturned the Jewish community appealed to the Privy Council. In 1928 the Privy Council ruled that Jews had the right of attendance at Protestant and Catholic schools since under law they were common schools, but membership on boards was legally closed and schools were not legally bound to hire Jewish teachers.

Legally, the Jews were where they were before the 1903

Act except that the Privy Council noted that no law prevented Jews from forming their own public school system. In 1930 the government responded to this ruling by creating the Montreal Jewish School Commission. The government gave the Commission all the rights and privileges of the Catholic and Protestant Commissions plus the option of signing agreements with Protestant boards.

In the end the Jewish School Commission never became operational, since fearing that a Jewish school system would create an educational ghetto, they opted to sign an agreement with the Protestant Boards. The new agreement gave Jews the same privileges as Protestants except for representation on the Boards.

Educatic in the 1960's

In 1960 Jean Lesage led the Liberal Party to power and launched the Quiet Revolution. Educational reform was a main objective of the Liberal party and a first step toward this reform was the passage, in 1961 of a series of laws known as the Grande Charte de L'education or Magna Charta of Education.

The major provisions of the Magna Charta of Education were the raising of the school-leaving age, the abolition of public secondary school fees, the right of parents to vote in school elections, plans for the building of larger school units and increased government spending in education. One of the outcomes of the laws was the establishment of a Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education known as the Parent Commission.

The Commission was highly critical of the educational system in Quebec, condemning it for its elitist character,

its lack of coordination, its overemphasis on literary knowledge, its lack of scientific and practical studies, its outdated authoritarian classroom procedures and insufficient government funding.

The Government responded to the Commissions's recommendations by adopting Bill 60, in 1964. The Bill created the first Ministry of Education in Quebec in almost a century. The establishment of an education ministry signified the politicization, coordination and consolidation of the educational system in the province.

Bill 60 centralized the responsibility for education in the office of the Minister of Education. The minister is assisted by a deputy minister and two associate ministers, one Catholic and one Protestant. In addition a Superior Council of Education was created, as a permanent advisory body of educational experts to assist the minister in policy making. The Council has twenty-four members, with at least sixteen Catholic, four Protestant and one non-Catholic or Protestant member (understood to be a Jewish member).

In order to bring a margin of uniformity to Catholic and Protestant education by the end of the decade, the Ministry of Education developed a common educational ladder. Elementary school was to last six years, secondary school five years, new two-year postsecondary colleges (CEGEP) were added and university undergraduate programs were now three years, hence a 6-5-2-3 educational pattern emerged.

The 1960's saw important changes in the status, preparation and qualification of teachers. Traditionally, teaching was a transitory occupation dominated by graduates of normal schools; now it began to assume the role of a profession. Better educated and committed to career teaching, public school teachers began to display a more militant stance. The province's three major teacher associations, the Corporation des Enseignants Du Quebec (C.E.Q.), representing French Catholic teachers, the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers (P.A.P.T.) representing English Protestant teachers and the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers (P.A.C.T.) representing English Catholic teachers, were transformed from professional-like bodies into unions.

As enrolment increased in the 1960's so did the amount of money spent on education. In 1960, Provincial Government sources of monies accounted for more than 50 percent of school board funds. Increasing dependence on provincial sources of income has meant that governments can distribute grants to schools on an equalization basis, on the other side the larger provincial role in spending has undermined the ability of local authorities to determine their educational destiny.

Education in the 1970's

The changes in the 1960's set the stage for changes in the 1970's. Concern for the state of the French language was triggered by revelations that Canada's English-speaking population was growing at a faster rate than its French-speaking population. In the past, French Canada had increased its

population through a high birth rate, but since the Second World War it had been declining to a point where in 1962 it was below the national average. Compounding the problem was Quebec's inability to increase itself through immigration. Quebec attracted proportionately fewer immigrants than the other provinces and upwards of 80 percent of those immigrants settled in the English community.

In 1968, in the Montreal suburb of St. Leonard, the local school board issued an order eliminating English-language instruction in its schools. The order produced riots in the Italian community, whose members made up half the suburb's population and who wanted their children educated in both English and French.

The St. Leonard dispute established the linguistic battle lines. Francophone nationalists demanded that the government legislate immigrants into French schools while Anglophone and immigrant groups lobbied for guarantees of English-language school rights. The Union Nationale Government responded by setting up the Gendron Commission to find a French language policy for the province. Before the Commission had time to report, increased pressure from both sides of the issue forced the Government to act. The passage of Bill 63, in 1969, marked the first time a Quebec Law recognized the right of parents to have their children educated in the language of their choice.

The passage of Bill 63 produced a great outcry in French-speaking Quebec, resulting in demonstrations against the

government. Public support was growing for a change in linguistic practices; toward an expanded use of French in all sectors of Quebec life.

In 1974, the Liberal Government of Robert Bourassa passed Bill 22, the Official Language Act. Bill 22 went beyond the recommendations of the Gendron Commission, declaring French the sole official language, abolishing the province's traditional policy of bilingualism.

Bill 22 replaced the principle of language choice in education by restricting entrance to English schools to those possessing a working knowledge of English. The Bill also charged school boards with the responsibility of setting English-language proficiency tests for those applicants whose mother tongue was not English.

Bill 22 was strongly attacked in English and immigrant circles. The Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards petitioned the Federal Government to have the Bill disallowed or have it referred to the Supreme Court. Immigrants, in particular Italian and Greek parents, organized "underground classes" to prepare their children for the school board entrance tests.

The victory of the Parti Quebecois in the 1976 Quebec election brought an expanded francisation policy and created a great fear among non-francophones. In less than a year after coming to power, the Levesque government added to this fear by passing the comprehensive Charter of the French Language, or Bill 101.

The Government disapproved of the way Bill 22 was applied, saying that the use of language tests to determine school eligibility was arbitrary and unfair. Under Bill 101 English school admission was linked to family educational roots in Quebec. English school admission was open to children whose parents had attended Quebec schools or whose brothers or sisters were attending English schools in Quebec at the time of passage.

Section 72 of Bill 101 made instruction in the kindergarten classes and in the elementary and secondary school French, except where the bill allowed otherwise. This rule applied to all institutions declared to be of public interest or recognized for purposes of grants in virtue of the private education act (1968; Chapter 67). In derogation of Section 72, the following children, at the request of their father and mother, could receive their instruction in English.

(A) A child whose father or mother received his or her elementary instruction in English, in Quebec;

(B) A child whose father or mother, domiciled in Quebec on the date of the coming into force of this act, received his or her elementary instruction in English outside Quebec;

(C) A child who, in his last year of school in Quebec before the coming into force of this act, was lawfully receiving his instruction in English, in a public kindergarten class or in an elementary or secondary school;

(D) The younger brothers and sisters of a child described in paragraph (C).

The Minister of Education was also given the right to empower persons to verify and decide on children's eligibility

for instruction in English. The persons designated by the Minister, could verify the eligibility of children to receive their elementary instruction in English even if they were already receiving or were about to receive their instruction in French.²

The English-speaking community accused the government of going too far, of violating rights in education, and predicted that the narrowing of English school eligibility would deprive Québec of talented Canadians from other provinces.

"The actual number of enrolments is steadily decreasing, but this phenomenon is more noticeable in the English schools than in the French. Between 1979 and 1980, the francophone system lost 40,800 pupils - 3 percent of its total - while the anglophone system lost 90,300 or 9.2 percent. This reversal is most certainly attributable to Law 101, since it first manifested itself the year after the law was promulgated. Between 1976 and 1977, the French system lost 120,000 pupils compared to 8,000 in the English system."
(Caldwell & Waddell 1982)

The Protestant School Boards showed their distaste for the law by continuing to accept immigrants into their schools. In 1978 they resigned themselves to opening their own French classes d'accueil, and their French sector is expanding rapidly. The anglophone sectors of the Catholic School Boards, especially the CECM have continued to defy the law and are still admitting "illegal" pupils to their classes, these

² Bill 101, Charter of the French Language, Chapter VIII, Art 72 to 76. For the complete charter, see Appendix A.

children number 1,500.

Education in the 1980's

In 1981, the Minister of Education, Camille Laurin, leaked news of his intension to reorganize the school board system in the province. Ten months later in June 1982 the Minister tabled his White Paper and unveiled plans to abolish the present denominational school boards in the province and replace them with unified regional boards, drawn upon geographic lines. With the exception of Montreal island - which would get five linguistic boards - the changes Laurin proposed would eliminate English-speaking school boards throughout the province. Reaction to the White Paper from the English-speaking community was a blunt denunciation of virtually every principle in it. Leaders from both the English community and education system claimed that under the guise of decentralization, democracy, and local control, Dr. Laurin had devised a scheme that would further centralize power in his hands.

In reaction to criticism from the English-speaking community, in March 1983, Dr. Laurin made revisions to his proposed school system reorganization calling for English language school boards across the province and not just on the island of Montreal as his first draft suggested.

In June 1983 the Education Minister tabled Bill 40. The bill called for the abolition of almost all Catholic and Protestant school commissions to be replaced by a reduced number of language-based boards. Montreal island would have three English-language school boards and there would be an

additional ten English boards covering the rest of Québec. The bill would also change the electoral system for school board commissioners, so that each school in the province would have its own commissioner. The bill would also set up parent-elected school councils which would assume many of the present responsibilities of the boards.

Reaction to the bill was much the same as the reaction to the White Paper. The Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards in September of 1983 challenged in court the constitutionality of the School Reorganization Law, claiming that the Quebec Government has progressively attempted to restrict and in some cases abolish, the rights of Protestants and Roman Catholics with respect to denominational schools. Other groups such as the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers favor language-based school boards but that is about as far as their agreement with Bill 40 goes. The Montreal Gazette's editorial board felt that it was doubtful that any amount of rewriting could repair the grave defects of Bill 40 or persuade a skeptical public that radical changes in the school system are really necessary or desirable. In their view it would be better dropped.

In brief, for our purpose what can be retained from this evolution of education in Quebec is a history of shifts and competition over resources between the French and English and/or the Catholics and Protestants. Since the Conquest of Quebec, but especially since Confederation, anglophones and francophones have had to share educational resources. Confederation divided

the educational resources along religious lines essentially leaving Catholics in control of French education and Protestants in control of English education. With increased immigration of persons who were neither French Catholic nor English Protestant, internal conflicts occurred. Irish Catholics were able to obtain enough resources from the French Catholics to set up their own school boards, while other groups such as the Jews, were only able to gain limited concessions from the Protestants. With the advent of the Quiet Revolution, the Provincial Government reclaimed control over the educational sector. The effect of this takeover was to leave the Government as controller and distributor of all educational resources. Some of the more obvious effects of this takeover were, increased funding to universities, especially those that were French, increased salaries to teachers, and increased funding to rural education. More recently, the English sector has been affected by Bill 22 and, especially, Bill 101. One consequence of these recent measures was a shift in immigrant enrolment from English to French schools. At present, various educational groups such as the School Boards, Teacher Unions, and Universities are fighting for their share of the educational resources from the government.

In addition to the various educational groups other more broad based community groups have become involved in educational issues.

After the election of a majority P.Q. government in 1976, Positive Action, The Council of Quebec Minorities and a plethora of other anglophone groups came into being. They

were special interest groups who spoke for themselves and whose influence was minimal. They were self-appointed leaders of the anglophone community, not elected representatives of the population at large.

Of Quebec's three major non-francophone rights' groups, Alliance Quebec, formed in January 1982, is the largest, with 25,000 members. The other two - Quebec For All and the Freedom of Choice Movement - each have about 3,000 members.

Alliance Québec is an umbrella group for a dozen or so anglophone groups. Alliance Quebec's role is to co-ordinate planning, while the member groups execute. Member groups include service organizations such as anglophone teachers' unions, hospitals and social service agencies. It has also a large private-citizen membership attracted through public meetings it has organized across the province.

Quebec For All and the Freedom of Choice Movement are the only major anglophone groups in Quebec which decided not to join the Alliance.

Quebec For All was formed in November 1981. It believes the way to win concessions from the government is by taking a militant stance, "visible and vocal action to make sure the government is accountable to the people who elected them in good faith" (Carol Zimmerman, founder and leader).

The Freedom of Choice Movement was born at a meeting of 186 people in August 1978, "to get Quebecers to stand up for their rights." In 1982 it paid to send Janet Burley (West Island News and Chronicle editor) to London to lobby against

passage of the Canada Bill by the British House of Commons. The group feels that the new Canadian Constitution does not give English-speaking Quebecers adequate language rights. The movement also administered the Allan Singer Defence Fund, on behalf of Singer, an N.D.G. stationer, who is challenging the constitutionality of Bill 101 after charges were laid by the Québec government under the language law's sign provisions.

Alliance Quebec holds to a middle of the road position concerning educational issues. The organization supports the concept of linguistic boards but rejects the formula put forth in Bill 40. On the question of enrollment to English schools it supports the Canada Clause in the Canadian Constitution, but would prefer to see it extended to cover immigrants from other countries who were educated in English - a kind of international clause. Both Freedom of Choice and Québec For All reject Bill 40 and feel that there should be no restrictions on enrollment to English Catholic and Protestant schools.

Given the segmentation and shifts in the resources of the education sector, it is appropriate to focus on literature that encompasses both segmentation and resource management. The approach adopted for this thesis rests on a resource mobilization perspective (Oberschall, 1973, 1978; Gamson, 1975; Tilly, 1978; McCarty and Zald, 1977; Pinard, 1971; Olson, 1968).

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: A RESOURCE MOBILIZATION PERSPECTIVE

The resource mobilization perspective deals with rationality in collective action. The basic question of this perspective was developed by Olson (1968) who argued that something

more than just interest is necessary for people to devote time and energy to a movement. People, in general, limit their involvement in a collective cause to moral support, and hope that others will do the job. What would motivate people not to be only free riders? The theory of resource mobilization is essentially a cost-benefit analysis where it is hypothesized that people - or in our case, leaders are motivated on the one hand, by selective incentives for participation and on the other, by the personal cost of undertaking effective group action. Therefore, the reasonable alternatives each actor is faced with are rooted in the organization of available resources.

Oberschall (1973), argues that the solution to the distribution of the scarce resources and rewards among the individuals, groups, and classes in a society is never final. Hence, those in favoured positions in any of society's institutions have a vested interest in protecting or expanding their existing share, while those who are disadvantaged try to increase theirs, individually and/or collectively. Social conflict then results from this clash of opposing and moving interests.

The minimum conditions of collective protest are shared targets and objects of hostility held responsible for grievances, hardships, and suffering augmented in some cases by more deeply rooted sentiments of collective oppression, common interests and community of fate.
(Oberschall, 1973: 119)

These conditions only give rise to short-term protest, while for sustained protest an organized base and continuity of leaders are necessary. The organizational base can be rooted

in two different types of social structure (Oberschall, 1973: 119):

(1) The collectivity might be integrated and organized along viable lines based on kinship, village, ethnic, or tribal organization, or other forms of community with recognized leaders and networks of social relations extending to its boundaries.

(2) The collectivity might have a dense network of secondary groups based on occupational, religious, civic, economic, and other special interest associations with leaders based on prominent roles in these associations and networks of social relations following associational ties.

Oberschall suggests that both these organizational bases produce horizontal links of solidarity and already pooled resources than can be used for attainment of collective goals and conflict group formation.

Also of importance to the theory is the vertical links between the collectivity and the more favored collectivities who stand to be their opponents. A structural feature facilitating mobilization is segmentation from potential opponents. "Under segmentation the collectivity whose potential for mobilization we are examining has few links and bonds, other than perhaps through exploitive relationships, with the higher classes or other collectivities of the society" (Oberschall, 1973: 119).

Figure I: Collectivities Classified along Vertical and Horizontal Dimensions of Integration

Vertical Dimension	Horizontal Dimension, Links within the Collectivity		
	Communal Organization	Weakly or Unorganized	Associational Organization
Integrated	A	B	C
Segmented	D	E	F

(Oberschall 1973, pg. 120)

Figure I will aid in determining whether the conditions for conflict groups are present, the type of leadership, and the organizational form that collective behavior will take. In moving from a vertically integrated to a segmented social structure, outside social control of the collectivity weakens and shared sentiments of oppression and common objects of hostility increase when the collectivity has grievances. On the horizontal dimension, in moving from the center to the left or right, the structural conditions for sustained and articulate opposition movements increase. Leadership is more available in a segmented rather than an integrated social structure due to the lack of dependence on opponents' reward and approval systems. Horizontally, communally or associationally organized groups have already established leaders who can initiate mobilization and either well developed social networks or institutional resources that can be used to build a movement. For sustained social movements, a weakly organized or unorganized collectivity must depend on an infusion of leaders and resources from outside the group. The following

hypotheses are applicable to the respective region in Figure I (Oberschall, 1973: 121-123):

- (1) Region A: Collective protest is not likely to take place against upper status groups because the community has access to the problem-solving centers of the wider society through its own leadership for the redress of grievances.
- (2) Region B: Collective riots can occur between two or more collectives led by their respective leaders if split along religious, racial, ethnic, or other lines.
- (3) Region C: Collective opposition outside of institutional channels is not likely to take place because its common interests already receive attention through political parties, trade unions, and other class-based organizations with access to power.
- (4) Region D: We can expect an especially rapid and intense defense of common interests by means of collective action.
- (5) Region E: As ties based on community weaken under the impact of social change, and in as much as vertical integration breaks down as well, collective protest of an unorganized, short-lived, but violent type may be expected.
- (6) Region F: The possibility of rapid spread of opposition movements on a continuous basis exists with particular force.

The main thrust of Oberschall's theory is that the groups least integrated with their opponents are most able to mobilize to protect their interests. To further clarify the theory, Oberschall gives four additional hypotheses (Oberschall 1973: 125-138):

- (1) In a segmented context, the greater the number and variety of organizations in a collectivity and the higher the participation of members in this network, the more rapidly and enduringly does mobilization into conflict groups occur, and the more likely it is that block recruitment, rather than individual recruitment, will take place.

(2) The more segmented a collectivity is from the rest of society, and the more viable and extensive the communal ties within it, the more rapid and easier it is to mobilize members of the collectivity into an opposition movement.

(3) If a collectivity is disorganized or unorganized along traditional communal lines and not yet organized along associational lines, collective protest is possible when members share common sentiments of oppression and are targets of hostility. These sentiments are more likely to develop if the collectivity is segmented rather than vertically integrated with other collectivities of the society. Such protest, however, will tend to be more short lived and more violent than movements based on communal or associational organization.

(4) Participants in popular disturbances and activists in opposition organizations will be recruited from previously active and relatively well-integrated individuals within the collectivity, whereas socially isolated, atomized, and uprooted individuals will be underrepresented, at least until the movement becomes substantial.

Contrary to some resource mobilization theorists (McCarthy and Zald, 1977), Oberschall argues that indigenous leaders are the architects of organization, ideology, and mobilization for movements.

A continuous movement of protest that seeks to obtain wide reforms or revolution presupposes both leaders and considerable organization... in the absence of leadership, the most that can be expected to arise from...mass dissatisfaction is sporadic crowd behavior...through which people give vent to their feelings, but do not really attempt to change the social order.

(Killian, in Oberschall, 1973: 148)

Leaders take higher risks, spend more time, energy, and personal resources than do later followers of the movement and to balance these heavy costs their potential rewards must be higher. In light of this risk vs. reward concept, Oberschall concludes that social movement leaders' participation must be understood; the basic idea being that a leader will invest more

time and energy in a particular social movement when risks are low and potential rewards are high.

Oberschall uses vertical and horizontal dimensions of integration to determine whether a leader will be new or already established and whether he will come from inside or outside the collectivity. Using Figure I, either end of the horizontal continuum has preestablished leaders; it is only the weakly or unorganized collectivities that tend to go outside for leadership. In the vertical dimension, inside leadership is more likely to emerge in segmented context, since talented and ambitious individuals are blocked from upward mobility within the larger society.

A THEORETICAL SPECIFICATION OF THE RESOURCE MOBILIZATION PERSPECTIVE

One can see from the brief history given of Québec's English-language education that this institution typifies the high degree of segmentation found in Québec society, and also the high level of internal associational organization of the non-franchophone minority. The fact that there exists a high degree of segmentation and also a high level of internal associational organization in the non-francophone community has led LeCavalier (1980) to note that "the failure of Québec's non-francophone community to unite for a concerted representation of its institutional interests poses a challenge for the specification of general theories of communal mobilization." LeCavalier argues that "In this case, Oberschall's (1973) ideal conditions for communal mobilization and communal conflict have promoted, instead, the diversified and accomo-

dative collective behavior typical of highly integrated groups with low institutional completeness." To account for this,

LeCavalier (1980) believes that:

While segmented structures and internal integration greatly facilitate mobilization, the type of communal leaders and the shape of communal conflict which is likely to emerge would seem to be related to the specific context of communal interaction. In effect, each communal group finds itself in a particular strategic situation which increases or decreases the cost of alternate forms of protest activity for potential leaders and for the general population.

LeCavalier (1980) and Fitzsimmons-LeCavalier (1979), think that three main elements are to be considered in forming the strategic situation: the interest, the capacity, and the opportunity to act communally.

The Interest to Act Communally

The type and intensity of communal mobilization will depend on the nature of the threat posed to group members and institutions by the actions of another communal group. The nature of the threat varies according to the type of issues in dispute, whether they are mainly symbolic or material, whether they constitute a zero-sum game, and whether they apply chiefly to conditions of individual or group incorporation. Symbolic issues, those concerning principles which express the moral worth, status or collective identity of a group, are considered to lead to more severe and entrenched conflict than do material issues. Attempts to dispute symbolic issues tend to be regarded as attacks on the integrity, moral standing and self-respect of the other community and, therefore,

debate becomes a no-win situation allowing little room for bargaining. When the interests of one group are posed in highly symbolic terms or as absolute values, potential leaders of a competing communal population will hesitate to pursue strong adversarial interest positions unless they have sufficient backing to deal with the all-out confrontation which could result. Although symbolic disputes tend to lead to entrenched conflict, issues with a heavy symbolic content may discourage collective mobilization by fostering the belief that collective action is futile or extremely costly. This may dispose communal members to resort to individual accommodations or cautious and limited collective representations when these appear to be available. Symbolically charged challenges are especially unlikely to receive extensive backing, when the material disadvantages associated with a communal threat affect only limited sectors of the population rather than the total collectivity. When leaders believe that the communal public considers individual adaptations as more realistic and less costly than collective action, they will tend to initiate only limited forms of communal mobilization until a record of success can be established. When potential leaders themselves, perceive communal interests as non-bargainable, strong assurances of a valuable resource supply will be required before they initiate protest activity.

The Capacity to Act Communally

Communal solidarity is vital in assuring the backing and resources that concerted collective action requires. Solidarity is based on a strong identification with the communal

category as well as on the presence of strong networks of reciprocity within its boundaries. Competing communal identifications, such as a diversity of ethnic groups within one language community or a diversity of occupational and class identifications within one communal language group coupled with the prevalence of important social networks outside of the communal boundaries, diminish the level of communal solidarity and consequently the availability of members for communal mobilization. The more leaders perceive the communal population as having competing bases of solidarity, the less they will count on their backing and the less likely they are to initiate costly forms of collective action. Under conditions of low communal solidarity, the existence of a large supply of organizational leaders with a wide range of institutional bases can be expected to lead to dispersed rather than coordinated collective action.

The Opportunity to Act Communally

Communal leaders will undertake to mobilize the type and intensity of collective action which they feel will bring the highest level of benefits at the least cost. The cost of conflict is shaped by the legitimacy of different forms of protest, both in terms of the degree of credibility associated with them and the degree of repression they are likely to entail. In some political settings a great many forms of opposition are possible; a variety of channels to influence exist, and leaders may choose from a variety of tactics to suit particular demands or issues. In other situations,

influence may only be attempted through confrontational tactics. Any particular policy tends to have mechanisms for the institutionalization of conflict, explicit rules and rights to negotiation and implicitly tolerated forms of non-institutionalized conflict which shape the tactics of dissent. In periods when the acceptable forms and rules of institutionalized conflict and negotiation between communal groups are undergoing change, communal power resources will have an uncertain value, prompting leaders to adopt cautious tactics and moderate demands. When the most likely opportunity for a communal minority to exert some influence over the state is estimated to lie in a political alliance with sections of the other communal group, leaders will have strong incentives to adopt accommodative strategies and avoid confrontational demands which are not mutually acceptable, leading to the overall moderation of conflict.

In recent years, various protests have occurred around educational issues. The most recent ones came with or as a result of the Founding Symposium in May 1982 of Alliance Quebec. However, no real or solid communal movement has developed in the English language educational sector. We must look to its particular strategic situation for possible reasons as to why there has been a failure or weak effort to do so.

PROPOSITIONS DEVELOPED FROM THE INTEREST TO ACT COMMUNALLY

The last two government administrations of Québec used legislation to restrict access to its English language schools. The Government's argument for restricting access was that if

all immigrants, their children and all children of French educated parents were restricted to a French only education, assimilation into the English-speaking community would be curbed. As was stated earlier in the history section of this proposal, assimilation was not seen as a problem until the late sixties when it was revealed that the birth rate among francophones had declined so dramatically that Canada's English-speaking population was growing at a faster rate than her French-speaking population. Hence, the flow of assimilation by immigrants, in Quebec was redirected from the English sector to the French sector, thus stopping the hemorrhaging of French to English which was seen as vital for the cultural survival of French in an increasingly English Canada.

English educational institutions in Quebec are faced with a similar problem that francophones are facing within Canada. Even with the lion's share of immigrants attending English schools, the English-speaking community has been declining since 1931. This has forced the English educational institutions to support freedom of choice in education; fearing that a redirected immigrant enrollment coupled with a declining birth rate would endanger the maintenance of a healthy English language school system.

At the institutional level, therefore, the two communal groups are caught in a zero-sum game; in which English language educational institutions' support of freedom of choice in education is seen as denying francophones the right to protect their culture, while the Government's support for limiting

choice in education is seen as the denial of what had been, until the passage of Bill 22, a right of all Quebecers.

The net effect of the conflict developing around such heavily symbolic issues as the personal rights of a citizen of Quebec and, more importantly, the rights of a population to protect and promote its culture, could have discouraged collective mobilization by fostering the belief that collective action is futile or extremely costly.

At the institutional level, the heavily symbolic nature of the dispute between the two communal groups had led to a no-win situation, which has had the effect of discouraging communal leadership involvement.

Two propositions, both limiting communal leadership involvement, can be developed from the impact that the language legislation has had on the non-francophone population and on the various English educational institutions.

Only those children whose parents did not attend English schools in Quebec or did not have a brother or sister already attending a Quebec English school were not allowed to attend an English language school in Quebec. Whereas this legislation affected the vast majority of Quebecers, it did not affect the majority of children who were attending English language schools. LeCavalier (1980) feels that "symbolically charged challenges are especially unlikely to receive extensive backing, when the material disadvantages associated with a communal threat affect only limited sectors of the population rather than the total collectivity."

Since the legislation affects only a limited sector of the population, leadership involvement will be discouraged.

At the level of the English educational institutions, the legislation does not have an equal effect. The smaller English Catholic School Boards are affected more by the legislation than the larger English Protestant boards because the sectors of the population that are restricted from attending English schools, specifically, francophones and new immigrants, tend to be Catholics:

The unequal effect of the legislation on the educational institutions will limit communal leadership involvement.

A fourth possible proposition concerning limitation of communal leadership involvement is that when the two English School Boards allowed illegals into their schools there seemed to be a lack of strong mobilization in support of the stand. Therefore, a good track record had not been developed. This failure to mobilize might have had the effect of making leaders more hesitant in using strategies that require mass communal participation.

The failure to mobilize around the illegals issue has had the effect of discouraging leaders' use of mass communal participation.

PROPOSITIONS DEVELOPED FROM THE CAPACITY TO ACT COMMUNALLY

Inside the Protestant and Catholic English educational sectors there are parallel groups of school boards, teacher unions and parent groups. Outside of the educational system there are a multitude of ethnic and pro-anglophone groups laying claim to representing the interests of non-francophones on a host of issues, including those concerning education.

LeCavalier says that "a large supply of organizational leaders with a wide range of institutional bases can be expected to lead to dispersed rather than coordinated collective action." This can be seen in the various stands held by different groups about the issue of who should be allowed to attend English language schools.

The spectrum of solutions to the enrolment issue range from support for Bill 101 by groups like the National Anglophone Committee (the English wing of the Parti Quebecois, made up of former members of the Committee of Anglophones for Sovereignty Association) to freedom of choice for all, supported by educational groups like, the Quebec Federation of Home and Schools, social based groups like the Freedom of Choice Party. Within the spectrum, the Federal and Provincial Liberal Parties support the Canada Clause option in which:

(1) Citizens of Canada (A) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside, or (B) who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they received that instruction is the language of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province, have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province. (2) Citizens of Canada of whom any child has received or is receiving primary or secondary school instruction in English or French in Canada, have the right to have all their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in the same language. (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 23, Minority Language Educational Rights, 1981).

Another option held by the Alliance Quebec (a group considered by the Quebec Government as the official spokesperson for Quebec minorities) is the International clause which would have anyone who was educated in English as having the right to send their children to English schools.

The large supply of organizational leaders with a wide range of institutional bases has led to dispersed communal action.

PROPOSITIONS DEVELOPED FROM THE OPPORTUNITY TO ACT COMMUNALLY

LeCavalier, in *The Opportunity to Act Communally*, says, "In periods when the acceptable forms and rules of institutionalized conflict and negotiation between communal groups are undergoing change, communal power resources will have an uncertain value, prompting leaders to adopt cautious tactics and moderate demands." Until the 1960's, relations between the Quebec Government and its English language educational institutions could be seen as a laissez-faire situation. In the 1960's, governmental control of the institutions, both financially and structurally, was brought about by the passage of the Grande Charte de l'Education and Bill 60. The 1970's saw further governmental control over English education with the passing of Bill 22 and Bill 101.

The rapid change from an autonomous institution to one that is controlled by the government, in a short time, has led to a breakdown in the acceptable forms of rules and regulations of institutionalized conflict and negotiations and led leaders to adopt cautious tactics and to moderate their demands.

WORKING HYPOTHESES

The working hypotheses for this study will be developed within each chapter.

THE DATA AND ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The main source of data to test these various hypotheses will be the LeCavalier's General Opinion Survey on non-francophone Segments of Quebec, which was gathered in 1981.

The research was carried out through interviewing a sample of 527 leaders or core participants in non-francophone associations, institutions or activities through the use of about one hour-long, personal, structured interviews. The list of core participants or leaders included representatives from a large number of associations connected with a cross-section of interest positions and institutional commitments.

An important element in designating the range of institutions considered was ethnicity, a sub-communal identity within the non-francophone communal population, particularly for those ethnic groups which maintain distinct and substantial institutional systems. Another important element was the consideration of the range of sectors around which segments of the non-francophone population have already organized. Core participants or leaders in cultural, political, union and professional associations, the health and welfare and educational sectors as well as leaders overtly associated with general language and minority issues were taken into account. A more detailed and technical description of the sample can be found in LeCavalier, Fitzsimmons-LeCavalier, Hewitt (1982: 1 and 2).

Other data sources were also used, such as briefs prepared by various non-francophone groups and personal interviewing with leaders involved in the English-speaking educational sector in Quebec.

Most of the thesis deals with the influence exerted by segmentation and strain on the support for freedom of choice of the language of education and in turn for the Freedom of Choice Movement. In Chapter II, the influence of segmentation and associated factors is examined. The impact of strain and associated factors is examined in Chapter III. Chapter IV is devoted to an exploration of the factors which influence the mobilization around the issue of freedom of choice. The last chapter briefly outlines the main findings of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE AND SEGMENTATION

Several authors have argued that conflicts between linguistic or racial groups heighten when contacts increase (e.g. Hughes and Hughes, 1952; Deutsch, 1967). These authors tend however to neglect to take into consideration the level of segmentation of the groups in their analysis. Recently, Oberschall (1973) has shown the importance segmentation can play in conflicts. Using the perspective of resource mobilization, segmentation in cost/benefit terms is shown to play an important organizational role in conflicts.

As a first consideration, one has to assume that when groups are highly segmented not all their members are. The least segmented members of the groups are more likely to be mobile within the larger society enabling them to maximize occupational and residential opportunities. Members in a highly segmented situation probably lack the necessary skills, such as fluency in the language of the larger society, to be mobile within that society. Therefore, members who are highly segmented have more to lose with any weakening of their group's position within the larger society. As such they would be predisposed to join in and organize against any perceived attack on their institutions. Alternatively they may choose to avoid conflict by leaving

their disadvantaged situation.

An hypothesis which can be derived from the introductory statements is that leaders who are in a highly segmented environment would tend to feel a greater pressure than those who are less so and in turn to oppose Bill 101 more vigorously. Specifically, highly segmented leaders would feel a declining importance of their linguistic institutions, a dwindling of job opportunities and a general decrease of mobility within Quebec. These feelings should lead them to support freedom of choice in education more so than leaders who are intergrated in the wider society.

MEASUREMENTS

Freedom of Choice

In order to look at freedom of choice in education, three questions were used. These questions were presented to respondents in the following manner: "I'll read you a few statements. As I read, tell me if you agree or disagree with the statement."

Canadians from other provinces should have the right to send their children to English schools.

All new immigrants to Quebec should have the right to send their children to English schools.

All parents should be free to send their children to either French or English schools.

While a firm consensus (91%) is found among leaders concerning the Canada Clause (Appendix B, Table B-1) fewer support parents' freedom of choice to send their children to either French or English Schools (71%, Appendix B, Table B-1)

and even fewer agree with the idea that new immigrants to Quebec should have the right to send their children to English Schools (54%, Appendix B, Table B-1).

These results show that non-francophone leaders are divided in their opinions regarding educational choice for Quebec parents and new immigrants, but overwhelmingly support that Canadians from other provinces have the right to choose. For this reason the Canada Clause statement has been excluded from their index measure of freedom of choice.

The two remaining items are highly associated ($\gamma = 0.94$, Appendix B, Table B-2). Among those respondents who disagree with the parents' freedom of choice 91% also disagree with access for new immigrants to English education. Further, three quarters of those who agree with the former also agree with the latter, the rest being equally split between disagreement or an undecided position.

The distribution of the level of support for freedom of choice is presented in Table 2.1. It shows that a majority (54%) agree, slightly more than one fifth (21%) disagree, and that a quarter (25%) give a qualified answer.

TABLE 2.1

DISTRIBUTION OF LEVEL OF SUPPORT
FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE INDEX

Support for Freedom of Choice	%
Disagree	21.1
Qualified	25.1
Agree	53.7
(N)	(521)

Segmentation

Seven items were originally selected to examine the level of segmentation. These were presented to respondents in the following manner:

"I'd like to get some idea as to your contacts with french-speaking Quebecers. I'll read a list of kinds of people most of us come in contact with and would you please tell me whether none, a few, about half or more than half are french-speaking:

Friends:

- People in the stores you shop
- People in organizations you are active in
- People you go to church (or synagogue) with
- Neighbours
- People at social gatherings
- People where you are employed

Except for Church (Appendix B, Table B-3) non-francophone leaders have a high degree of contact with francophones. However the frequency of contacts varies according to the nature of the relationship and the context. Slightly more than one third (37%) of non-francophone

leaders have half or more friends who are francophones, while forty-two percent (42%) have half or more neighbours who are francophones. Forty-five percent (45%) go to social gatherings that are composed of half or more than half francophones while about the same percentage (46%) work in such an environment. Over half (53%) are active in organizations whose members consist of half or more francophones while eighty-one percent (81%) shop in stores where half or more than half the people they meet are francophones.

Many non-francophone leaders do not attend church (28%) or have little or no contact with francophones at church (59%). Since this leaves 13% having half or more francophones among their contacts at church it was decided to exclude this item from the index. The fact that church was not attended by 28% of the leaders made it an awkward item. Excluding them from the index would have prohibitively reduced the sample size by 28%. Therefore the best solution was to exclude the item. However, church linguistic composition, when attended, will be introduced as a control for specification.

A similar problem is faced when looking at the question of linguistic composition at work. Seventy three respondents (14% of our sample) were not employed at the time that the interview was conducted. As in the case of church linguistic composition, excluding the 14% unemployed respondents would have been prohibitive, while classifying

them as "few or no contact" is a possible conceptual ambiguity. Therefore the best solution is to exclude linguistic composition at work from the index and then use it as a control for specification.

Table 2.2 gives the relationships between the items used for the construction of the index of segmentation. The table shows a high level of association between: French in stores and French neighbours (.77), French at social gatherings and French friends (.87), French in stores and French friends (.62), French in stores and French at social gatherings (.56), French in organizations and French at social gatherings (.75). More moderate relationships are found between: French neighbours and French at social gatherings (.71), French in organizations and French in stores (.46), French neighbours and French friends (.63), French neighbours and French in organizations (.54). All relationships, however, were significant at the $P < .0001$ level.

Table 2.3 gives the distribution of the levels in the segmentation index. Each item was assigned a value of 1 for contacts of more than half and zero for less than half. Thus a scale of decreasing segmentation was constructed with numerical values 0 to 5. Of those respondents with a high level of segmentation 10% are in level zero and 22% in level one. At the moderate level, 19% are in level two, 17% in level three and at the low level 15% are in level four with 18% at level five.

TABLE 2.2

RELATIONSHIP (IN %) BETWEEN ITEMS USED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SEGMENTATION INDEX

	A) French at Social Gatherings		B) French Neighbours		C) French in Organizations		D) French in Stores	
	Less than Half	More than Half	Less than Half	More than Half	Less than Half	More than Half	Less than Half	More than Half
French Friends	87	32	77	43	82	45	85	58
Less than Half	13	68	23	57	18	55	15	42
More than Half	(287)	(235)	(304)	(282)	(247)	(276)	(96)	(427)
	Gamma .87		Gamma .63		Gamma .70		Gamma .62	
French in Stores	26	9	28	5	26	12		
Less than Half	74	91	72	95	74	88		
More than Half	(287)	(233)	(303)	(221)	(246)	(275)		
	Gamma .56		Gamma .77		Gamma .46			
French in Organizations	67	23	59	30				
Less than Half	32	77	41	70				
More than Half	(286)	(234)	(303)	(221)				
	Gamma .75		Gamma .54					
French Neighbours	76	35						
Less than Half	24	65						
More than Half	(284)	(235)						
	Gamma .71							

* p < .0001 for every two-by-two table.

TABLE 2.3

DISTRIBUTION OF LEVELS IN THE INDEX SEGMENTATION

Level of Segmentation		%
High	0	9.6
	1	22.4
Moderate	2	18.5
	3	16.5
Low	4	14.7
	5	18.3
	(N)	(516)

FINDINGS

Table 2.4 shows that there is a strong relationship (.31) between level of segmentation and support for freedom of choice. The higher the level of segmentation, the higher the support for freedom of choice (from 34% to 72%), and the lower the opposition to it (from 32% to 8%). The data would therefore support our original hypothesis. It is worthwhile to note that the proportion of those who gave a qualified answer varies less from one level of segmentation to another than do the non-qualified ones. Additionally it was observed variation does not correlate to the level of segmentation.

Since there is an indication that segmentation does play an important role in influencing a leader's support, it is important to find out which factors affect or are, at least, associated with respondents' level of segmentation.

TABLE 2.4
SEGMENTATION AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	Low 5	4	3	2	1	High 0	Total
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	32.	29.	23.	20.	11.	8.	21.
Qualified	33.	21.	29.	28.	19.	20.	25.
Agree	34.	49.	49.	52.	70.	72.	54.
(N)	(93)	(75)	(84)	(94)	(114)	(50)	(510)

$\chi^2 = 39.90144$, DF = 10, P < .0001, Gamma = .31

Table 2.5 lists selected variables which are associated with the level of respondents' segmentation. It should be noted that in this Table and subsequent Tables in the chapter, the six categories of segmentation used in Table 2.4 have been reduced to three categories. Specifically categories 0 and 1, 2 and 3, 4 and 5, were combined to create low, medium and high categories of segmentation. This was done in order to facilitate the presentation and analysis of data and is justified by the structure of variation from one category to another in Table 2.4.

The purpose of Table 2.5 is to show the "effect" of certain conditions on segmentation. The rationale for selecting the eight variables will be discussed on an individual basis later in the chapter.

Subtable 2.5 (A) shows a relationship between bilingualism and the level of segmentation. Unilingual respondents show a higher level of segmentation than do bilingual respondents (51% versus 27% respectively). At the other end of the scale, few (4%) unilingual respondents are found in low segmented circumstances, while over one fifth (22%) of bilingual respondents are found at that low level.

Subtable 2.5 (B) indicates work environment affects segmentation. Respondents who do not work, or, work with few francophones show a higher level of segmentation than those respondents who work with a majority of francophones (53%, 44% vs. 16% respectively). Conversely respondents who do not work, as well as those who work with few francophones

are less likely to be low in segmentation than those who work with a majority francophones (7%, 8% vs. 31% respectively).

Subtable 2.5 (C) indicates a relationship between church environment and level of segmentation. Respondents who do not go to church or especially those who go to church where the majority of the congregation is made up of non-francophones are less likely to be low in segmentation (21%, 9% vs. 59%) and more likely to be high in segmentation than those respondents who go to church where the majority of the congregation is made up of francophones (23%, 42% vs. 5%).

Subtable 2.5 (D) shows that the effect of education is not as significant on segmentation as with the preceding factors. However, leaders with educational backgrounds consisting of high school or less (49%) and CEGEP or commercial schooling (43%) are more likely to have a higher level of segmentation than university educated leaders (27%).

In subtable 2.5 (E) females show a higher level of segmentation than do males (41% vs. 28%). At the other end of the scale few females (11%) are low in segmentation while over one fifth (22%) of males are found at that level.

Subtable 2.5 (F) indicates that there is a relationship between membership in a work association and the level of segmentation. Respondents who do not belong to such associations show a higher level of segmentation than those respondents who do (46% vs. 25%, 20%, 31%). Conversely

those respondents who do not belong to work associations also are less likely to be low in segmentation than those who do (11% vs. 21%, 28%, 31%). In general little difference exists between the type of associations leaders belong to. However, the structure of segmentation distribution is strikingly even among members of trade associations when compared to members of professional or union associations.

When looking at age, subtable 2.5 (G) shows that in the high segmentation category each age group from 65 + to 35-44 years old has progressively fewer respondents, yet in the youngest category 34- there is an increase (49%, 42%, 33%, 18% and 38% respectively). These results would suggest that French contacts are not established until later in life. A fact which could be more carefully examined in another study.

Subtable 2.5 (H) shows that leaders whose mother tongue is English, show a higher level of segmentation than do other leaders (35% vs. 26%), and are less likely to be low in segmentation (17% vs. 21%).

Subtable 2.5 (I) shows that leaders who reside elsewhere than in Montreal or in the Outaouais are more likely to be low in segmentation (16%, 13% vs. 46% respectively) while leaders who reside in the Outaouais are more likely to be high in segmentation.

As mentioned earlier, the interpretation of the relationship between these selected variables and segmentation is elaborated in the following sections of this

TABLE 2.5
 SELECTED CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH
 THE LEVEL OF SEGMENTATION

Level of Segmentation	Low	Medium	High	(N)	P
(A) Bilingualism					
Bilingual	22.	50.	27.	(400)	.0001
Unilingual	4.	44.	51.	(115)	
(B) Work Environment					
Less than half French	8.	49.	44.	(207)	.0001
Half or more French	31.	53.	16.	(235)	
Does not work	7.	40.	53.	(71)	
(C) Church Environment					
Less than half French	9.	49.	42.	(302)	.0001
Half or more French	59.	36.	5.	(66)	
Does not go to Church	21.	56.	23.	(141)	
(D) Education					
High School or Less	19.	32.	49.	(75)	.0005
CEGEP or Commercial	12.	46.	43.	(68)	
University	20.	53.	27.	(373)	
(E) Gender					
Male	22.	50.	28.	(355)	.002
Female	11.	48.	41.	(161)	
(F) Work Association					
None	11.	43.	46.	(192)	.0001
Professional	21.	54.	25.	(235)	
Union	28.	52.	20.	(69)	
Trade	31.	37.	31.	(19)	
(G) Age					
34 and younger	15.	47.	38.	(85)	.0001
35 to 44	29.	53.	18.	(146)	
45 to 54	15.	52.	33.	(143)	
55 to 64	12.	46.	42.	(89)	
65 and older	14.	37.	49.	(49)	

Con't

(H) Mother tongue				
English	17.	48.	35. (380)	.05
Other	21.	53.	26. (120)	
(I) Region				
Montreal	16.	52.	32. (429)	.0001
Outaouais	13.	18.	69. (39)	
Other	46.	46.	8. (48)	

chapter.

Bilingualism.

As shown in Table 2.5(A) a strong relationship was found between bilingualism and segmentation. This is probably due to a mutual effect between the two variables. An inability on the part of respondents to speak French would pose an obstacle to the formation of a network of contacts within the francophone population. At the same time, respondents living in a segmented context would have little need of French if it is not necessary for maintenance of their lifestyle. This would increase unilingual respondents' dependence on the resources available to them from or within their own linguistic group. Therefore, it is hypothesized that unilingual respondents will be both segmented and more supportive of freedom of choice than those who are bilingual. A strong association is consequently expected between bilingualism and segmentation.

Table 2.6 shows that in all categories unilingual respondents are substantially more supportive of freedom of choice than respondents with similar levels of segmentation who are bilingual. Concerning level of segmentation and freedom of choice the general trend is a decrease in segmentation associated with a reduction of support for and an increase in opposition to freedom of choice in both groups.

TABLE 2.6
 BILINGUALISM, SEGMENTATION AND SUPPORT
 FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	Bilingual P < .001			Unilingual P < .05		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	33.	27.	14.	20.	12.	2.
Qualified	35.	28.	25.	0.	20.	10.
Agree	32.	46.	61.	80.	68.	88.
(N)	(88)	(202)	(105)	(5)*	(50)	(59)

*Given the numbers of cases (5) the percentages are considered unreliable.

Work Environment

Raymond Breton (1968) showed that work environment had an important effect of the level of segmentation of new immigrants. Immigrants who had jobs within the immigrant community were more segmented and more dependent on resources from within that minority community than those who had jobs in the larger society. It would be expected, then, that respondents whose work environment is half or more French, even those who are highly segmented, would tend to be less supportive of freedom of choice than those whose work environment is not.

Table 2.7 shows that while work environment, when controlled for segmentation in other environments, does not have a strong impact on support for freedom of choice it does have, some specific effects. It can be seen that, at the high level of segmentation, work environment has no effect on it. At the medium level those respondents who work have a similar distribution of agreement and disagreement. Finally, those leaders who don't work are more supportive and less in opposition to it. This indicated that at the medium level of segmentation it is the work and not work environment that is important. This might mean that a local factor or even gender might be more determinant, and these are examined later in this chapter. It is only when examining the low level of segmentation that work environment can be seen to have an effect. Respondents who are in the less than half French work environment category are more likely to give a qualified

TABLE 2.7

WORK ENVIRONMENT, SEGMENTATION AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	Less Than Half French P < .0001			Half or More French P < .005			Does Not Work P = n.s.		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support for Freedom of Choice	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	18	26	13	35	25	5	40	11	5
Qualified	59	29	73	30	24	27	0	25	26
Agree	23	45	73	35	51	68	60	64	69
(N)	(17)	(99)	(89)	(71)	(125)	(37)	(7)*	(28)	(38)

*Given the number of cases (7) the percentages are considered unreliable.

answer (59% vs. 30%) and less likely to be in agreement with (23% vs. 35%) or in opposition (18% vs. 35%) to freedom of choice. By way of explanation, it would seem that those who live in a low segmented environment, but work in a segmented one are under a cross-pressure hence possess a less definitive opinion on freedom of choice. In other words it appears that their work environment pushes them in one direction and their private life in another, thus they find it difficult to take a strong position.

Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1948) have shown that whatever the source of conflicting pressures, the individuals tended to delay their final vote decision and belittle the issue. They escaped from any real conflict by losing interest in the election. Subsequently, Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee (1954) expanded their research analysis to show that remaining in this "inconsistent" position was not the only possible adaptive reaction to cross pressure.

Church Environment

Following work environment, it could be expected that the level of segmentation at church would add to the effect of segmentation in other life sectors on support for freedom of choice. As mentioned earlier, a large proportion of leaders are not related to any church. Analysis of Table 2.8 shows that when respondents who attend churches primarily of non-francophone membership are compared to all other groups that, with one exception, they are more likely

TABLE 2.8

CHURCH ENVIRONMENT, SEGMENTATION AND
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	Less than Half French P < .0003			Half or More French P = n.s.			Does Not Go To Church P < .003		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support For Freedom of Choice	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	11.	17.	9.	28.	25.	0*	59.	35.	15.
Qualified	52.	28.	17.	27.	25.	33.	26.	23.	24.
Agree	37.	55.	73.	46.	50.	67.	15.	42.	61.
(N)	(27)	(146)	(125)	(39)	(24)	(31)*	(27)	(79)	(33)

* Given the number of cases (3) the percentages are considered unreliable.

to support freedom of choice, and less likely to disagree with it.

The above mentioned exception concerns the proportion of leaders who both attend a church composed mainly of francophones and are low in segmentation. They are more likely than those who, at the same level of segmentation, go to a non-francophone church, to be favorable to freedom of choice. It should be noted that the difference is small (9%) and might be due to sample fluctuation.

Interestingly, respondents low in segmentation but attending non-francophone churches are more likely to give a qualified answer (52%). This situation is similar to that found in work environment where respondents who were low in segmentation but worked in a non-francophone environment were also likely to give a qualified answer. It would seem reasonable that leaders who attend a non-francophone church but are low in segmentation are under a similar type of cross pressure.

The main finding of this table is, that leaders who are not linked at all to church, are more likely to be unfavorable to and less likely to be supportive of freedom of choice than church goers. This possibly indicates that less religious leaders are more integrated with the larger society of Québec, or at least associate with francophones who are committed to the francization of the province.

Education

Table 2.5(D) indicated that education has a moderate

effect on segmentation. A plausible argument to account for this moderate level of association suggests that higher education increases the opportunity to develop the basic tools to contact with the larger society, however, other factors will determine the ultimate degree of segmentation.

The most significant medium which enables contact between francophones and non-francophones is bilingualism. Table 2.9 shows that education and bilingualism have a positive relationship. As educational level increases so does the percentage of respondents who are bilingual. Thus giving support to the contention that higher education increases the opportunity to develop tools for contact with the larger society.

When freedom of choice was introduced to the cross-tabulation (Table 2.10), three observations became apparent. First, unilingual respondents are more supportive of freedom of choice than bilingual respondents no matter the level of education. Secondly, this support decreases among those who are unilingual with increasing education but support remains constant throughout with bilingual leaders. Thirdly, bilingual leaders with a university education are more likely than any others to disagree with freedom of choice.

Table 2.11 shows the effect of education on support for freedom of choice. The higher the level of education, the more unlikely the disagreement and less likely the agreement with freedom of choice.

TABLE 2.9

EDUCATION BY BILINGUALISM

Education	Bilingual		Total (N)
	Yes	No	
High School	53.	47.	(78)
CEGEP and Commercial	66.	34.	(68)
University	85.	15.	(374)

$P < .0001$

TABLE 2.10

EDUCATION, BILINGUALISM AND SUPPORT
FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	Bilingual P < .0001			Unilingual P < .01		
	High School	CEGEP & Commercial	University	High School	CEGEP & Commercial	University
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	17.	16.	28.	3.	0.	13.
Qualified	32.	33.	27.	5.	13.	20.
Agree	51.	51.	45.	92.	87.	67.
(N)	(41)	(45)	(319)	(37)	(23)	(55)

TABLE 2.11

EDUCATION, SEGMENTATION AND SUPPORT
FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	High School or Less P<.0006			CEGEP or Commercial P=n.s.			University P<.0005		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support for Freedom of Choice	21.	4.	6.	13.	13.	7.	37.	28.	12.
Disagree	50.	21.	6.	37.	26.	21.	30.	27.	24.
Agree	29.	75.	88.	50.	61.	72.	33.	45.	64.
(N)	(14)	(24)	(36)	(8)*	(31)	(28)	(71)	(198)	(100)

* Given the number of cases (8) the percentages are considered unreliable.

Gender

As shown in Table 2.5 (E) a strong relationship exists between gender and segmentation. This would seem to indicate that women have not developed the contacts that men have outside the local non-francophone community.

As was seen in previous discussions the most significant medium which enables contact between non-francophones and francophones is bilingualism. Table 2.12 shows that males are more likely to be bilingual than females (83% vs. 67%). Unilingual leaders of whichever sex are identical in their support for freedom of choice (79%). Bilingual women are less supportive of freedom of choice and more in opposition to it than unilingual respondents, males or females. They are also significantly more supportive by comparison with their bilingual male counterparts. This shows that bilingualism alone is not sufficient to explain the gender gap.

If bilingualism per se does not explain all the differences between males and females, the use of French might. To the question "Outside your home, how often do you speak French: nearly all the time, often or occasionally" more men responded that they spoke all the time or often than did women. Table 2.13 shows that differences still exist between the two genders within each level of French usage except for those who agree with freedom of choice, where no difference is evident among those who speak French all the time. The gap is especially evident in terms of opposition to freedom of choice. While

TABLE 2.12
 GENDER, BILINGUALISM AND SUPPORT
 FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Bilingualism	Male P < .0001		Female P < .05	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%
Disagree	28.	8.	16.	6.
Qualified	30.	13.	24.	15.
Agree	42.	79.	60.	79.
(N)	(299)	(62)	(106)	(53)
Total percent	83.	17.	67.	33.

the difference between men who speak French all the time or often is minimal (41% vs. 31%), between women it is rather large (33% vs. 14%). This data, would appear to suggest that for women to disagree with freedom of choice they must use French constantly. In other words the gender gap is not just due to knowledge or even use of French, but other factors must be involved. Before examining other possible factors, segmentation is examined since women are considerably more segmented than men. Observation of Table 2.5 (E) shows 40% of women and only 28% of men are categorized as highly segmented.

Table 2.14 shows that for all categories, females are substantially more supportive of freedom of choice than males with similar levels of segmentation. The general trend of a decrease in segmentation leading to a reduction in support for and increasing opposition to freedom of choice is evident for both sexes if somewhat stronger in the case of males.

From the preceding data it may be speculated that women would prefer to return to a period prior to Bill 101, while males with medium and low levels of segmentation are more accommodative to the reforms. Le Cavalier and Fitzsimmons-Le Cavalier (1981) found that non-francophone females were more likely than non-francophone males to be politically cautious.

TABLE 2.13
 GENDER, USE OF FRENCH AND SUPPORT FOR
 FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	MALE		FEMALE	
	p < .0001		p < .03	
Use of French	All the time	Occasionally	All the time	Occasionally
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%
Disagree	41.	31.	15.	33.
Qualified	26.	31.	26.	33.
Agree	33.	38.	59.	33.
(N)	(51)	(167)	(102)	(12)
Total percent	16.	52.	9.	39.
				68.
				(65)
				51.

TABLE 2.14.
GENDER, SEGMENTATION AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	Male P<.0001			Female P=n.s.		
Level of Segmentation.	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	34.	28.	11.	25.	13.	8.
Qualified	36.	26.	22.	19.	26.	16.
Agree	30.	46.	67.	56.	61.	76.
(N)	(77)	(176)	(100)	(16)	(77)	(64)

This political cautiousness seemed to be related to the predominate type of occupational roles open to women and the type of education that they are encouraged to pursue in order to fit these occupational roles. The streaming of women into lower middle class pink collar positions and service jobs is linked with their educational backgrounds. Qualitatively, the type of education pursued by women in highschools and CEGEPs (not universities) is different from that of men. Political cautiousness seems to be related to the tendency of "women's work" and "women's education" to play down risk taking and controversy. Educational effects appear to be modified by gender due, at least in part, to differences in orientation rather than duration.

Education and work are seen as two factors affecting political cautiousness. Table 2.15 shows that male leaders surveyed are more likely to have a university education than female leaders (79% vs. 57%). Female leaders dominate at the CEGEP and commercial level (25% vs. 7%). Both sexes had similar percentages at the high school level with females being slightly higher (14% vs. 18%). At each level of education women showed significantly higher support for and lower disagreement with freedom of choice. Consequently, education alone is not sufficient to account for gender differences.

Two variables were analysed to examine work. Firstly, work association, since membership in an association be it trade, union or professional usually is required to obtain better paying higher status jobs. Secondly, is the

TABLE 2:15

GENDER, EDUCATION AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Support for Freedom of Choice	Male P < .04			Female P = n.s.		
	High School	University	CEGEP & Commercial	High School	CEGEP & Commercial	University
Disagree	12.	14.	28.	7.	7.	17.
Qualified	23.	36.	27.	14.	20.	23.
Agree	65.	50.	45.	79.	73.	60.
(N)	(49)	(28)	(285)	(29)	(40)	(90)
Total percent	14.	7.	79.	18.	25.	57.

respondent working and, if so, what is the amount of time spent at work.

Table 2.16 shows that males are more likely to be members of a work association than females (71% vs. 43%). Further women support freedom of choice more strongly than men whatever their work association. However, membership in a union or a professional association generally (both sexes) reduces support for and increases opposition to freedom of choice. Membership in an association does not increase disagreement to freedom of choice among females as it does among males.

When type of work (full time, part time, not at all) was looked at (Table 19) a difference in job orientation between the sexes became evident. The majority of women work part time or not at all (52%) while the vast majority of male respondents work full time (90%). The general trend of women supporting freedom of choice more strongly than men continues. Males who do not work, approximate the views of women on the freedom of choice issue. Men who do work are less supportive and more in disagreement with freedom of choice than all other groups. Speculatively, the high proportion of full time working males would have a greater opportunity to make contacts in the larger Quebec society and thus be less threatened by francization.

One possible reason for why a larger proportion of women either do not work or work part-time is their responsibilities for raising children. When the presence

TABLE 2.16

WORK ASSOCIATION, GENDER AND SUPPORT FOR
FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Work Association	Male			Female				
	Union	Trade	Professional	None	Union	Trade	Professional	None
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	47.	5.	24.	18.	11.	0.	18.	10.
Qualified	24.	26.	30.	24.	42.	0.	22.	15.
Agree	29.	69.	46.	58.	47.	0.	59.	75.
(N)	(51)	(19)	(188)	(103)	(19)	(0)	(49)	(91)
Total percent	14.	05.	52.	29.	12.		31.	57.

Male P < .0005
Female P < .05

TABLE 2.17

GENDER, WORK AND SUPPORT FOR
FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Work	MALE			FEMALE		
	Full Time Job	Part Time Job	Not Working	Full Time Job	Part Time Job	Not Working
Support for Freedom of Choice	8	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	26.	25.	8.	14.	15.	8.
Qualified	27.	33.	28.	20.	21.	23.
Agree	47.	42.	64.	66.	65.	69.
(N)	(325)	(12)	(25)	(76)	(34)	(49)
Total percent	90.	3.	7.	48.	21.	31.

P = n.s.

P = n.s.

of children was controlled for (Table 2.18) the difference between gender continues to be large. Childless women although remaining more supportive of freedom of choice than men, are less so than women with children (49% vs. 70% and 46% vs. 55%). The preceding data seems to indicate that, it is not only the increased responsibility of having children (equal for both sexes) but being the person in immediate charge that is the main factor. Presuming that a child increases concern for school issues, males who have children should show a similar level of support for freedom of choice as females who have children. Since they do not, it could reasonably be assumed that it is a consequence of their work environment. Males, due to their work, have greater contact outside their immediate community whereas women center their activities around the household and local community in order to take care of the children.

Some organizations more than others should indicate a local community attachment. The difference between genders could be explained by a local orientation, that is, based on neighbourhood, the family and school. Among females, involvement in any type of association is conducive to support for freedom of choice excepting self-help and non francophone advocacy organizations (Table 2.19, H and K). Reduced support for freedom of choice is noted among women not involved in neighbourhood organizations (56%, the lowest proportion of support shown by women in this Table).

TABLE 2.18
 GENDER, CHILDREN AND SUPPORT FOR
 FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Children	Male P = n.s.		Female P = n.s.	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Support For Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%
Disagree	23.	30.	11.	19.
Qualified	28.	24.	19.	26.
Agree	49.	46.	70.	55.
(N)	(279)	(83)	(128)	(31)
Total percent	77.	23.	80.	20.

In term of opposition to freedom of choice, the proportions of women remain constant. Differences between the genders is very low among those who are not members of neighbourhood organizations (19% vs. 22%). Men who are active in church organizations, P.T.A., Home and school and Unity Canada Organizations are less likely to be against freedom of choice than those men who are not. Similar proportions can be seen for women (sections a, d, 1 of Table 2.19).

In summary, women who are members of associations tend to be more for freedom of choice than others, except for self-help organizations and, especially, non-francophone advocacy organizations. Reduction in opposition to freedom of choice is apparent among men when they are involved in locally oriented organizations or unity groups, that is, groups that take an ideological stand against the Party Quebecois.

Again, no clear-cut explanations could account for the gender gap.

Finally, an examination of political interest and involvement was made but showed that this factor, like others, gives only a partial explanation.

The rationale suggests political interest and, especially, involvement gives an orientation outside the local setting and probably increases awareness knowledge of the dynamic forces in Quebec and the francophone milieu. Table 2:20 shows that support for freedom of choice decreases

TABLE 2.19

GENDER, MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS AND
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Support for freedom of choice	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	%*	N	P
A) Church organisations						
yes male	16.	27.	57.	46.	167	n.s.
yes female	10.	18.	72.	49.	78	
no female	15.	23.	62.	51.	81	.001
no male	33.	27.	40.	54.	195	
B) Neighbourhood organizations						
yes male	27.	28.	45.	52.	187	.0001
yes female	8.	18.	74.	57.	90	
no female	19.	24.	56.	43.	69	n.s.
no male	22.	26.	52.	48.	175	
C) Sport organizations						
yes male	20.	24.	55.	42.	151	.01
yes female	11.	9.	80.	28.	44	
no female	13.	25.	62.	72.	114	.001
no male	28.	29.	43.	58.	211	
D) P.T.A., home and school						
yes male	19.	32.	49.	28.	99	.02
yes female	11.	18.	71.	35.	55	
no female	14.	21.	65.	65.	103	.005
no male	27.	29.	48.	72.	261	

Support for freedom of choice	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	%*	N	P
E) Municipal party (movement)	28.	21.	50.	30.	107	n.s.
yes male	11.	18.	71.	18.	28	
yes female	13.	21.	66.	82.	131	
no female	24.	29.	47.	70.	255	.001
no male						
F) Charitable organizations						
yes male	21.	28.	51.	53.	192	.01
yes female	11.	20.	69.	64.	102	
no female	16.	21.	63.	36.	57	.05
no male	29.	26.	45.	47.	170	
G) Business or civic organizations						
yes male	22.	30.	48.	59.	212	.02
yes female	12.	19.	69.	40.	64	
no female	13.	22.	65.	60.	95	.005
no male	29.	23.	47.	41.	150	
H) Self help organizations						
yes male	28.	26.	46.	31.	112	.002
yes female	7.	27.	62.	45.	71	
no female	17.	16.	67.	55.	88	.02
no male	23.	27.	49.	69.	259	
I) Unity Canada organizations						
yes male	19.	26.	55.	33.	121	n.s.
yes female	9.	20.	71.	28.	45	
no female	14.	21.	65.	72.	114	.001
no male	28.	28.	44.	67.	241	

Support for freedom of choice	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	%*	N	P
K) Non francophone advocacy organizations	27.	29.	44.	44.	159	n.s.
yes male	14.	27.	59.	35.	56	
yes female	11.	17.	71.	65.	102	.002
no female	23.	26.	51.	56.	203	
no male						

*Total percentages are not based on the total number of respondents but on total number of respondents in each sex.

decreases with increasing interest in politics. However, the gender gap remains. Interestingly only men who have a high level of interest in politics show marked opposition to freedom of choice. This high level of political interest is not a strong enough factor to bring about a similar opposition on the part of women. Similar findings are shown in Table 2.21 concerning political involvement. So, again, the gender gap puzzle is not solved. What one can speculate from this series of tables is that women tend to be cautious about this particular issue, and a great deal of force is necessary to make them oppose freedom of choice. Men on the other hand, tend more to oppose freedom of choice generally than women. However, men who are not employed and/or are members of certain types of organizations (such as church groups) show a relative shift towards the women's position i.e. support for freedom of choice. It is possible, and this is our hypothesis, that it is a combination of all the preceding factors and not just one in particular, which is at the origin of support, or opposition to freedom of choice. Unfortunately, testing this hypothesis is beyond the scope of this thesis.

TABLE 2.20

GENDER, INTEREST IN POLITICS AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Interest in Politics	Male P < .0004			Female P < .05		
	Very Much	Moderately	Not at All	Very Much	Moderately	Not at All
Support For Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	22.	11.	11.	14.	17.	0.
Qualified	24.	36.	26.	26.	11.	19.
Agree	44.	53.	63.	60.	72.	81.
(N)	(240)	(81)	(38)	(87)	(46)	(26)
Total percent	67.	22.	10.	55.	29.	16.

TABLE 2.21

GENDER, POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Political Involvement	Male P = n.s.				Female P = n.s.			
	None	Some	Much	Great Deal	None	Some	Much	Great Deal
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	16.	20.	33.	26.	8.	10.	16.	27.
Qualified	27.	31.	25.	27.	19.	27.	18.	13.
Agree	57.	49.	42.	47.	73.	63.	66.	60.
(N)	(88)	(67)	(134)	(73)	(52)	(48)	(44)	(15)
Total percent	24.	19.	37.	20.	33.	30.	28.	9.

Work Association

Lacroix and Vaillancourt (1981:63) note that

"the growing importance of the internal sector of Quebec's economy relative to the external sector coupled with a transformation in character of the external sector have both lead to a decline in the value of English in Montreal's labor market".

Membership in a work association of some sort is usually required to obtain higher paying jobs. In Quebec such higher paying jobs now require at least a working knowledge of French thus it could be expected that those respondents who belong to a work association would be less segmented. Table 2.5 (H) supports that there does exist a fairly strong relationship between work association and segmentation. Based on these findings it would be expected that the least support for freedom of choice will come from those who are members of work associations. Apart from trade associations the preceding supposition is supported by data presented in Table 2.22. Those who are not members of any work associations are more likely to be supportive of freedom of choice at all levels of segmentation with the following exception. Members of professional associations low on segmentation are not less favourable to freedom of choice than those who are not members of any association. Union membership makes respondents of all levels of segmentation less likely to support freedom of choice. This finding leads us to believe that unions per se are less likely to be segmented and have a high level of solidarity. Contrary to expectations based on the previous hypothesis

TABLE 2.22
 WORK ASSOCIATION, SEGMENTATION AND SUPPORT
 FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	None P < .006			Professional P < .02			Union P = n.s.			Trade P = n.s.		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support For Freedom of Choice	30.	16.	8.	31.	24.	13.	47.	42.	7.	0.	14.	0.
Disagree	35.	22.	15.	33.	30.	21.	32.	25.	36.	33.	14.	33.
Qualified	35.	62.	77.	35.	46.	66.	21.	33.	57.	67.	72.	67.
Agree	(20)	(82)	(87)	(48)	(128)	(56)	(19)	(36)	(14)	(6)	(7)	(6)

trade associations members are equally supportive of freedom of choice irregardless of segmentation. This interesting observation deserves a more indepth analysis than the data in this study will allow.

Age

Table 2.5 (G) indicates that there is a relationship between age and segmentation. This could be due to the fact that only in the last two decades has French become an important medium for success in Quebec. Previously it was quite possible for a non-francophone to succeed in Quebec with little or no contact with francophones. From data found in Table 2.5 (F) it would be expected that the weakest support for freedom of choice would come from the 35-44 year old group. They are less segmented than those who are younger or older and the group is additionally more likely to be employed.

Table 2.23 shows that, in fact, it is the youngest group (34 or less) not 35-44 years of age, which are the least supportive of freedom of choice among those respondents of low and medium segmentation. The younger group is not indifferent as one could have expected but is, in fact, at these two levels, more likely to disagree with freedom of choice. However, when age groups at the high level of segmentation are compared no difference is shown between age (below age 55). The level of segmentation appears to explain a great deal of the difference between the age groups. The younger generation, when placed in a situation of low segmentation, their high degree of

TABLE 2.23
AGE, SEGMENTATION AND SUPPORT FOR
FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	34 and Younger P < .001			35 to 44 P = n.s.			45 to 54 P < .04			55 to 64 P = n.s.			65 and older P < .05		
Level of Segmentation	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support for Freedom of Choice	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Disagree	42.	15.	33.	23.	19.	29.	25.	9.	27.	12.	5.	28.	6.	0.	0.
Qualified	50.	19.	33.	30.	21.	38.	28.	22.	9.	22.	19.	28.	22.	13.	13.
Agree	8.	38.	65.	33.	47.	58.	33.	47.	69.	64.	65.	76.	43.	72.	87.
(N)	(12)	(40)	(32)	(42)	(77)	(26)	(21)	(75)	(45)	(11)	(40)	(37)	(7)*	(18)	(23)

* Given the number of cases (7) the percentages are considered unreliable.

integration into the larger society seems to reduce their agreement with freedom of choice to almost nothing (8%).

When older people are considered (55 or more), segmentation is a less important factor: support remains very high even among those who are in a low level of segmentation. In fact the support shown by the least segmented group is comparable to those who are in a high level of segmentation. Medium or high levels of segmentation in the 55+ group have the strongest support for freedom of choice.

These findings show how important age is. People of the older generation would like to go back to the old days of language freedom. Those respondents who are 34 or less have experienced the various changes in such a way that when they have a high level of social contact with francophones they show almost no support at all for freedom of choice.

Mother Tongue

It was seen in Table 2.5 (H) that leaders whose mother tongue is English are more likely to be higher in segmentation. A possible explanation suggests that the non-francophone population is made up of various ethnic communities, of which some are institutionally complete and some are less so. The English language minority is the largest of these communities and it would be fair to say that those respondents whose mother tongue is English have had access to the widest selection of resources outside the francophone community. Therefore, leaders whose mother tongue is English are not as dependent as other leaders for

resources from outside their community. It can be hypothesized that respondents whose mother tongue is English will be more segmented and more supportive of freedom of choice than others. Another interpretation proposes that leaders with English as their primary language have a greater attachment to English institutions. These same institutions are at risk in Quebec following Bill 101's arrival and, therefore, support for freedom of choice would be high.

Table 2.24 shows that in all categories English mother tongue respondents are substantially more supportive of freedom of choice than respondents with similar levels of segmentation whose mother tongue is not English. Further respondents with English mother tongue do not tend to be in disagreement with freedom of choice, even at the lower levels of segmentation. In fact, almost no respondents with English mother tongue when in a highly segmented environment are against freedom of choice (7%) while 21% were at that level of segmentation among others. Thus the English mother tongue link with level of segmentation per se does not explain the difference between linguistic groups but may reflect strong attachment to English language institutions as well.

TABLE 2.24
MOTHER TONGUE*, SEGMENTATION AND
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	English P < .0003			Other P < .01		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support For Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	24.	19.	7.	60.	36.	21.
Qualified	34.	24.	19.	20.	31.	21.
Agree	42.	56.	73.	20.	33.	58.
(N)	(62)	(181)	(133)	(25)	(64)	(29)

*16 leaders declared that their mother tongue was French. In order to give a clearer view they were just excluded. Two of them only were highly segmented.

Region

Table 2.5 (I) indicates a relationship between the region that a respondent lives in and segmentation. Quebec as a whole can be subdivided into three areas, Metropolitan Montreal, the Outaouais, and "Other". Since most non-francophones live in and around the Montreal Metropolitan area the majority of non-francophone institutions and services are also located there. Likewise non-francophone leaders from the Outaouais have access to a variety of English language services due to the close proximity of Ontario, especially Ottawa, and the segmented nature of the towns in the region. Only those leaders who reside in "Other" areas are dependent on the francophone community to provide them with services. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that those respondents who live in "Other" areas of Quebec would be less segmented and less supportive of freedom of choice than those who do not.

Table 2.25 shows that leaders who reside in the Outaouais are the most supportive of freedom of choice and also the highest in segmentation.

It is worthwhile noting that leaders who reside in Montreal are more likely to disagree with freedom of choice than those respondents who live in "Other" areas even though they are higher in segmentation. Both groups give a similar level of support to freedom of choice.

The low level of disagreement to freedom of choice, regardless of segmentation, among leaders outside Montreal can be explained by cost and benefit. Non-francophones,

low in segmentation, have access to resources outside their community.

Leaders and their communities outside Montreal are affected to a greater extent by the closing of an English school than leaders in the Montreal Region following a similar occurrence. Therefore, a leader residing outside of Montreal has a vested interest in keeping that school open.

TABLE 2.25
 REGION, SEGMENTATION AND SUPPORT FOR
 FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Level of Segmentation	Montreal P < .0001			Outaouais P = n.s.			Other P = n.s.		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
Support For Freedom of Choice	41.	24.	10.	0.	29.	7.	14.	23.	0.
Disagree	29.	26.	21.	40.	0.	11.	45.	36.	33.
Agree	30.	50.	69.	60.	71.	82.	41.	41.	67.
(N)	(66)	(224)	(134)	(5)*	(7)*	(27)	(22)	(22)	(3)*

* Given the number of cases (5,7 and 3) the percentages are considered unreliable.

CONCLUSION

The introductory statement, that not all members of a group are segmented when the group is highly segmented suggested that highly segmented leaders would tend to "feel" greater pressure to oppose Bill 101 than those who are less segmented. These "feelings", should lead them to support freedom of choice in education more so than leaders who are integrated into the wider society. Indeed such a relationship was found between the two variables.

Once the existence of a relationship was established it was important to analyze which factors were associated with the respondents' level of segmentation.

Bilingualism proved to have an important two way association with segmentation. Unilingual respondents were found to have higher levels of segmentation and were more supportive of freedom of choice.

A direct relationship exists between the proportion of francophones in the respondents' work environment and their degree of segmentation. There is in turn a negative relationship between segmentation and support for freedom of choice. Only in the case of leaders who work in a non-francophone environment with a low level of segmentation does this not hold. This seems to be due to a cross pressure effect from the level of segmentation and the work environment.

Interestingly the least segmented church group, those who go to French churches when compared to a more segmented group, those who do not go to church proved to be more

supportive and less in disagreement to freedom of choice. Leaders who attend churches of English membership proved to be the most segmented and the most supportive of freedom of choice.

It was argued that the higher the level of education the greater the opportunity a leader would have of becoming bilingual and thus reducing their level of segmentation. This was shown to be true. When these variables were controlled for, university educated respondents were the least supportive group.

Women, have been a disadvantaged group in terms of obtaining the tools to develop contacts outside the local community, and this may explain their being more segmented. When their level of segmentation is taken into account, women are still more supportive and less in disagreement with freedom of choice, than men.

Two findings came out of the relationship between age and segmentation. First, when segmentation is controlled for, older leaders are the more supportive of and less in opposition to freedom of choice. Second, respondents seem to develop their French contacts when they go to work, and retired workers would be more likely to be segmented and and support freedom of choice.

As was expected, leaders of English mother tongue are more supportive and less in disagreement with freedom of choice than those of other mother tongues irrespective of segmentation level.

It was found that the most segmented respondents, those living in the Outaouais, are the most supportive and least likely group to disagree with freedom of choice. The least segmented group, from the "Other" areas outside Montreal, was curiously not the group most in disagreement to freedom of choice, while the Montreal area which was intermediate in terms of segmentation was found to have the residents most in disagreement with freedom of choice.

In summary it is evident that degree of segmentation has an important affect on support for or against freedom of choice in education. However, it is equally evident that it is not the only factor involved.

As was mentioned in the region section the fear of losing a school could potentially affect support for freedom of choice. In the next chapter it is this kind of perceived threat that will be examined.

CHAPTER 3

THREAT AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Oberschall (1973) noted that the distribution of scarce resources and rewards within a society is never permanent. Those in favoured positions have a vested interest in protecting their existing share, while the disadvantaged individually and/or collectively, try to increase theirs. Conflict results from this clash of opposing and moving interests. Le Cavalier (1980) extends Oberschall's observations by noting that the type and intensity of mobilization will depend on the nature of the threat posed to group members by the actions of another group.

For the purpose of this study, Bill 101 by placing certain restrictions on the use of the English language, has created two distinct but related types of threat within the non-francophone communities. First, in devaluing the role of the English language in Quebec society, Bill 101 has created a generalized threat towards all English speaking Quebecers. Secondly, by restricting access to English language education, the Bill poses a specific threat towards that institution.

The purpose of this chapter will be to examine the effect that the sense of general and specific threat has on support for freedom of choice. As seen in the previous discussion on segmentation, not all groups suffer the same

disadvantages from the effect of Bill 101. For instance, people high but not those low in segmentation were found to be closed off from mobility and advancement within Quebec society. Therefore it is expected that not all leaders will feel there is a threat from Bill 101 or a danger to English language schooling.

The main hypothesis suggests leaders with a negative attitude towards Bill 101 and/or a feeling that English language schooling is in danger will be more supportive of freedom of choice.

MEASUREMENTS

To examine general and specific threat the following questions were used.

General Threat: Would you say that Bill 101, the Bill that introduced the new language legislation in Quebec, is a good law, a good law with bad features or a bad law?

Specific Threat: In 15 years from now, do you think English language elementary and secondary schools in Quebec are in danger of disappearing: a great danger, some danger or no danger?

The question on general threat was recoded by adding the categories "a good law" to "a good law with bad features." This step was necessary because only twenty four respondents felt Bill 101 was a good law.

In the case of the measurement of general threat, one point of caution should be introduced. It is understood that the question is a rough measurement of a general threat. Some respondents could have the opinion Bill 101 is a

bad law in legalistic terms without being themselves threatened by its content. However, it could be interpreted as a source of conflict, whatever meaning is behind the respondent's response to the question. One should bear in mind that this measure is highly associated with segmentation (Table 3.5.A) and that for most respondents its meaning could be interpreted as a measurement of threat.

FINDINGS

In accord with the hypothesis, Table 3.1 shows that there is a relationship between attitude towards Bill 101 and support for freedom of choice. Respondents who feel Bill 101 is a bad law are more likely to agree with freedom of choice (74% vs. 37%) less likely to disagree (6% vs. 33%) and less likely to give a qualified answer (20% vs. 30%).

Table 3.2, also in accord with the hypothesis, shows a relationship between attitude towards the school system and support for freedom of choice. The stronger the perceived threat towards the school system the greater the agreement with freedom of choice (34%, 52% and 67%), and the less disagreement to it (44%, 20% and 11%). Concerning respondents who gave qualified answers there is no significant variation.

From the discussion of the two previous tables, it would be expected that there would also be a relationship between attitude towards Bill 101 and the school system.

Table 3.3 shows a relationship between the two variables (Gamma.24). Respondents who think Bill 101 is a good law tend to feel there is less danger towards the

TABLE 3.1
 ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
 SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Attitude Toward Bill 101	Good Law	Bad Law	Total
Support for Freedom of Choice	8	8	8
Disagree	33.	6.	21.
Qualified	30.	20.	25.
Agree	37.	74.	54.
N	(290)	(232)	(522)

$P < .0001$

TABLE 3.2.
 ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL SYSTEM
 AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Attitude Toward School System	Great Danger	Some Danger	No Danger	Total
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%
Disagree	11.	20.	44.	21.
Qualified	23.	28.	22.	25.
Agree	67.	52.	34.	54.
(N)	(169)	(257)	(96)	(522)

$P < .0001$

TABLE 3.3
 ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL SYSTEM
 AND ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101

Attitude Toward School System	No Danger	Some Danger	Great Danger	Total
Attitude toward Bill 101	%	%	%	%
Good law	66.	58.	46.	56.
Bad law	34.	42.	54.	44.
(N)	(169)	(257)	(96)	(520)
Total percent	32.	49.	18.	

$\chi^2 = 10.60230$ DF = 2 P < .005 Gamma .24

school system.

Since Table 3.3 shows a weak relationship, it could, nevertheless, be expected that a possible interactive effect between the two variables could occur with support for freedom of choice. It can be hypothesized, that respondents who feel that Bill 101 is a bad law and the English school system is in danger, would be more likely to support freedom of choice than those respondents who felt threatened either specifically or generally.

Table 3.4 shows there is a stronger relationship between attitude towards Bill 101, English school system and support for freedom of choice.

TABLE 3.4

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY ATTITUDE TOWARDS
BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

	Good Law P < .001			Bad Law P < .001			Total
	No Danger	Some Danger	Great Danger	No Danger	Some Danger	Great Danger	
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	60.	31.	17.	12.	5.	6.	21.
Qualified	22.	31.	31.	22.	22.	15.	25.
Agree	18.	37.	52.	66.	73.	79.	54.
(N)	(62)	(146)	(78)	(32)	(107)	(91)	(516)

The greater the perceived threat (Bad law-Great danger), the higher the proportion of leaders who agree with freedom of choice (18% and 79% respectively) and fewer disagree with it (60% and 6% respectively). Worthwhile noting is the effect on respondents who gave a qualified answer. In Table 3.1 30% of respondents who thought Bill 101 was a good law gave a qualified answer. In Table 3.4, among respondents who think the law is good, the qualified answer is a constant 31% except for respondents who feel there is no danger where it drops to 22%. This suggests a certain amount of cross pressure between support for francization of the province and preservation of a strong English language system. Concerning respondents who thought Bill 101 was a bad law, 20% gave a qualified answer (Table 3.1). In Table 3.4, 22% is the constant for qualified answers among respondents who think Bill 101 is bad except in the case of Great Danger where it drops to 15%. This indicates that in the case of respondents who feel both generally and specifically threatened, they are more likely to make a firm decision to support freedom of choice than any other category of respondent.

An analysis of factors which affect or are associated with general/specific threat and support for freedom of choice follows.

In the previous chapter, segmentation was shown to be associated with freedom of choice, and that certain selected variables were related with the level of segmentation. Generally speaking, the more segmented a group was, the more

supportive of freedom of choice they were. However, segmentation could not account for all the variation in support for freedom of choice. It was postulated that threat might, at least in part, account for the remaining variation. It is therefore proposed that general and specific threats may be related with segmentation and its associated conditions (see Chapter 2).

This can be broken down into two hypotheses. First that general and specific threats are associated with segmentation and its related conditions. Second that threat and segmentation can have an interactive effect on freedom of choice. That is, a combination of segmentation and threat will increase or decrease support for freedom of choice.

Table 3.5 shows the relationship between segmentation, the selected conditions and their association with Bill 101.

Table 3.5 shows that with the exception of gender the selected conditions associated with segmentation as well as segmentation itself are related predictably with attitudes towards Bill 101. The feeling of threat is especially strong among those who don't work (Table 3.5.B), who are unilingual (Table 3.5.D), who are 65 or older (Table 3.5.G) and those who live in the Outaouais (Table 3.5.H).

The most striking finding in this table is that gender is not associated with the feeling of threat since women are more likely than men to be for freedom of choice. The fact that in chapter 2 a difference in gender support for freedom of choice was shown after controlling for

TABLE 3.5

SEGMENTATION AND SELECTED CONDITIONS WITH
ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101

Attitude toward Bill 101	Good Law	Bad Law	(N)	P
(A) Segmentation				
High	44.	56.	(167)	.0003
Medium	58.	42.	(253)	
Low	69.	30.	(95)	
(B) Work environment				
Less than half French	52.	48.	(212)	.0001
Half or more French	65.	35.	(240)	
Does not work	36.	64.	(73)	
(C) Church environment				
Less than half French	48.	52.	(306)	.0002
Half or more French	66.	34.	(67)	
Does not go to church	66.	34.	(146)	
(D) Bilingualism				
Bilingual	61.	35.	(410)	.0001
Unilingual	38.	65.	(115)	
(E) Education				
High School	42.	58.	(79)	.004
CEGEP or Commercial	46.	54.	(69)	
University	60.	40.	(378)	
(F) Gender				
Male	58.	42.	(363)	n.s.
Female	51.	49.	(163)	
(G) Work Association				
Union	73.	27.	(70)	.01
Trade	53.	47.	(19)	
Professional	55.	45.	(240)	
None	49.	50.	(196)	
(H) Age				
34 and younger	71.	29.	(86)	.0002
35 to 44	63.	37.	(147)	
45 to 54	52.	48.	(151)	
55 to 64	47.	53.	(90)	
65 and older	35.	65.	(48)	

(cont'd)

Attitude toward Bill 101	Good Law	Bad Law	(N)	P
(I) Mother tongue				
English	51.	49.	(386)	.002
Other	69.	31.	(123)	
(J) Region				
Montreal	56.	44.	(438)	.02
Outaouais	37.	62.	(40)	
Other	69.	31.	(48)	

segmentation and contextual variables would have predicted women more likely to feel threat. As stated previously this is not shown with a general threat however it is expected that it will with a threat more specifically related to the school question.

Table 3.6, however, shows that gender is not associated with the feeling of threat vis-a-vis the English school system (Table 3.6.F). In fact, only church linguistic composition (Table 3.6.C) and regions (Table 3.6.I) are significantly associated with specific threat. None of the associations in Table 3.6 is as strong as one would have expected. General threat, more than specific threat, is associated with segmentation and its related variables. However, even if the association is not statistically significant, those who are in a low level of segmentation are more likely to feel no danger than those who are more segmented. The same relation is found among those who are bilingual, have a University degree or whose mother tongue is not English.

These findings show that if this specific threat has any affect on freedom of choice, it will be independant and not associated with segmentation or its related variables. Furthermore, the association between specific threat and region differs from that with segmentation. All regions outside Montreal even those low in segmentation feel that schools are threatened (Table 3.6.J).

TABLE 3.6
SEGMENTATION AND SELECTED CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED
WITH ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL SYSTEM THREAD

Attitude Towards School System	No Danger	Some Danger	Great Danger	(N)	P
(A) Segmentation					
High	15.	54.	31.	(165)	n.s.
Medium	18.	50.	32.	(253)	
Low	27.	37.	36.	(94)	
(B) Work Environment					
Less than half French	17.	50.	33.	(211)	n.s.
Half or more French	20.	45.	35.	(240)	
Does not work	17.	61.	22.	(71)	
(C) Church environment					
Less than half French	14.	53.	33.	(304)	.03
Half or more French	21.	39.	40.	(67)	
Does not go to church	26.	46.	28.	(145)	
(D) Bilingualism					
Bilingual	20.	49.	31.	(408)	n.s.
Unilingual	14.	48.	36.	(114)	
(E) Education					
High School	17.	49.	36.	(77)	n.s.
CEGEP or Commercial	9.	41.	46.	(68)	
University	20.	50.	30.	(378)	
(F) Gender					
Male	20.	49.	31.	(363)	n.s.
Female	16.	49.	35.	(160)	
(G) Work Association					
Union	23.	50.	27.	(70)	n.s.
Trade	16.	47.	37.	(19)	
Professional	21.	43.	36.	(240)	
None	26.	57.	29.	(193)	
(H) Age					
34 and younger	22.	48.	30.	(86)	n.s.
35 to 44	17.	51.	32.	(145)	
45 to 54	17.	48.	35.	(151)	
55 to 64	20.	49.	32.	(90)	
65 and older	17.	53.	30.	(47)	

(cont'd)

Attitude Towards School System	No Danger	Some Danger	Great Danger	(N)	P
(I) Mother Tongue					
English	17.	48.	35.	(384)	n.s.
Other	23.	53.	24.	(122)	
(J) Region					
Montreal	20.	51.	29.	(436)	.006
Outaouais	15.	36.	49.	(39)	
Other	6.	46.	48.	(48)	

The following is an analysis of the relationship between the preceding variables and support for freedom of choice.

Segmentation

As was hypothesized earlier, the level of segmentation plus the respondents' perception of threat should affect their support for freedom of choice. It is shown in Table 3.5 (A) that the higher the level of segmentation, the greater the likelihood that the respondent would feel threatened by Bill 101.

Therefore, it would be expected that those respondents high in segmentation who feel Bill 101 is a bad law are likely to support freedom of choice.

Table 3.7 shows that the higher the level of segmentation, the greater the support for freedom of choice. In each category of segmentation, those respondents who feel Bill 101 is a bad law are more likely to support freedom of choice than respondents who feel it is a good law.

The relationship between specific threat and segmentation proved to be insignificant. It would seem therefore to be of little value to examine it. However, general and specific threat are somewhat related, thus it seems reasonable to examine the two types of threat together in relation with segmentation and freedom of choice.

TABLE 3.7

SEGMENTATION, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Segmentation	High P<.0001		Medium P<.0001		Low P<.0001	
Attitude toward Bill 101	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	21.	6.	36.	7.	43.	10.
Qualified	26.	14.	30.	21.	30.	38.
Agree	53.	85.	34.	72.	27.	52.
(N)	(73)	(91)	(145)	(107)	(63)	(29)

To summarize, the new working hypothesis proposes that the level of segmentation plus attitude towards Bill 101, and attitude toward the English school system will determine a respondent's support for freedom of choice. A respondent high in segmentation but not threatened will tend to support freedom of choice less than those who are highly segmented and highly threatened. Conversely those respondents low in segmentation but highly threatened will support freedom of choice more so than those who are low in segmentation and feel no threat.

Table 3.8 indicates a relationship between general and specific threats, segmentation and support for freedom of choice in education.

Respondents, regardless of segmentation, increase support for freedom of choice in response to increasing perception of threat. However this is not strictly a linear relationship. As the level of threat increases, the respondent's level of segmentation modifies the support for freedom of choice. It would appear that respondents high in segmentation increase support for freedom of choice rapidly with increased perception of threat. While respondents low in segmentation increase support for freedom of choice lower with increased perception of threat.

TABLE 3.8

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY SEGMENTATION BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT
ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101 - School	Segmentation		Freedom of Choice Disagree	Qualified	Agree	(N)
Good Law - No Danger	High	%	27.	37.	36.	(11)
	Medium	%	73.	17.	10.	(29)
	Low	%	57.	24.	19.	(21)
Good Law - Some Danger	High	%	28.	28.	44.	(39)
	Medium	%	32.	31.	37.	(75)
	Low	%	39.	36.	25.	(28)
Good Law - Great Danger	High	%	4.	18.	78.	(23)
	Medium	%	18.	40.	42.	(40)
	Low	%	29.	28.	43.	(14)
Bad Law - No Danger	High	%	0.	23.	77.	(13)
	Medium	%	12.	25.	63.	(16)
	Low	%	67.	0.	33.	(3)
Bad Law - Some Danger	High	%	2.	17.	81.	(48)
	Medium	%	6.	25.	69.	(51)
	Low	%	0.	50.	50.	(6)
Bad Law - Great Danger	High	%	0.	4.	96.	(28)
	Medium	%	7.	13.	80.	(40)
	Low	%	5.	40.	55.	(20)

(High $P < .001$)
(Medium $P < .001$)
(Low $P < .04$)

Work Environment

In chapter 2 it was hypothesized that, respondents who work in an environment half or more French would tend to be less supportive of freedom of choice than those who do not. In summary it was found that work environment, when controlled for segmentation in other environments, did have some specific but no generalized affect on support for freedom of choice.

Table 3.9 shows that work environment when controlled for attitude toward Bill 101 does not have an observable affect on support for freedom of choice. When attitude toward the school system was controlled for no significant change was observed.

Church Environment

In chapter 2 the main finding was that leaders who were not linked to a church were more unfavorable, and less favorable to freedom of choice, than church goers. Indicating that less religious leaders were probably more integrated into Quebec society and/or associated with francophones committed to francization.

Table 3.10 lends some support to the preceding statements in that leaders who do not go to church and feel Bill 101 is a good law are the least likely to agree and most likely to disagree with freedom of choice.

Leaders who feel the Bill is a good law and attend church, irrespective of the linguistic composition of the church have similar levels of agreement.

TABLE 3.9
 WORK ENVIRONMENT, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
 SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Attitude Toward Bill 101	Less than half French P<.0001		More than half French P<.0001		Does not Work P<.003	
	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	35.	5.	34.	9.	24.	2.
Qualified	28.	20.	30.	20.	32.	20.
Agree	37.	75.	36.	71.	44.	78.
(N)	(109)	(101)	(153)	(85)	(25)	(46)

TABLE 3.10
 CHURCH ENVIRONMENT, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
 SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	Less than half French P.<.0001		More than half ^v French P.<.01		Does not go to church P.<.001	
	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Attitude toward Bill 101						
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	23.	5.	39.	4.	47.	12.
Qualified	34.	17.	20.	35.	27.	18.
Agree	43.	78.	41.	61.	25.	69.
(N)	(145)	(157)	(44)	(23)	(95)	(49)

Those respondents who attend mainly french churches are less likely to give a qualified answer and more likely to disagree. This suggests that attending an English church makes it more difficult to take a firm stand against freedom of choice. When leaders think the Bill is a bad law it is seen that, regardless of church environment, agreement with freedom of choice is high. Interestingly, leaders who attend churches composed mainly of francophones are more likely than the other groups to give a qualified answer. Indicating that a negative attitude toward Bill 101 is moderated by contacts with francophones.

Table 3.11 shows that when respondents who go to church composed mainly of non-francophones are compared to the other groups they are more likely to support and less likely to disagree with freedom of choice. When this group is controlled for perceived threat towards the school system little change in support for freedom of choice is observed. Respondents in the other two groups react in an all or nothing style to threat i.e. it is there or it is not. Those who perceive no danger disagree with freedom of choice while those who perceive a danger tend to agree with it. However, leaders who attend no church tend to react less than those who attend a mainly francophone one.

In Table 3.12 respondents who think Bill 101 is a good law are less supportive of freedom of choice than leaders who think it is a bad law, regardless of threat to the schools. As the level of perceived threat to the school system increases so does support for freedom of choice.

TABLE 3.11

CHURCH ENVIRONMENT, ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL SYSTEM
AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	Less than half French P < .006		More than half French P < .01		Does not go to Church P < .0001	
	Great Danger	No Danger	Great Danger	No Danger	Great Danger	No Danger
Attitude toward Bill 101	6.	15.	23.	11.	22.	29.
Support for Freedom of Choice	21.	30.	16.	33.	17.	27.
Disagree	71.	54.	61.	56.	43.	44.
Agree	(99)	(158)	(43)	(27)	(41)	(66)
(N)						(36)

TABLE 3.12

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY CHURCH ENVIRONMENT BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101	School	Church Environment	Freedom of Choice		(N)
			Disagree	Qualified Agree	
Good law	No Danger	Does not attend %	70.	23.	(30)
		Less than half %	45.	20.	(20)
		More than half %	58.	25.	(12)
Good law	Some Danger	Does not attend %	41.	29.	(44)
		Less than half %	25.	39.	(79)
		More than half %	35.	10.	(20)
Good law	Great Danger	Does not attend %	30.	25.	(20)
		Less than half %	9.	33.	(45)
		More than half %	25.	33.	(12)
Bad law	No Danger	Does not attend %	33.	33.	(6)
		Less than half %	4.	13.	(23)
		More than half %	50.	50.	(2)
Bad law	Some Danger	Does not attend %	4.	23.	(22)
		Less than half %	5.	22.	(79)
		More than half %	0.	33.	(6)
Bad Law	Great Danger	Does not attend %	14.	10.	(21)
		Less than half %	4.	11.	(53)
		More than half %	0.	33.	(15)

(Does not attend P<.0001)
(Less than half P<.0001)
(More than half P<.04)

In all but one case, leaders who attend non-francophone churches are the most supportive of freedom of choice. Those leaders who do not attend church are the least supportive (although this is not true for all cases). Finally, those who believe Bill 101 is a bad law and feel the school system is in some danger are more likely than not to support freedom of choice.

Bilingualism

In the previous chapter bilingualism was shown to have a relationship with segmentation and freedom of choice.

Table 3.13 shows that unilingual respondents are substantially more supportive of freedom of choice than bilingual respondents with a similar attitude toward Bill 101. However, respondents who feel Bill 101 is a bad law are more likely to support freedom of choice than those who feel it is a good law, regardless of bilingualism. Table 3.14 shows a similar linguistic schism where perceived threat to the school system, and bad feelings vis-a-vis Bill 101 increases support for freedom of choice.

Education

In the previous chapter university educated respondents were shown to be the least likely to support freedom of choice irrespective of segmentation level.

Table 3.15 also shows that university educated respondents are less supportive of freedom of choice than other respondents who have a similar attitude toward Bill 101. In fact, the lower the level of education the greater support for freedom of choice.

TABLE 3.13

BILINGUALISM, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE.

Attitude toward Bill 101	Bilingual P<.0001		Unilingual P<.0001	
	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%
Disagree	36.	8.	18.	1.
Qualified	30.	26.	26.	8.
Agree	34.	66.	56.	91.
(N)	(249)	(156)	(39)	(75)

TABLE 3.14

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY BILINGUALISM BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101 - School	Bilingualism	Freedom of Choice			(N)
		Disagree	Qualified	Agree	
Good law - No Danger	Bilingual %	62.	24.	14.	(55)
	Unilingual %	43.	14.	43.	(7)
Good law - Some Danger	Bilingual %	33.	32.	35.	(127)
	Unilingual %	21.	26.	53.	(19)
Good law - Great Danger	Bilingual %	20.	30.	50.	(66)
	Unilingual %	9.	33.	67.	(12)
Bad law - No Danger	Bilingual %	13.	30.	57.	(23)
	Unilingual %	11.	0.	89.	(9)
Bad law - Some Danger	Bilingual %	7.	28.	65.	(72)
	Unilingual %	0.	11.	89.	(35)
Bad law - Great Danger	Bilingual %	8.	20.	72.	(60)
	Unilingual %	0.	7.	93.	(30)

(Bilingual $P < .0001$)

(Unilingual $P < .0001$)

TABLE 3.15,
EDUCATION, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Attitude Toward Bill 101	High School P <.002		CEGEP P <.008		University P <.0001	
	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	18.	4.	23.	0.	37.	8.
Qualified	33.	9.	35.	19.	28.	23.
Agree	49.	87.	42.	81.	35.	69.
(N)	(33)	(45)	(31)	(37)	(224)	(150)

When specific and general feelings of threat are controlled for, as in Table 3.16, it is found that university educated respondents tend to be more in disagreement and less in agreement with freedom of choice. Respondents with a high school or CEGEP education appear to be divided in their opinions until they perceive Bill 101 as a bad law or the school system is in great danger. When this occurs they give strong support to freedom of choice. While university educated respondents show a gradual increase in agreement and decrease in disagreement to freedom of choice as perceived threat increases.

Gender

There is a relationship between gender, segmentation and, in turn, between these two variables with freedom of choice. There is no apparent relationship between gender and general or specific feelings of threat. However, one may ask if there is not an independent or interactive effect existing between gender, threat and freedom of choice.

Table 3.17 shows that in general females are more supportive of freedom of choice than male respondents. However, when there is no perceived threat males and females show a similar level of support.

Work Association

In chapter 2 non-members of work associations were likely to support freedom of choice irrespective of segmentation level.

TABLE 3.16

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY EDUCATION BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101 - School	Education	Freedom of Choice			(N)
		Disagree	Qualified	Agree	
Good law - No Danger	High school	50.	0.	50.	(6)
	CEGEP-Commercial	25.	25.	50.	(4)
	University	63.	25.	11.	(52)
Good law - Some Danger	High school	13.	56.	31.	(16)
	CEGEP Commercial	40.	33.	27.	(15)
	University	33.	28.	39.	(115)
Good law - Great Danger	High school	10.	20.	70.	(10)
	CEGEP Commercial	0.	42.	58.	(12)
	University	21.	30.	48.	(56)
Bad law - No Danger	High school	14.	14.	72.	(7)
	CEGEP	0.	20.	80.	(5)
	University	15.	25.	60.	(20)
Bad law - Some Danger	High school	5.	5.	90.	(21)
	CEGEP Commercial	0.	17.	83.	(12)
	University	5.	28.	66.	(74)
Bad law - Great Danger	High school	0.	12.	87.	(16)
	CEGEP Commercial	0.	16.	84.	(19)
	University	9.	16.	75.	(56)

(High school $P < .0004$)
(CEGEP $P < .003$)
(University $P < .0001$)

TABLE 3.17

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY GENDER BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101 - School	Gender	Freedom of Choice			(N)
		Disagree	Qualified	Agree	
Good law - No Danger	Male %	62.	21.	17.	(47)
	Female %	53.	27.	20.	(15)
Good law - Some Danger	Male %	36.	30.	34.	(112)
	Female %	18.	35.	47.	(34)
Good law - Great Danger	Male %	19.	37.	44.	(48)
	Female %	13.	20.	67.	(30)
Bad law - No Danger	Male %	13.	23.	63.	(65)
	Female %	10.	20.	70.	(26)
Bad law - Some Danger	Male %	6.	29.	65.	(66)
	Female %	3.	12.	85.	(41)
Bad law - Great Danger	Male %	8.	18.	74.	(22)
	Female %	0.	8.	92.	(10)

(Male $P < .000$)

(Female $P < .0001$)

Table 3.18 shows that whatever the attitude toward Bill 101 those respondents who belong to a trade association are more supportive and less likely to be unfavorable toward freedom of choice. However, this relationship is not statistically significant and when excluded from the table it is clear that membership in an association especially union membership lessens support for freedom of choice.

When specific and general feelings of threat are controlled for, as in Table 3.19, it is found that members in an association tend to be less supportive and more in disagreement with freedom of choice than non-members. Whatever the level of threat union members are the least supportive and most likely to disagree with freedom of choice.

Age

It was shown in chapter 2 that as age increases, opposition to freedom of choice decreased and support increased regardless of segmentation. Suggesting that older generation respondents would like to return to the social setting of greater language freedom. Table 3.20 lends support to this finding. Leaders 55+ years are more supportive and less in disagreement with freedom of choice whatever the level of general threat. Generally younger respondents are less favorable to freedom of choice. However, leaders 35 to 44 who feel the law is good are similar to younger leaders (34 and younger) who feel the law is good. While those (35-44) who feel it is bad are similar to leaders age 45 to 54 who feel the law is bad.

TABLE 3.18
 WORK ASSOCIATION, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101
 AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	Union P < .01		Trade P = n.s.		Professional P < .0001		None P < .0001	
	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Attitude toward Bill 101								
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	47.	10.	10.	0.	35.	8.	25.	3.
Qualified	27.	32.	40.	11.	31.	25.	28.	12.
Agree	25.	58.	50.	89.	34.	66.	46.	85.
(N)	(51)	(19)	(10)	(9)	(131)	(106)	(95)	(98)

TABLE 3.19

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY WORK ASSOCIATION BY
ATTITUDE TOWARDS BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT
ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101 - School	Work Association		Freedom of Choice			(N)
			Disagree	Qualified	Agree	
Good law - No Danger	Union	%	73.	27.	0.	(15)
	Trade	%	0.	50.	50.	(2)
	Professional	%	61.	21.	18.	(33)
	None	%	46.	18.	36.	(11)
Good law - Some Danger	Union	%	42.	27.	31.	(26)
	Trade	%	12.	37.	50.	(8)
	Professional	%	30.	30.	40.	(60)
	None	%	31.	34.	34.	(52)
Good law - Great Danger	Union	%	20.	30.	50.	(10)
	Trade	%	0.	0.	0.	(0)
	Professional	%	21.	39.	39.	(38)
	None	%	10.	20.	70.	(20)
Bad law - No Danger	Union	%	0.	100.	0.	(1)
	Trade	%	0.	100.	0.	(1)
	Professional	%	18.	23.	59.	(17)
	None	%	8.	8.	84.	(13)
Bad law - Some Danger	Union	%	22.	11.	67.	(9)
	Trade	%	0.	0.	100.	(1)
	Professional	%	2.	37.	60.	(40)
	None	%	3.	14.	82.	(57)
Bad law - Great Danger	Union	%	0.	44.	57.	(9)
	Trade	%	0.	0.	100.	(7)
	Professional	%	10.	16.	74.	(49)
	None	%	0.	8.	92.	(26)

(Union P < .007)
(Trade P = n.s.)
(Professional P < .0001)
(None P < .0001)

TABLE 3.20

AGE, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	34 and Younger P = n.s.		35 to 44 P < .0001		45 to 54 P < .0002		55 to 64 P < .007		65 and older P < .02	
Attitude toward Bill 101	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	40.	16.	41.	2.	29.	11.	22.	2.	18.	0.
Qualified	23.	24.	32.	25.	35.	20.	22.	17.	29.	13.
Agree	37.	60.	27.	73.	36.	69.	56.	81.	53.	87.
(N)	(60)	(25)	(91)	(55)	(78)	(71)	(41)	(48)	(17)	(30)

In accord with previous findings, Table 3.21 shows that, whatever the level of threat respondents 55+ years are more supportive and less in disagreement with freedom of choice. Interestingly, for those respondents 55 or older who feel the law is good, level of school danger does not modify support for freedom of choice. However, for respondents who feel Bill 101 is a bad law support for freedom of choice increases to almost 100 per cent as perceived threat to the school system increases.

Concerning respondents younger than 55 it is found that, in general, the younger the respondent the lower the support for freedom of choice, superimposed on this trend is the trend for increases in perceived specific and/or general threat to increase support for freedom of choice.

Mother Tongue

In the previous chapter respondents whose mother tongue was English were shown to be more supportive of freedom of choice.

Table 3.22 shows that English mother tongue respondents are more supportive of freedom of choice than others with a similar attitude toward Bill 101. However, respondents who feel Bill 101 is a bad law are more likely to support freedom of choice than those who feel it is a good law, regardless of mother tongue.

Table 3.23 shows that specific and general threat have an uneven impact on mother tongue and support for freedom of choice. Respondents who believe Bill 101 is a good law and whose mother tongue is English, show strong opposition to

TABLE 3.21

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY AGE, BY ATTITUDE TOWARDS BILL 101
AND % LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101	Age	Freedom of choice			(N)
		Disagree	Qualified	Agree	
Good law no danger	34 and younger %	75.	17.	8.	(12)
	44 to 35 %	86.	9.	5.	(17)
	54 to 45 %	41.	47.	12.	(17)
	64 to 55 %	11.	25.	62.	(8)
	65 and older %	33.	0.	67.	(3)
Good law some danger	34 and younger %	37.	31.	31.	(35)
	44 to 35 %	33.	33.	33.	(45)
	54 to 45 %	30.	30.	39.	(36)
	64 to 55 %	30.	20.	50.	(20)
	65 and older %	11.	44.	44.	(9)
Good law great danger	34 and younger %	15.	8.	77.	(13)
	44 to 35 %	14.	50.	36.	(22)
	54 to 45 %	20.	32.	48.	(25)
	64 to 55 %	15.	23.	62.	(13)
	65 and older %	20.	20.	60.	(5)
Bad law no danger	34 and younger %	17.	50.	33.	(6)
	44 to 35 %	0.	33.	67.	(3)
	54 to 45 %	25.	12.	62.	(8)
	64 to 55 %	10.	20.	70.	(10)
	65 and older %	9.	0.	100.	(5)

Bill 101	Age	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	(N)
Bad law some danger	34 and younger	53	0	67	(6)
	44 to 35	0	29	71	(28)
	54 to 45	8	23	68	(35)
	64 to 55	0	23	77	(22)
	65 and older	0	20	80	(15)
Bad law great danger	34 and younger	8	23	69	(13)
	44 to 35	4	21	75	(24)
	54 to 45	11	18	71	(28)
	64 to 55	0	6	94	(16)
	65 and older	0	0	100	(8)

(34 and younger P .003)
 (44 to 35 P .0001)
 (54 to 45 P .007)
 (64 to 55 P=n.s.)
 (65 and older P=n.s.)

TABLE 3.22

MOTHER TONGUE, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Attitude toward Bill 101	English P <.0001		Other P <.0001	
	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%
Disagree	27.	5.	51.	5.
Qualified	31.	17.	25.	32.
Agree	42.	78.	24.	62.
(N)	(193)	(189)	(84)	(37)

TABLE 3.23

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY MOTHER TONGUE, BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS BILL 101 AND BY LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101 - School	Mother Tongue		Freedom of Choice		(N)
	English %	Other %	Disagree	Qualified Agree	
Good law-No danger	English %	58.	29.	13.	(38)
	Other %	68.	14.	18.	(22)
Good law-some danger	English %	26.	32.	42.	(99)
	Other %	49.	27.	24.	(41)
Good law-Great danger	English %	7.	30.	63.	(56)
	Other %	41.	32.	26.	(19)
Bad law-No danger	English %	12.	20.	68.	(25)
	Other %	17.	33.	50.	(6)
Bad law-some danger	English %	5.	20.	75.	(84)
	Other %	5.	32.	64.	(22)
Bad law-Great danger	English %	4.	11.	85.	(78)
	Other %	0.	33.	67.	(9)

(English P < .0001)
(Other P < .0006)

freedom of choice when they feel there is no danger to the school system. However, if schools are perceived to be in some danger, agreement with freedom of choice increases, and opposition decreases. For respondents with other than English for a mother tongue and who find Bill 101 a good law, agreement with freedom of choice remains stable and low, regardless of the perceived threat to the school system. However the level of disagreement does decline as perceived threat increases. If Bill 101 is perceived as a bad law by respondents of either group, agreement with freedom of choice increases and disagreement disappears.

Region

In chapter 2 it was hypothesized that respondents who lived in "other" areas of Québec would be less segmented and less supportive of freedom of choice. It was found that the most segmented area, the Outaouais, was in fact the most supportive and least likely to disagree with freedom of choice. The least segmented group, the "other" areas, was second to Montreal in disagreement to freedom of choice.

Table 3.24 lends support to this finding. Leaders who live in Montreal and feel Bill 101 is a good law are the most likely to disagree with freedom of choice. Respondents from the "other" areas are the least likely to support freedom of choice and most likely to give a qualified answer. Leaders from the Outaouais are the most supportive of freedom of choice and least likely to give a qualified answer.

TABLE 3.24
 REGION, ATTITUDE TOWARD BILL 101 AND
 SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Attitude Toward Bill 101	Montreal P < .0001		Outaouais P < .03		Other P = n.s.	
	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law	Good Law	Bad Law
Support for Freedom of Choice	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	35.	7.	27.	0.	22.	7.
Qualified	29.	20.	13.	12.	44.	33.
Agree	36.	73.	60.	88.	34.	60.
(N)	(241)	(192)	(15)	(25)	(32)	(15)

It was previously postulated that outside Montreal, the low level of disagreement with freedom of choice, regardless of segmentation, was due to the effect English school closings have on their community. To test this postulation it is hypothesized that leaders from outside the Montreal area will feel the English school system is in greater danger. Further, that this increased feeling of threat toward the survival of the English school system makes them less likely to reject freedom of choice.

The findings from Table 3.6 (J) show leaders living in the Outaouais and "other" areas are, in fact, more likely to feel there is a greater danger of losing the English school system than leaders from Montreal (49%, 48% vs. 29%). These findings seem to lend support for the hypothesis. When Table 3.25 is examined it is clear that the "other" areas of Quebec are most likely to give a qualified answer, regardless of the level of threat. Respondents living in the Outaouais are the most supportive of freedom of choice especially when they perceive danger to the school system. Leaders from Montreal are more supportive of freedom of choice than leaders from the "other" areas but not as supportive as those from the Outaouais. Concerning disagreement to freedom of choice, Montreal and "other" area leaders are more likely to disagree than Outaouais leaders are, regardless of threat. When no danger to the school system is perceived Montreal leaders are the most likely to disagree with freedom of choice. If there is a perceived threat, both Montreal and the "other" area leaders show

TABLE 3.25

REGION, ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL SYSTEM
AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Attitude toward School system	Montreal P < .0001		Outaouais P = n.s.		Other P = n.s.	
	Great Danger	No Danger	Great Danger	No Danger	Great Danger	No Danger
Support for Freedom of choice	8	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	13.	20.	0.	14.	9.	33.
Qualified	20.	21.	16.	7.	39.	67.
Agree	67.	34.	84.	79.	52.	0.
(N)	(128)	(218)	(19)	(14)	(23)	(3)

similar percentages of disagreement.

Table 3.26 shows respondents who think Bill 101 is a good law are less supportive of freedom of choice than leaders who think it is a bad law, regardless of threat to schools. It also can be seen that as the level of perceived danger to the school system increases so does support for freedom of choice. In almost all cases, leaders who live in the Outaouais are the most supportive of freedom of choice. In fact, no Outaouais leader who feels Bill 101 is a bad law or feels the school system is in great danger, disagrees with freedom of choice. Montreal leaders are the most likely to disagree with freedom of choice but more likely to support it than leaders from the "other" areas. Leaders from "other" areas of Quebec, except for two cases, are just as or more likely to give qualified answers. Only when they perceive the law is bad and there is some danger or great danger to the school system, are leaders from "other" areas more likely to support freedom of choice.

TABLE 3.26

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE BY REGION BY ATTITUDE TOWARD
BILL 101 AND LEVEL OF OPTIMISM ABOUT ENGLISH SCHOOLS

Bill 101 - School	Region	Freedom of Choice		(N)
		Disagree	Qualified Agree	
Good law-no danger	Montreal %	59.	22.	19.
	Outaouais %	100.	0.	0.
	Other %	50.	50.	0.
Good law-Some danger	Montreal %	32.	32.	36.
	Outaouais %	33.	0.	67.
	Other %	25.	44.	31.
Good law-Great danger	Montreal %	19.	28.	53.
	Outaouais %	0.	29.	71.
	Other %	14.	43.	43.
Bad law-No danger	Montreal %	15.	18.	67.
	Outaouais %	0.	25.	75.
	Other %	0.	100.	0.
Bad law-Some danger	Montreal %	4.	24.	72.
	Outaouais %	0.	12.	87.
	Other %	20.	20.	60.
Bad law-Great danger	Montreal %	7.	14.	79.
	Outaouais %	0.	8.	92.
	Other %	0.	33.	67.

(Montreal P < .0001)
(Outaouais P < .003)
(Other P = n.s.)

CONCLUSION

Bill 101 by restricting English language use has created two related types of threat. The Bill devalued the role of the English language in Quebec society, hence, creating a generalized threat towards the non-francophone community. Secondly by restricting access to English language schools the Bill posed a specific threat towards that key institution. In the chapter on segmentation it was suggested that Bill 101 disadvantaged certain groups more than others. Therefore, it was hypothesized that leaders who have a negative attitude toward Bill 101 and/or feel that English language schooling is in danger would be more supportive of freedom of choice.

In accord with the hypothesis, a relationship was found between attitude towards Bill 101 and support for freedom of choice. A weaker relationship was found between attitude towards the future of the English language school system and support for freedom of choice.

It was then hypothesized that there would be a relationship between attitude towards Bill 101 and attitude toward the English school system. Table 3.3 shows that a weak relationship ($\gamma=0.24$) between the two variables exists. Nevertheless, it was subsequently hypothesized that respondents who feel Bill 101 is a bad law and the English school system is in great danger would be more likely to support freedom of choice than those who only feel threatened (either specifically or generally). Here, a stronger relationship was found to exist between the three

variables.

In the previous chapter, segmentation proved to be associated with freedom of choice and to certain selected variables. In general, the more segmented a group was the more supportive of freedom of choice they were, but, segmentation could not account for all the variation. Therefore it was hypothesized that segmentation with its' related conditions and threat (general and specific) could have a synergistic effect to account for the support level of freedom of choice.

A relationship was found between threat, segmentation and support for freedom of choice in education. When respondents felt an increase in threat, there was a corresponding increase in support for freedom of choice but the level of segmentation acted as a modifier.

In the section on church environment and segmentation (chapter 2) the main finding was leaders who attended church are more favorable and less unfavorable to freedom of choice than those who do not. This finding holds true when general and specific threat are controlled for. An exception occurs when Bill 101 is perceived as a bad law and there is a threat to the school system, then all three categories hold similar views.

A relationship was found between general and specific threats, bilingualism and support for freedom of choice. When perceived threat increased so did support for freedom of choice, however bilingualism dampened the trend.

When specific and general threat were controlled for, leaders with a university education or those low in threat tended to be more in disagreement with and less in agreement with freedom of choice.

Females were generally found to be more supportive of freedom of choice than males. However, when there is no threat males and females show similar levels of support.

It was found that respondents who were members of an association or those low in threat, tended to be less supportive and more in disagreement with freedom of choice. Whatever the level of threat union members were the least supportive group.

In general it was found that the younger the respondent the lower the support for freedom of choice. Furthermore, as perceived threat increased so did support for freedom of choice for all groups.

Among English mother tongue respondents there is little support and strong opposition to freedom of choice if Bill 101 is considered a good law and there is no danger to schools. However if any threat is perceived, agreement with freedom of choice increases. Other mother tongue leaders who feel Bill 101 is a good law give little support to freedom of choice regardless of perceived threat to English schools. If Bill 101 is perceived as a bad law, agreement with freedom of choice increases and disagreement disappears.

Leaders from the Outaouais are the most supportive and least likely to disagree with freedom of choice while Montreal leaders are most likely to disagree with it. By

comparison with leaders from "other" areas, those from Montreal were more likely to support freedom of choice. This result is principally due to a high level of qualified answers among "other" area leaders.

In conclusion, the data suggest that threat, in particular general threat, is associated with support for freedom of choice in education. In the following chapter the effect of these variables on mobilization of leaders to support the Freedom of Choice Movement will be examined.

Chapter 4

MOBILIZATION AND FREEDOM OF CHOICE

As seen in previous chapters, a large proportion of Quebec's non-francophone leaders have a favourable attitude towards freedom of choice in education. Yet, no broad based communal movement has developed around freedom of choice even though an organization supporting this option has existed since 1978. This chapter examines why only 28% of non-francophone leaders surveyed support the Freedom of Choice Movement, when 54% agree with and only 21% disagree with the freedom of choice option in education.

On the other hand, Table 4.1 shows there is a strong relationship between the support of the option and of the movement ($\text{Gamma} = .66$). However, less than half of those who agree with the option (44%) support the movement. Those who give a qualified answer to the option tend not to support the movement (15%). Virtually no one who disagrees with the option supports the movement (3% = three people) while a large proportion (73%) disagree with the movement. Interestingly a large proportion of those who agree with the option don't know the movement exists (36%). Among those who gave a qualified answer an equivalent proportion (35%) don't know the movement exists. In fact, the freedom of choice movement is mainly known among those who disagree with it.

TABLE 4.1
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT AND OPTION

Support for Freedom of Choice Option	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	Total
Support for Freedom of Choice Movement	%	%	%	%
Disagree	73.	50.	20.	39.
Don't Know Association	23.	35.	36.	33.
Agree	3.	15.	44.	28.
(N)	(110)	(129)	(279)	(518)

$\chi^2 = 125.8$, $DF = 4$, $P < .0001$, $\Gamma = .66$

Two important questions arise from the data found in Table 4.1. First, why do so many leaders not know of the Freedom of Choice Movement. Second, why do a sizeable percent of respondents who agree with, or give a qualified answer to, the freedom of choice option, disagree with the movement? To address these questions it will be necessary to examine the relationship between the freedom of choice option, the movement and the selected variables used in the previous two chapters. It is also necessary to introduce several new variables to the analysis. The variables presented in Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 were chosen because of their potential affect on participation in the Freedom of Choice Movement. Theoretically, not only a favourable attitude to freedom of choice, but links with certain groups (associations, parties), attitude vis-a-vis collective action, and/or the performance of existing bodies, might affect participation. The specific rationale for introducing these variables will be discussed in greater detail when they are introduced.

In fact, the hypotheses proposed in this chapter are all presented with the independent variables. The relationships observed in the previous chapters with the freedom of choice option should hold for the movement. However, as Table 4.1 shows, there is a significant drop, in support for the movement relative to the option. It is therefore hoped that new variables such as political involvement may help us understand this shift in support.

MEASUREMENTSSupport for Freedom of Choice Movement

To measure support for Freedom of Choice Movement the question was:

In general, would you say that you agree or disagree with Freedom of Choice?

Vote Intention (Provincial 1982)

To measure vote intention the question was:

If a provincial election were held tomorrow, for which political party would you vote?

Involvement in Politics

Four questions were used from the questionnaire to measure the level of involvement in politics:

- 1) Have you ever done any voluntary work for a political party such as canvassing, office work, organizing?
- 2) Besides your main occupation, have you held any office at the federal, provincial or municipal level?
- 3) Are you currently a member of any political party?
- 4) If no: Were you ever a member of a political party?

A value of 1 was given to an affirmative answer and 0 to all other answers. Respondents who gave affirmative answers to three questions were considered to be involved in politics a great deal; two affirmative answers much involved; one affirmative answer some involvement; no affirmative answer; none.

Political Party Membership

To measure political party membership the question was:

If you are currently a member of any political party which political party are you a member of?

Interest In Politics

To measure interest in politics the question was:

Some people are not too interested in politics. Personally are you interested in politics very much, moderately, somewhat or not at all?

Somewhat and not at all were combined to create the category little.

Liberal Party Served English Community

To measure how effectively the Liberal Party has served the interests of the English community in Quebec the question asked was:

In the past 5 years would you say the provincial liberal party has served the interests of English-speaking Quebecers very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

Very well and fairly well categories were combined to create the category fairly well.

Exit

To measure Exit the question was:

For a few years a certain number of people have left Quebec. Have you considered moving out of Quebec in the last five years seriously, more or less seriously or not at all?

Collective Action For The Defence of Non-Francophone Interest

Two questions were used from the questionnaire to measure collective action.

- 1) Do you belong to any groups advocating the interests of non-francophones in Quebec?
- 2) Now, since Bill 101, it has become more difficult for non-francophones to receive provincial government publications and services in English. Have you taken part in projects or activities to help people who do not know French to receive adequate information for their needs?

A value of 1 was given to an affirmative answer 0 to all other answers. Respondents who gave affirmative answers to both questions were considered to have a great deal of involvement in collective actions; one affirmative answer some involvement and no affirmative answer none.

FINDINGS

Tables 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 in this chapter have been set up to explore how various factors and groups of factors have affected the support for the Freedom of Choice Movement.

Table 4.2 explores the resources available to the respondents who support the option. In chapter 2 it was found that although a collective might be in a declining interest position, not all members of that group are themselves in a weakened position. This is due, in part, to their having been able to gain resources from the larger society. In subtables 4.2 (A), (B) and (C) those respondents low in segmentation, bilingual, attending religious services in French all tended to be less supportive of the freedom of choice option than their counterparts. Indicating that, obtaining resources that enable a respondent to function better in the larger society also tend to generate a more sympathetic point of

view to the aims of the larger society.

In chapter 3 that threat played a role in increasing or decreasing the support for freedom of choice. Subtable 4.2 (D) shows that respondents with an unfavourable attitude toward Bill 101 were more likely to support freedom of choice.

Subtables 4.2 (E) and (F) look at a respondent's interest and involvement in politics. By introducing these two variables it is not meant to imply that there is a direct or indirect relationship between them and support for the freedom of choice option. However, if the option appeals more to respondents who are not involved with nor interested in politics, it could explain, in part, the large percentage who do not know of the movement. The data shows that respondents who have little interest or no involvement in politics tend to be more supportive and less in disagreement with the freedom of choice option than those interested or involved in politics.

The final two factors examine the effect of a competing interest position. The Liberal Party is the main voice for the expression of non-francophone desires in Quebec society, yet it supports the Canada Clause in education. Therefore it is necessary to look at support for the party versus the option.

Subtable 4.2 (G) shows that political party membership and support for the freedom of choice option are highly associated. P.Q. members were the most likely to oppose the

option while Freedom of Choice voters were the most likely to support it. All other respondents support the option more than they oppose it. However, the percent giving qualified answers also increases substantially.

Subtable 4.2 (H) shows respondents who feel that the Liberal Party has served the interests of the English community fairly well or those who have no opinion are less likely to support the freedom of choice option than those who thought the party had done badly (45% and 50% vs. 60% and 61%).

Finally, support for the freedom of choice option alone is not enough to make leaders support the Freedom of Choice Party. As can be seen in Table 4.3 only 4% of those who support the option would vote for that party. Strikingly, those who disagree with the option are also more likely to vote for a party other than the Liberal Party (39% vs. 61%, 62%). Among those who disagree with the option 32% support the P.Q.. Those who disagree with the option seem less attached to the Liberal Party.

TABLE 4.2

SELECTED CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE
FREEDOM OF CHOICE OPTION

Support for the Freedom Of Choice Option	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	N	P
A) Segmentation					
High	10.	19.	71.	(164)	.0001
Medium	24.	26.	50.	(253)	
Low	32.	33.	35.	(93)	
B) Bilingualism					
Bilingual	25.	28.	46.	(405)	.0001
Unilingual	7.	14.	79.	(115)	
C) Church Environment					
Less than half French	13.	25.	61.	(303)	.0001
More than half	26.	25.	48.	(67)	
Does not go to church	35.	24.	40.	(144)	
D) General Threat					
Bill 101 good law	33.	30.	37.	(290)	.0001
Bill 101 bad law	6.	20.	74.	(232)	
E) Interest in politics					
Very much	27.	25.	48.	(327)	.0002
Moderately	13.	27.	60.	(127)	
Little	6.	23.	70.	(279)	
F) Involvement in politics					
Great deal	26.	25.	49.	(88)	.01
Much	29.	23.	48.	(178)	
Some	16.	29.	55.	(115)	
None	13.	24.	63.	(140)	
G) Political Party Membership					
Liberal	18.	28.	54.	(121)	.0001
P.Q.	100.	0.	0.	(15)	
Other	22.	26.	52.	(82)	
Freedom of choice	0.	12.	87.	(8)	
None	19.	25.	56.	(295)	
H) Liberal Party Served English					
Very or Fairly well	28.	26.	45.	(212)	.0006
Fairly badly	12.	28.	60.	(196)	
Very badly	21.	18.	61.	(89)	
Don't know	33.	17.	50.	(24)	

TABLE 4.3

FREEDOM OF CHOICE OPTIONS AND VOTE INTENTIONS

Support for the Freedom of Choice Option	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	TOTAL
Vote intention (Provincial 1982)	%	%	%	%
Liberal	39.	61.	62.	57.
P.Q.	32.	7.	4.	11.
Other	15.	16.	14.	14.
Freedom of choice	0.	1.	4.	2.
Don't know	14.	15.	15.	15.
(N)	(110)	(132)	(279)	(521)

P < .0001

Table 4.4 examines the other selected conditions (socio-demographic characteristics) associated with the freedom of choice option. Since these factors were discussed more fully in the previous chapters a cursory review will be given.

As education increases support for freedom of choice decreases. Females are more likely to support the option than males. As age increases, support for the freedom of choice option increases. English speaking respondents are more supportive of the option than respondents having another mother tongue. Union members or professionals are less supportive of the freedom of choice option than leaders who have no work associations or affiliated with trade associations. Respondents from predominantly English areas are more supportive of the freedom of choice option.

The two final variables, exit and collective action (Table 4.5) explore the two possible options that a person in a declining interest position has. Members of a communal group can either leave the situation (exit) or group together and try to modify the situation collectively (collective action).

TABLE 4.4

OTHER SELECTED CONDITIONS ASSOCIATED WITH
THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE OPTION

Support for the freedom of choice option	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	(N)	P
A) Education					
High school	10.	19.	71.	(78)	.0001
Cegep	10.	27.	63.	(68)	
University	25.	26.	49.	(375)	
B) Sex					
Male	25.	27.	48.	(362)	.0002
Female	13.	21.	67.	(159)	
C) Age					
34 and younger	33.	23.	43.	(85)	.0001
35 to 44	26.	29.	44.	(146)	
45 to 54	21.	17.	52.	(149)	
55 to 64	11.	19.	70.	(89)	
65 and older	6.	20.	75.	(48)	
D) Mother tongue					
English	16.	14.	60.	(382)	.0001
Other	37.	27.	36.	(122)	
E) Work association					
Union	37.	29.	34.	(70)	.0001
Trade	5.	26.	68.	(19)	
Professional	23.	28.	49.	(237)	
None	14.	20.	66.	(194)	
F) Region					
Montreal.	22.	25.	53.	(434)	.004
Outaouais	10.	12.	77.	(40)	
Other	17.	40.	43.	(47)	

TABLE 4.5

SUPPORT FOR THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE OPTION
EXIT AND COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR THE
DEFENCE OF NON-FRANCOPHONE INTERESTS

Support for the Freedom of Choice Option	Dis- agree %	Quali- fied %	Agree %	Total %	P
A) Exit					
Seriously	7.	18.	27.	21.	
More or less seriously	15.	28.	23.	23.	.0001
Not at all (N)	77. (110)	54. (131)	49. (279)	56. (520)	
B) Collective action					
None	24.	37.	40.	36.	
Some	27.	30.	30.	29.	.02
Great deal (N)	49. (108)	34. (131)	31. (281)	35. (520)	

Subtable 4.5 (A) shows a strong relationship between support for the freedom of choice option and exit. Those respondents who agree with the freedom of choice option are more likely to have seriously or more or less seriously thought of leaving Quebec than those respondents who have not. Conversely, respondents who disagree with the freedom of choice option are more likely not to have considered leaving.

Subtable 4.5 (B) shows a weaker relationship between support for freedom of choice and collective action. Leaders who agree with freedom of choice tend to be less involved in collective action than leaders who disagree with freedom of choice.

As was mentioned earlier, the interpretation of the relationship between the previous variables with support for the freedom of choice option and movement will be made in the following sections.

Available Resources

Subtables 4.2 (A), (B) and (C) show that respondents who have resources enabling them to function in the larger society are less favourable to freedom of choice in education. Therefore it is hypothesized that these respondents will also be less likely to support the Freedom of Choice Movement.

Segmentation

It would be expected that those respondents low in segmentation would be less supportive of the Freedom of Choice Movement.

Table 4.6 shows that the level of segmentation has little effect on the relationship between support for the freedom of choice option and the movement. Respondents who agree, disagree or give a qualified answer to the option are just as likely, for any given level of segmentation, to support, disagree with or not know of the movement. If there is a tendency, it is that among those who agree with the option, support for the movement increases as does segmentation. The only case that seems to go against the general trend is that of respondents who disagree with the option and are low in segmentation: In this group there is a drop in the disagreement with the movement, due to an increase in respondents not knowing of the association. This would seem to indicate that these particular respondents are not as interested in or aware of the topic as similar respondents in higher levels of segmentation.

Since the Freedom of Choice Movement is a Montreal based movement and the sample was drawn from the whole province it was felt that in this and all subsequent relationships examined that a possible regional difference should be controlled for. Aside from a slight tendency on the part of respondents living in other areas not to know of the association no major differences were observed.

TABLE 4.6

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND SEGMENTATION

Segmentation	High P < .0001	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Medium P < .0001	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Low P < .0002
Freedom of Choice Movement	75.	50.	20.	78.	48.	20.	67.	55.	19.						
Disagree	25.	37.	33.	17.	35.	38.	33.	29.	40.						
Don't know Association	0.	12.	47.	5.	17.	42.	0.	16.	40.						
Agree	(16)	(32)	(115)	(60)	(65)	(127)	(30)	(31)	(32)						

Bilingualism

It is expected that bilingual respondents will be less supportive of the Freedom of Choice Movement.

Table 4.7 shows that bilingual respondents are more likely to disagree with the movement than unilingual respondents. They are also less likely to agree with the movement, except for those who simultaneously agree with the option. Here 45% of bilingual respondents agree with the movement while 40% of unilingual respondents do so. However, when respondents who do not know of the movement are eliminated, unilingual respondents were more likely to support the movement (77% vs. 66%). Worthwhile to note is that unilingual respondents are more likely to be unaware of the movement's existence than bilingual respondents. An exception occurs when they disagree with the option, then bilingual and unilingual respondents show similar percentages (23%, 25%). This would seem to indicate that bilingualism and disagreement with the option increases awareness of the issues.

Church Environment

Respondents who attend English religious services are the group most supportive of the freedom of choice option and respondents who do not attend church the least. By extension it is expected that leaders who attend English services will be the most supportive of the movement and leaders who do not attend church the least.

TABLE 4.7.

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT,
OPTION AND BILINGUALISM

Freedom of Choice Option	Bilingual P < .0001		Unilingual P < .005	
	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied
Freedom of Choice Movement	74.	52.	62.	33.
Disagree	23.	34.	25.	40.
Don't Know Association	2.	14.	12.	27.
Agree	(102)	(114)	(8)	(15)
		(188)		(90)

Table 4.8 shows that respondents who go to churches whose membership is less than half French are more supportive and less in disagreement with the movement than the other groups. Those respondents who do not go to church were found to be less supportive and more in disagreement with the movement.

General Threat

It is expected that respondents who feel Bill 101 is a good law will be less supportive of the Freedom of Choice Movement.

Table 4.9 shows that respondents who think Bill 101 is a good law are less likely to agree with the movement than respondents who feel the law is bad. They are also more likely to disagree with the movement. It is noteworthy that respondents who feel the law is good but agree with the freedom of choice option tend not to know of the movement. This suggests that among this group of people freedom of choice in education is not a motivating issue which might be explained by a certain belief inconsistency.

Interest And Involvement In Politics

As was seen in the previous discussions, certain groups of respondents were less likely to be aware of the Freedom of Choice Movement. This would suggest that a certain percentage of leaders are genuinely not interested or do not perceive the situation as problematic.

Respondents less involved or interested in politics have not necessarily accepted the realities of the Quebec situation. Whereas, those who are involved or interested

TABLE 4.8

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT,
OPTION, AND CHURCH ENVIRONMENT

Freedom of Choice Option	Less than Half French P < .0001		More than Half French P < .01		Does not go to Church P < .0001	
	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied
Freedom of Choice Movement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	80.	49.	67.	41.	71.	56.
Don't Know Association	17.	37.	28.	41.	27.	26.
Agree	2.	14.	5.	18.	2.	18.
(N)	(40)	(76)	(18)	(17)	(51)	(34)
		(186)	(32)	(57)		

TABLE 4.9

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND GENERAL THREAT

	Bill 101 Good Law	Bill 101 Bad Law
Freedom of Choice Options	Dis- agree	Dis- agree
	Quali- fied	Quali- fied
	Agree	Agree
Freedom of Choice Movement	8	8
Disagree	75.	64.
Don't Know	23.	27.
Association	2.	7.
Agree	12.	22.
(N)	(96)	(46)
	(83)	(171)
	(107)	(14)
	35.	49.
	20.	20.
	54.	41.
	34.	31.
	45.	27.
	29.	27.

have had to take into account the francophone position. It would be expected that the latter respondents would be more accomatative of the francophone position and less likely to support the freedom of choice option or movement. Additionally, interest or involvement in politics should lead to greater awareness of groups operating in the sociopolitical sphere.

In subtable 4.2 (E) respondents with greater interest in politics disagree more and support less the freedom of choice option.

As expected, data in Table 4.10 support the conjecture that as interest in politics decreases there is a concomitant increase in respondents who are not aware the Freedom of Choice Movement exists. Respondents who disagree with the freedom of choice option reject the movement irrespective of interest level in politics. Respondents who are "very much" interested and gave a qualified answer to the option, are more aware of the movement and less likely to support it.

In this analysis, if respondents who do not know of the movement are eliminated, agreement with the freedom of choice option shows similar levels regardless of political interest. This suggests that in this particular case, interest in politics per se does not affect support for the movement.

In subtable 4.2 (F) it can be seen that as involvement by a respondent in politics increases, there is an associated decrease in support for and increase in

TABLE 4.10

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND INTEREST IN POLITICS

	Very Much P < .0001		Moderately P < .0001		Little P = n.s.	
Freedom of Choice Option	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied
Freedom of Choice Movement	8	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	76.	63.	23.	65.	29.	17.
Don't Know Association	21.	24.	26.	29.	53.	39.
Agree	2.	13.	51.	6.	18.	44.
(N)	(89)	(79)	(158)	(17)	(34)	(75)
				(2)	(15)	(45)

disagreement with the freedom of choice option.

Table 4.11 shows a variety of patterns. One is found among the respondents who support the option: the more involved they are in politics the more aware they are of the movement (43%, 64%, 77% and 79%). More interestingly this increased awareness is associated with increasing disagreement with the movement (12%, 16%, 23% and 33%). Among the other respondents, the patterns are not as clear cut or constant. The absence of political involvement leads more to a lack of awareness of the movement among those who have no opinion than among those who disagree with the option (53% vs. 22%).

Competing Interest Position

Fitzsimmons-LeCavalier and LeCavalier (1981) noted the importance of the Liberal Party, since the beginning of the quiet revolution, in representing non-francophone interests in the public domain. Although a minority within the party, non-francophones could depend on their electoral support to exert some influence as successive Liberal Governments carried out the reforms that made up the quiet revolution. Integration into party networks appears to have drawn non-francophones into acceptance that francophone Quebecers strongly support the need to legislate the primacy of French. This despite diversions among the non-francophones as to the degree of political and economic autonomy required to protect their own language and culture.

Therefore, it is hypothesized that respondents with strong political attachments, regardless of political party

TABLE 4.11

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

Freedom of choice option	No involvement P < .0001		Some involvement P < .0002		Much involvement P < .0001		Great deal involvement P < .0001	
	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree
Freedom of choice movement	78.	12.	55.	16.	80.	21.	70.	33.
Disagree	22.	57.	39.	36.	16.	21.	30.	21.
Don't know association	0.	11.	5.	48.	4.	51.	0.	47.
Agree	(18)	(34)	(18)	(58)	(51)	(86)	(21)	(43)
(N)								

(other than Freedom of Choice Party), will be less supportive of the Freedom of Choice Movement and more supportive of their party position on the education issue.

Table 4.12 shows that membership in a political party per se does not affect disagreement with or support for the movement when those who don't know the movement are eliminated. A clear exception to the previous statement is made for membership in the P.C. or Freedom of Choice Parties. If there is an effect that membership in a political party has, it is to increase awareness of the movements existence. The next variable in this section examines the performance of the Liberal Party with regards to its role as the voice of the English community. It would be expected that as dissatisfaction with the party increases support for the freedom of choice option and movement would increase.

Analysis of data in Table 4.13 reveals the following facts when the category of don't know association is removed. Respondents who rate party performance as fairly well or very badly and agree with the freedom of choice option are equally likely to support or disagree with the movement. Respondents in the fairly badly category who also agree with the option are less supportive and more in disagreement with the movement. When respondents, who gave a qualified answer were examined, it was found that those who rated the Liberal Party as performing very badly are the most likely to support the movement. Surprisingly those who rated it as only being fairly badly were the least likely to

TABLE 4.12

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND POLITICAL PARTY MEMBERSHIP

Freedom of choice option	Liberal P < .0001		P.O.S. P = n.s.		Other P < .0001		Freedom of choice P = n.s.		No membership P < .0001						
	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree					
Freedom of choice movement	73.	44.	25.	80.	0.	0.	94.	70.	28.	0.	65.	47.	16.		
Disagree	18.	35.	20.	20.	0.	0.	6.	20.	26.	0.	33.	39.	47.		
Don't know association	9.	21.	55.	0.	0.	0.	0.	30.	46.	0.	100.	100.	2.	14.	36.
Agree	(22)	(34)	(65)	(15)	(0)	(0)	(18)	(20)	(43)	(0)	(6)	(55)	(74)	(165)	
(N)															

TABLE 4.13

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
 OPTION AND HOW WELL THE LIBERAL PARTY
 HAS SERVED ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBEC

Freedom of choice option	Very or fairly well $P < .0001$		Fairly badly $P < .0001$		Very badly $P < .0001$		Don't know $P = n.s.$	
	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree
Freedom of choice movement	75.	46.	70.	57.	79.	44.	62.	0.
Disagree	23.	38.	26.	30.	16.	31.	37.	100.
Don't know association	2.	16.	4.	13.	5.	25.	0.	8.
Agree	(60)	(56)	(23)	(54)	(19)	(16)	(8)	(3)
				(118)		(53)		(12)

support and most likely to disagree with the Freedom of Choice Movement.

An interesting finding is that respondents who rate the party performance as very badly have a greater awareness of the movement than the other two groups, suggesting extreme dissatisfaction increases awareness.

Vote Intention

Table 4.14 shows that vote intention and support for the Freedom of Choice Movement are weakly associated. Liberal Party and P.Q. voters are less likely to support and more likely to disagree with the movement than those respondents who are not committed to either party. Other than those respondents who intend to vote for the Freedom of Choice Party, no particular group appears more knowledgeable of the Freedom of Choice Movement than any other.

The Socio-demographic Characteristics

Certain selected variables (the rationale for which have been discussed earlier) have an effect on the support for the freedom of choice option and consequently should modify support for the Freedom of Choice Movement.

Therefore, it can be hypothesized that those respondents who support the freedom of choice option will also support the Freedom of Choice Movement. Conversely those respondents who do not support the Freedom of Choice option will not support the Freedom of Choice Movement.

In subtable 4.4 (A) it was shown that respondents with more education are more likely to disagree with and less likely to support the freedom of choice option.

Table 4.15 shows that as education increases, support for the Freedom of Choice Movement decreases and opposition to it increases. It would also seem that, in general, having a university education increases awareness of the movement.

Data found in subtable 4.4 (B) shows a greater likelihood for females to support, and be in less disagreement with, the freedom of choice option than males.

Analysis of data in Table 4.16 illuminates the following when the don't know association respondents are removed. Contrary to the hypothesis, females are less likely to support the Freedom of Choice Movement when they agree with the freedom of choice option. Concerning those who gave a qualified answer, men and women have similar levels of support for and against the Freedom of Choice Movement. Both men and women reject the movement when they disagree with the freedom of choice option. Except in the case of, when in disagreement with the option, women are more aware of the movement than men. This would suggest that for women to disagree requires increased awareness relative to men.

In subtable 4.4 (C) it can be seen that as age increases so does support for freedom of choice while disagreement concomitantly decreases.

TABLE 4.15

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION, AND EDUCATION

	High School P < .0001		Cegep P < .0001		University P < .0001	
Freedom of Choice Option	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied
Freedom of Choice Movement	8	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	50.	4.	86.	39.	12.	51.
Don't Know Association	37.	41.	14.	55.	46.	32.
Agree	12.	21.	0.	5.	42.	16.
(N)	(8)	(14)	(7)	(18)	(43)	(97)
						(182)

TABLE 4.16
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND GENDER

	MALE P < .0001			FEMALE P < .001		
Freedom of Choice Option	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree
Freedom of Choice Movement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	73.	53.	20.	75.	39.	19.
Don't Know Association	26.	30.	31.	15.	49.	46.
Agree	1.	17.	49.	10.	12?	35.
(N)	(90)	(96)	(173)	(20)	(33)	(106)

Table 4.17 shows that age has an uneven effect on support for the movement. In general, there is an upward trend in the support for the Freedom of Choice Movement as age increases. However, respondents aged 35 to 44 years show an unexpectedly large increase in support. No one particular age group seems to be more or less knowledgeable about the movement than any other.

In subtable 4.4 (D) respondents whose mother tongue is English are more likely, than those respondents of another mother tongue, to support the freedom of choice option and less likely to disagree with it.

Table 4.18 shows that for respondents who agree with the freedom of choice option, those whose mother tongue is English are more supportive of the movement. Of the respondents who gave a qualified answer, those of another mother tongue were more supportive of the Freedom of Choice Movement. It is noteworthy, that respondents of another mother tongue are more likely to not know of the movement than those whose mother tongue is English. This suggests the movement has relatively little exposure outside the English community.

In subtable 4.4 (E) shows that those respondents who are union members or professionals are less likely to be supportive of, and more likely to disagree with, the freedom of choice option than those respondents who have no work associations, or are affiliated with a trade.

TABLE 4.17

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND AGE

	34 and younger P < .0001		35 to 44 P < .0001		45 to 54 P < .0002		55 to 64 P < .002		65 and older P < .04	
Freedom of choice option	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree	Disagree	Qualified Agree
Freedom of choice movement	75.	19.	79.	15.	64.	23.	80.	35.	23.	67.
Disagree	21.	42.	21.	37.	29.	36.	20.	47.	34.	67.
Don't know association	4.	15.	0.	48.	6.	40.	0.	18.	43.	0.
Agree	(28)	(36)	(38)	(65)	(31)	(77)	(10)	(17)	(62)	(9)
(N)										

TABLE 4.18
SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND MOTHER TONGUE

	ENGLISH P < .0001			OTHER P < .0002		
Freedom of Choice Option	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree
Freedom of Choice Movement	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disagree	89.	57.	20.	58.	29.	16.
Don't Know Association	10.	27.	34.	38.	55.	54.
Agree	1.	16.	46.	4.	16.	29.
(N)	(62)	(92)	(227)	(45)	(31)	(44)

Table 4.19. shows that respondents who are professionals or members of a union are more likely to disagree with, and be less supportive of, the Freedom of Choice Movement than those respondents who have no work association or one with a trade. No category in particular has a greater awareness of the movement than any other.

In subtable 4.4 (F) it was seen that, the more English an area the respondents lived in, the more likely the support for freedom of choice option and less likely the disagreement with it.

Analysis of the data in Table 4.20 shows the following, when the don't know association category is eliminated. Respondents who live in the Outaouais are more likely to support the Freedom of Choice Movement than any other area. Interestingly, the support for the movement in "other" areas is the same as that in Montreal.

The "other" areas are far less likely to know of the movement than Montreal or the Outaouais, indicating that the movement has fairly good exposure in these two areas. A more indepth analysis of the preceeding statement may benefit from a mention of the Pontiac Ontario Movement. The Pontiac Ontario Movement grew from opposition to Bill 101 and the francization of the western area of Quebec. It is an anglophone activist movement based in the Outaouais town of Shawville. The main aim of the movement is to join the Outaouais to Ontario. It has close ties with the Freedom of Choice Movement and some of its members belonging to both.

TABLE 4.19

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT
OPTION AND WORK ASSOCIATIONS.

Freedom of choice option	Union P < .002		Trade P < .03		Professional P < .0001		None P < .0001	
	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	Agree
Freedom of choice movement	85.	33.	100.	15.	71.	23.	67.	49.
Disagree	15.	29.	0.	8.	25.	30.	29.	38.
Don't know association	0.	38.	0.	77.	4.	47.	4.	13.
Agree	(26)	(24)	(1)	(13)	(55)	(115)	(27)	(39)
(N)	(20)	(24)	(5)	(13)	(55)	(115)	(27)	(39)

TABLE 4.20

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT.
OPTION, AND REGION

	Montreal P < .0001		Other P = n.s.		Ottawa P < .001	
Freedom of Choice Option	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied
Freedom of Choice Movement	73.	52.	62.	32.	100.	60.
Disagree	73.	52.	62.	32.	100.	60.
Don't Know Association	23.	32.	37.	47.	0.	40.
Agree	3.	15.	0.	21.	0.	23.
(N)	(98)	(105)	(8)	(19)	(4)	(5)
	(229)		(20)		(30)	

Table 4.21 shows that outside the Outaouais the movement has minimal exposure and no support. Within the Outaouais it has some support but is not as strong as the Freedom of Choice Movement. This would seem to indicate that the more moderate freedom of choice stand has more appeal than the activist Pontiac Ontario Movement.

Exit And Collective Action For The Defence of Non-Francophone Interests

Hirschman (1970) suggests that citizen with a deteriorating interest position within a state has two main choices, exit or voice. Fitzsimmons-Le Cavalier and Le-Cavalier (1981) found that exit or voice were manifestations of two general alternatives. First there are individual responses, among which exit figures prominently. Second there are collective responses such as voice, through which individuals join in a coordinated effort to redress their common grievances. When they studied the situation of non-francophones in Quebec, they found those not willing to make concessions to their minority status had left or planned to leave.

Those remaining in Quebec had reconciled themselves to the dominance of the French language. They hoped for a new accommodation that would meet the aspirations of francophones while making allowances for the survival of the minority community.

TABLE 4.21

SUPPORT FOR PONTIAC - ONTARIO MOVEMENT
FREEDOM OF CHOICE OPTION, AND REGION

	Montreal P < .04		Other P = n.s.		Outaouais P < .03	
Freedom of Choice Option	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Dis- agree	Quali- fied
Pontiac-Ontario Movement	19.	15.	37.	21.	100.	80.
Disagree	77.	77.	62.	74.	0.	20.
Don't Know Association	4.	8.	0.	5.	0.	0.
Agree	(97)	(106)	(8)	(19)	(4)	(5)
(N)	(227)	(227)	(227)	(227)	(31)	(31)

Exit

Presumably, those respondents who made a commitment to stay in Quebec have also accepted the reality of their declining interest position. The preceding statements suggest respondents who have not considered moving from Quebec would be less supportive of the freedom of choice option and movement than those respondents who have thought of moving.

In subtable 4.5 (A) it is seen that respondents who have not considered moving are, in fact, less supportive of the freedom of choice option than those who have. Interestingly Table 4.22 shows that among leaders who agree with the option, the decision to leave does not affect their support for the movement. Leaders who disagree with the option also maintain a high degree of opposition to the movement, regardless of exit consideration. The usefulness of exit comes as a specification for those respondents who gave a qualified answer to the freedom of choice option. Forty one percent (41%) of respondents who gave a qualified answer and did not consider moving, did not know of the Freedom of Choice Movement. While 32% of similar respondents, who more or less seriously considered moving, did not know of the movement. Only 22% of respondents who seriously considered moving, did not know of the movement. It would seem then that when respondents consider moving it awakens their awareness for action and support especially at the seriously considering level.

Collective Action For The Defence Of Non-Francophone Interests

It would be expected that respondents who have participated a great deal in collective actions would be less supportive of the freedom of choice option and movement than those respondents who have been less involved in collective actions.

The first part of the hypothesis that respondents who are involved in a great deal of collective actions would be less supportive of the freedom of choice option than those that have not, is supported by subtable 4.5 (B).

Interestingly, Table 4.23 shows that among leaders who agree with the freedom of choice option fairly similar proportions are found to disagree with the movement, and agree with the movement irrespective of collective action involvement.

The difference exists in the percentage of respondents who don't know the association. Here it is found that as involvement increases so does the likelihood that a respondent will know of the association regardless of opinion on freedom of choice option. The important factor here is increasing involvement results in increased awareness. The trend of increased involvement leading to a greater awareness of the movements' existence holds true for the other two categories as well. Another observation that can be drawn from the table is that respondents who have decided to disagree with the freedom of choice option, regardless of involvement in collective actions will be more

aware of the movements' existence than the other two groups. This would seem to suggest that to make a decision to oppose the freedom of choice option requires the respondent to examine the situation.

Visual Leaders Of Freedom Of Choice

Besides being favorable to freedom of choice, the visual leaders agree on a certain number of issues. A consensus or near-consensus was found around Bill 101 and the role of the Liberal Party. Specifically, they consider Bill 101 is a bad law, that schools are in great danger, and that the Liberal Party has served the anglophone population very badly. A majority of them support a stronger central government with the others opting for the status quo.

While a majority of freedom of choice supporters also support the Liberal Party, the visual leaders do not. In our sample, none had the intention of voting for the Liberal Party. However, as a group they are highly interested in politics contrary to their supporters. These two findings are crucial since the base and the leadership do not seem to come from the same networks. Furthermore the base, although having a position of leadership, has a lower interest in politics than most leaders in the sample. The potential for mobilization is certainly affected by this situation.

TABLE 4.23

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT OPTION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR DEFENCE OF NON-FRANCOPHONE INTERESTS

	None P < .0001			Some P < .0001			Great Deal P < .0001		
	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Agree
Freedom of Choice Movement	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Disagree	74.	46.	14.	66.	41.	20.	77.	62.	26.
Don't Know Association	26.	46.	51.	31.	31.	34.	19.	26.	21.
Agree	0.	8.	35.	3.	28.	46.	4.	12.	53.
(N)	(27)	(48)	(111)	(29)	(39)	(83)	(53)	(42)	(85)

One should note that the visual leaders are involved in collective action in favor of the English-speaking community. Also, that the majority were involved in groups promoting the unity of Canada, business and civic organizations. Their involvement level was high as they attended meetings at least several times a month if not weekly.

It is not their interest or involvement that affects mobilization negatively but their affiliation with traditionally status quo groups.

CONCLUSION

In Table 4.1 the relationship between support for the freedom of choice option and movement was identified. However, in absolute terms less than half of those who agreed with the option supported the movement. Those who gave a qualified response to the option tended not to support the movement. No one who disagreed with the option supported the movement. Interestingly, a large proportion of respondents who agreed with the option did not know of the movement. The Freedom of Choice Movement is mainly known among those who disagree with it.

Two questions arose from the table: Why do a significant number of leaders agree with the option but disagree with the movement and why do so many leaders not know of the Freedom of Choice Movement. To address these questions the relationship between the option and the movement was examined with reference to variables used in

the previous chapters, plus several new ones. The variables did not include specific threat since its affect on support for the freedom of choice/option was shown to be minimal.

Segmentation proved to have little effect on the relationship between support for the freedom of choice option and movement.

Unilingual respondents were more likely to support and less likely to disagree with the movement, than bilingual ones. Interestingly, bilingualism or disagreement with the option increases awareness of the movement.

Respondents who go to English church services are more supportive and less in disagreement with the movement. Leaders who do not go to church are less supportive and more in disagreement with the movement.

Leaders who feel Bill 101 is a good law are more likely to disagree and less likely to agree with the movement. Further, respondents who feel the Law is good but agree with freedom of choice in education tend not to know of the association.

As interest in politics decreases there is an increase in the number of respondents who do not know that the Freedom of Choice Movement exists. When respondents who do not know of the movement are eliminated, those respondents who agree with the option show similar levels of support for the movement regardless of political interest.

In general as involvement in politics increases so does awareness of the movement. Also, as political involvement decreases support for the movement increases.

Except for the P.Q. or Freedom of Choice Party, membership in a political party per se does not affect disagreement or support for the movement. However, membership in a political party does increase awareness of the movement.

Leaders who rate Liberal Party performance fairly well or very badly and agree with the freedom of choice option show equal tendencies to support or disagree with the movement. Respondents in the fairly badly category who support the freedom of choice option are less supportive and more in disagreement with the movement. Leaders who rate the party performance as very bad have a greater awareness of the movement than the other groups.

Liberal and P.Q. voters are less likely to support and more likely to disagree than respondents who are not committed to either party.

As education increases, support for the movement decreases and opposition increases. University education, in general, increases awareness of the movement,

Contrary to expectations, females are less likely to support the movement, when they agree with the option. Overall, women are more likely not to know of the movement.

In general, there is an upward trend in support for the movement as age increases.

Leaders whose mother tongue is English are more supportive of the movement than those who have another mother tongue. But, respondents who have another mother

tongue than English are more likely to not know of the association.

Professionals or union members are more in disagreement with, and less supportive of, the movement than leaders with no association or a trade one.

Leaders who live in the Outaouais are more supportive of the movement than those from any other area. Support for the movement in "other" areas outside Montreal is the same as that in Montreal. However, "other" areas are far less likely to know of the movement.

Considering moving does seem to affect support for the movement from leaders who agree or disagree with the option. When respondents consider moving it appears to increase their awareness of the movement, especially at the seriously considering moving level.

Participation in collective action does not seem to affect support for the movement, but as involvement increases so does the likelihood that a respondent will know of the movement.

To summarize, it has been demonstrated that links with certain groups (parties, associations) as well as attitudes vis-a-vis freedom of choice, collective action, and performance of existing bodies all have an effect on participation. In the next chapter our hypothesis and findings will be reviewed and discussed.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The Objective of the Study

As stated in the Introduction, this study has dealt with support for the freedom of choice in education and collective action among the non-francophone leadership in Quebec.

Bill 101, the language legislation of the 1970's, brought an angry outcry from the English-speaking community of Quebec. It was claimed to be a violation of many basic freedoms including the language minority's educational rights. The response to the legislation ranged from grudging acceptance to outright defiance. However as LeCavalier (1980) noted, there was an absence of a co-ordinated interest position and a concerted communal movement. This is striking given that the non-francophone population (anglophones and allophones) exhibits many of the characteristics that are considered to encourage communal mobilization and protracted communal conflict.

The objective of this research project was to examine some of the factors which shape the opinions, decisions and readiness to act of English speaking communal leaders with reference to the issue of freedom of choice in Quebec's educational sector. The main aim was to investigate the conditions which limit the ability of an influential minority leadership to emerge and to do so with sufficient resources to organize a concerted communal movement.

The evolution of education in Quebec, since Confederation, can be seen as a competition over resources between the French and English and/or Catholics and Protestants. Therefore the theoretical model of this study was based on an analysis of literature that encompassed both segmentation and resource management. Subsequently, the approach adopted was based on a resource mobilization perspective as modified by LeCavalier's (1980) theoretical specification.

The theoretical discussion set a context and provided a rationale for the formulation of the hypotheses which could be tested with empirical data. The working hypotheses operate on the theory of cost-benefit as the primary motivating factor inducing leaders to act communally.

Since the objective of the thesis has been to apply a resource mobilization perspective to the study of support for the idea of freedom of choice in education and for the movement advocating it, in a first step, the links between organizational resources, segmentation and feelings of threat as sources of attitudes towards freedom of choice were examined. In the second step, it was examined how such attitudes, with other organizational factors affected the mobilization of support for the Freedom of Choice Movement.

It was found that overall, the level of bilingualism, the linguistic environment of work, church involvement, level of education, gender, region, mother tongue and age all contribute to the level of segmentation as shown in Chapter II. In turn, segmentation has been the most important factor

affecting support for freedom of choice: generally, the more segmented a non-francophone leaders from the francophone milieu, the higher the support for freedom of choice in education. A more detailed account of the findings is given at the end of Chapter II.

In Chapter III, it was found that a relationship between two indicators of feelings of threat and support for freedom of choice. A negative attitude towards Bill 101 had seemingly a much greater effect on that support than did the feeling of threat related to the future of the English-speaking school system alone. The latter was associated with church environment and region only, while attitudes towards Bill 101 were related to the factors associated with segmentation, but not as strongly..

The most important step in the analysis was to demonstrate whether or not those who supported the idea of freedom of choice were able to act collectively to promote their ideal. In Chapter IV, it was found that the highly segmented leaders, those who were most likely to favor freedom of choice, were less likely to know about the Freedom of Choice Movement, and were less likely to be associated with organizational resources such as those linked to political parties, professional and union membership. Consequently, their capacity to mobilize, compared to that of the more organizationally active leaders having opposite views, is rather weak.

A LOG-LINEAR ANALYSIS

For greater parsimony, these results can be reanalyzed with a more powerful technique than contingency tables. Given the nature of some of the variables, log-linear analysis is appropriate.

For the purpose of a concluding chapter, this analysis will be limited to the most central variables of the thesis, namely, segmentation, attitudes toward Bill 101, support for freedom of choice, as well as for the Freedom of Choice Movement. The logit version of log-linear analysis will be treated as a path analysis analog. The application of log-linear techniques to the recursive causal models follows the assumptions and advice layed out by Goodman (1973a, 1973b, 1979) and Knoke and Burke (1980).

The initial proposed model of paths, based on our previous findings, is as shown in Diagram 5-1.

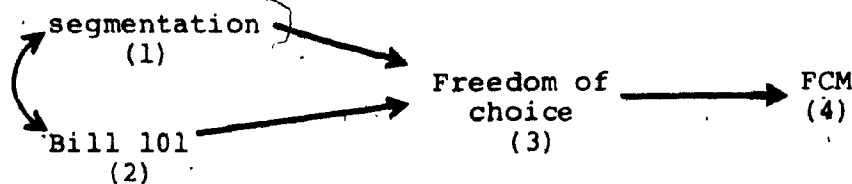


DIAGRAM 5-1

Three matrices were built for the analysis. The first one includes the two variables on the left side of Diagram 5-1. Since segmentation and attitudes towards Bill 101 are associated, as shown earlier, the detailed model is the saturated one with L^2 equal to zero and no degree of freedom.

The second matrix was built with these two plus the support for freedom of choice. The results are shown in Table 5-1.

TABLE 5-1

MODELS FITTED TO THREE-WAY CROSSTABULATIONS OF SEGMENTATION, ATTITUDES TOWARDS BILL 101 AND SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE*

Fitted Marginals	L^2	d.f.	P
H ₁ (12) (3)	121.65	10	.000
H ₂ (12) (13)	82.74	6	.000
H ₃ (12) (23)	28.04	8	.001
H ₄ (12) (13) (23)	2.67	4	> .50

*The variables are designated as number 1 (segmentation), 2 (Bill 101), 3 (support for freedom of choice). The letter H designates each hypothesis or model.

Table 5-1 clearly shows that the only fit is H-4, the proposed model of Diagram 5-1. Both segmentation and attitudes toward Bill 101 explain, independently, the support for freedom of choice. A very small L^2 (2.67) for four degrees of freedom makes this model a very good fit for the data.

Table 5-2 shows the results for the final step. A few zeros appeared in some of the cells of the matrix. Since the presence of such zeros present problems for the analysis, as suggested by Goodman, a value of .5 was added in every cell.

At this final step several models fit the data (H₄, H₆, H₇, H₈). For the purpose of parsimony, the simplest one (H₄) is first compared to H₆ as follows:

	L^2	d.f.
H ₄	22.03	30
H ₆	<u>21.07</u>	<u>26</u>
	.96	4

TABLE 5-2

MODELS FITTED TO FOUR-WAY CROSSTABULATIONS OF SEGMENTATION, ATTITUDES TOWARDS BILL 101, SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM OF CHOICE AND SUPPORT FOR THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE MOVEMENT

Fitted Marginals	L^2	d. f.	P
H ₁ (123) (4)	146.02	34	.000
H ₂ (123) (14)	136.33	30	.000
H ₃ (123) (24)	109.39	32	.000
H ₄ (123) (34)	22.03	30	>.50
H ₅ (123) (14) (24)	104.53	28	.000
H ₆ (123) (14) (34)	21.07	26	>.50
H ₇ (123) (24) (34)	15.32	28	>.50
H ₈ (123) (14) (24) (34)	14.68	24	>.50

The table of χ^2 distribution shows that the difference between these two models is not statistically significant. This means that H₆ does not bring about significant additional effects on the support for the Freedom of Choice Movement. Consequently, H₄ is retained for comparison with H₇:

	L^2	d. f.
H ₄	22.03	30
H ₇	$\frac{15.32}{6.71}$	$\frac{28}{2}$

This time, the ratio between L^2 (6.71) and the degrees of freedom (2) is significant at the .05 level. H₇ is then compared to the last model:

	L^2	d. f.
H ₇	15.32	28
H ₈	$\frac{14.68}{.64}$	$\frac{24}{4}$

The difference between H_7 and H_8 is not significant, and this means that the proposed causal model of Diagram 5-1 must be modified as shown in Diagram 5-2:

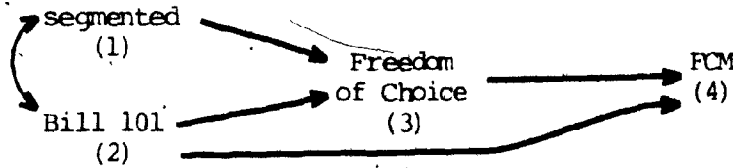


DIAGRAM 5-2

Attitudes towards Bill 101 exert an independent effect on the support for the Freedom of Choice Movement. However, an examination of the estimates of effect (beta) shows that this effect is much less important than the effect of support for the idea of freedom of choice on the movement.

The modified Diagram 5-2 has $L^2 = (.00 + 2.67 + 15.32) = 17.99$ with d.f. = $(0 + 4 + 28) = 32$, that is, P larger than .95.

On the overall, this log-linear analysis confirms, for those four variables, the results obtained from the contingency table analysis.

DISCUSSION

By and large, the hypotheses have been supported by the findings. Those non-francophone leaders who were most segmented from the francophone majority and who felt that Bill 101 was a bad law were the most likely to support freedom of choice in education. Contrary to our expectation, there was little link between attitudes towards the future of the English-speaking school system and towards the freedom of choice in education. The less segmented were not less likely to feel that the future of English language schools was threatened and this specific fear seems more a reflection of a real regional threat than of feelings about the non-francophones' minority situation.

This analysis has begun to suggest reasons why a protest group, such as the Freedom of Choice Movement, has been so unsuccessful in mobilizing the support of Quebec's English-speaking population. The resource mobilization perspective that was adopted pays attention to the links between social movements and the context of everyday life, focusing on a movement's need to acquire resources such as money, publicity, expertise, membership and informal as well as associational networks. This analysis has shown that the Freedom of Choice Movement lacks some of these basic resources. The potential leaders, those who were more likely to support the idea of freedom of choice, were less likely to be well informed about Quebec and even about the Freedom of Choice Movement, that is, the highest profile group advocating their ideas. Furthermore, the greater their support for freedom of choice, the less likely were they to be associated with resourceful associations (such as political parties) and networks. Such a potential leadership certainly could not facilitate the organizational and mobilizing capacity of this movement. Other groups, involving less segmented leaders, more accommodative to the Quebec Government objectives and policies and having a greater access to a large variety of organizational and political resources, acquired greater credibility and backing, and have proven to be more successful than the Freedom of Choice Movement.

Of course, this thesis has been limited to a small number of the variables contained in the rich set of data on Quebec's

non-francophone leaders. Analyses on some of the other groups, strategic repertoires, and attitudes towards the conditions of minority incorporation, to mention a few, remain to be done.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CHAPTER VIII OF BILL 101

THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

72. Instruction in the kindergarten classes and in the elementary and secondary schools shall be in French, except where this chapter allows otherwise.

This rule obtains in school bodies within the meaning of the Schedule and also applies to subsidized instruction provided by institutions declared to be of public interest or recognized for purposes of grants in virtue of the Private Education Act (1968, chapter 67).

73. In derogation of section 72, the following children, at the request of their father and mother, may receive their instruction in English:

(a) a child whose father or mother received his or her elementary instruction in English, in Quebec;

(b) a child whose father or mother, domiciled in Quebec on the date of the coming into force of this act, received his or her elementary instruction in English outside Quebec;

(c) a child who, in his last year of school in Quebec before the coming into force of this act, was lawfully receiving his instruction in English, in a public kindergarten class or in an elementary or secondary school;

(d) the younger brothers and sisters of a child described in paragraph c.

74. Where a child is in the custody of only one of his parents, or of a tutor, the request provided for in section 73 must be made by that parent or by the tutor.

75. The Minister of Education may empower such persons as he may designate to verify and decide on children's eligibility for instruction in English.

76. The persons designated by the Minister of Education under section 75 may verify the eligibility of children to receive their elementary instruction in English even if they are already receiving or are about to receive their instruction in French.

Children whose eligibility has been confirmed in accordance with the preceding paragraph are deemed to receive their instruction in English for the purposes of section 73.

77. A certificate of eligibility obtained fraudulently or on the basis of a false representation is void.

78. The Minister of Education may revoke a certificate of eligibility issued in error.

79. A school body not already giving instruction in English in its schools is not required to introduce it, and shall not introduce it without express and prior authorization of the Minister of Education.

However, every school body shall, where necessary, avail itself of section 496 of the Education Act to arrange for the instruction in English of any child declared eligible therefore.

The Minister of Education shall grant the authorization referred to in the first paragraph if, in his opinion, it is warranted by the number of pupils in the jurisdiction of the school body who are eligible for instruction in English under section 73.

80. The Government may, by regulation, prescribe the procedure to be followed where parents invoke section 73, and the elements of proof they must furnish in support of their request.

81. Children having serious learning disabilities must be exempted from the application of this chapter.

The Government, by regulation, may define the classes of children envisaged in the preceding paragraph and determine the procedure to be followed in view of obtaining such an exemption.

82. An appeal lies from the decisions of the school bodies, the institutions mentioned in the second paragraph of section 72, and the persons designated by the Minister of Education, dealing with the application of section 73, and from the decisions of the Minister of Education taken under section 78.

83. An appeals committee is established to hear appeals provided for in section 82. This committee consists of three members appointed by the Government. Appeals are brought in accordance with the procedure established by regulation. The decisions of this committee are final.

84. No secondary school leaving certificate may be issued to a student who does not have the speaking and writing knowledge of French required by the curricula of the Department of Education.

85. The Government, by regulation, may determine the conditions on which certain persons or categories of persons staying in Quebec temporarily, or their children, may be exempted from the application of this chapter.

86. The Government may make regulations extending the scope of section 73 to include such persons as may be contemplated in any reciprocity agreement that may be concluded between the Government of Quebec and another province.

Notwithstanding section 94, such regulations may come into force from their date of publication in the Gazette officielle du Quebec.

87. Nothing in this act prevents the use of an Amerindic language in providing instruction to the Amerinds.

88. Notwithstanding sections 72 to 86, in the schools under the jurisdiction of the Cree School Board or the Kativik School Board, according to the Education Act, the languages of instruction shall be Cree and Inuititut, respectively, and the other languages of instruction in use in the Cree and Inuit communities in Quebec on the date of the signing of the Agreement indicated in section 1 of the Act approving the Agreement concerning James Bay and Northern Quebec 1976, chapter 46, namely, 11 November 1975.

The Cree School Board and the Kativik School Board pursue as an objective the use of French as a language of instruction so that pupils graduating from their schools will in future be capable of continuing their studies in a French school, college or university elsewhere in Quebec, if they so desire.

After consultation with the school committees, in the case of the Crees, and with the parents' committees, in the case of the Inuit, the commissioners shall determine the rate of introduction of French and English as languages of instruction.

With the assistance of the Minister of Education, the Cree School Board and the Kativik School Board shall take the necessary measures to have sections 72 to 86 apply to children whose parents are not Crees or Inuit qualifying for benefit under the Agreement.

This section, with the necessary changes, applies to the Naskapi of Schefferville.

APPENDIX B

INDICES AND RECODES OF VARIABLES

The indices and relevant recoded variables are presented in the order of their appearance in the study.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN EDUCATION

This index was originally based on questions 322 to 324, Table B-1. For reasons discussed in chapter 2, question 322 was excluded from the index. Respondents obtained a total score ranging between 0 and 6, that is, the sum of the following scores:

Q. 323 and 324	Disagree	0
	Qualified	1
	Agree	3

Respondents who did not answer or were undecided were excluded. Respondents who obtained a score of 6 were considered to entirely agree with freedom of choice in education while a score of 0 were considered to disagree.

SEGMENTATION

This index is based on question 172 to 178, (see Table B-3). For reasons discussed in chapter 2, questions 175 and 178 were excluded from the index. Respondents obtained a total score ranging between 0 and 5, that is, the sum of the following scores:

Q. 172 to 179	None	0
	A few	0
	About half	1
	More than half	1

TABLE B-1

ITEMS MEASURING FREEDOM OF CHOICE

	Agree	Dis- agree	Quali- fied	Don't Know	N
Canadians from other Provinces should have right to send their children to English schools	% 90.9	4.2	4.2	.8	(527)
All new immigrants to Quebec should have the right to send their children to English schools	% 54.1	32.6	12.9	.4	(527)
All parents should be free to send their children to either French or English schools	% 71.0	23.1	5.1	.8	(527)

TABLE B-2

"ALL NEW IMMIGRANTS TO QUEBEC SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO ENGLISH SCHOOLS "BY" ALL PARENTS SHOULD BE FREE TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO EITHER FRENCH OR ENGLISH SCHOOLS"

All Quebecers	Disagree	Qualified	Agree	N
New Immigrants Disagree	% 64.7	7.6	27.6	(170)
Qualified	% 11.9	19.4	68.7	(67)
Agree	% 1.1	.4	98.6	(284)

Gamma = .94 $\chi^2 = 305.498$, DF = 4 $P < .0001$

TABLE B-3

ITEMS MEASURING SEGMENTATION

	None	A Few	About Half	More Than Half	Not Applicable	No Answer
Friends	10.2	52.2	23.9	13.5	-	.2
People in stores when you shop	2.3	15.2	23.5	57.5	-	1.5
People in organization you are act- ive in	6.8	39.7	29.8	22.8	-	1.
People you go to Church with *	34.7	23.5	5.7	7.0	27.7	1.3
Neighbours	15.4	41.	22.6	19.5	-	1.5
People at social gath- erings	6.1	48.4	30.4	14.2	-	1.
People where you are emp- loyed *	9.7	30.6	19.7	26.0	13.9	.2

* Items excluded from the final index

Respondents who did not answer or were undecided were excluded. Respondents who obtained a score of 0 or 1 were considered to be high in segmentation, a score of 5 to be low.

GENERAL THREAT

General threat was based on question 307. The question was recoded:

Q 307	A good law	}	A good law
	A good law with bad features		
	Other		
	A bad law	}	A bad law
	A bad law with good features		

Refusal

Excluded

INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS

Involvement in politics was based on questions 146, 410, 419, 421. A value of 1 was given to any affirmative answer and 0 to all other answers. Respondents who gave three affirmative answers were considered to be involved a great deal; two affirmative answers much involvement; one affirmative answer some involvement; no affirmative answer no involvement.

INTEREST IN POLITICS

Interest in politics was based on question 406. The question was recoded:

Q 406	Very much	
	Moderately	
	Somewhat	} Little
	Not at all	
	No answer	Excluded

LIBERAL PARTY SERVED ENGLISH COMMUNITY

The measurement of the attitude whether or not the Liberal party served English community was based on question 426. The question was recoded:

Q 426	Very well	} Fairly well
	Fairly well	
	Fairly badly	
	Very badly	
	Don't know	
	Refusal	Excluded

COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR THE DEFENCE OF NONFRANCOPHONE INTERESTS

The measurement of involvement in collective action for the defense of the nonfrancophone interests was based on questions 341 and 348. A value of 1 was given to any affirmative answer and 0 to all other answers. Respondents who

gave affirmative answers to both questions were considered to have a great deal of involvement in collective action, one affirmative answer some involvement and no affirmative answer no involvement.

APPENDIX C

RELEVANT PARTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

108/ REGISTER RESPONDENT'S SEX

- 1 male
 2 female

109/ REGISTER REGION

- 1 Montreal Area
 2 Quebec Area
 3 Eastern townships
 4 Outaouais
 5 Trois-Rivieres
 6 Gaspesia
 7 Other (specify: _____)

115/ In what year were you born?

_____ 19 _____

118/ Which level of education did you complete?

- 1 Less than high school
 2 High school
 3 Technical, trade or vocational school
 4 Commercial school or secretarial school
 5 Teacher's college, school of fine arts or conservatory
 6 CEGEP or junior college
 7 University or professional school
 _____ Other (specify: _____)

135/ Concerning your occupation or work, in which of the following categories would you place yourself?

- 1 A person with a full-time job
 2 A person with a part-time job
 3 A student
 4 A person voluntarily not in the labor force
 5 An unemployed person
 6 A retired person

146/ Besides your main occupation, have you held any office at the Federal, Provincial or Municipal level?

- 1 _____ Yes
2 _____ No

160/ How many children do you have?

- 0 _____ None

172/ I'd like to get some idea as to you contacts with French-speaking Quebecers. I'll read a list of kinds of people most of us come in contact with and would you please tell me whether none, a few, about half or more than half are French-speaking:

Friends

- 1 _____ None
2 _____ A few
3 _____ About half
4 _____ More than half

173/ People in the stores when you shop

- 1 _____ None
2 _____ A few
3 _____ About half
4 _____ More than half

174/ People in organizations you are active in

- 1 _____ None
2 _____ A few
3 _____ About half
4 _____ More than half

175/ People you go to church (or synagogue) with

- 1 _____ None
2 _____ A few
3 _____ About half
4 _____ More than half

176/ Neighbours

- 1 _____ None
 2 _____ A few
 3 _____ About half
 4 _____ More than half

177/ People at social gatherings

- 1 _____ None
 2 _____ A few
 3 _____ About half
 4 _____ More than half

178/ People where you are employed

- 1 _____ None
 2 _____ A few
 3 _____ About half
 4 _____ More than half
 7 _____ Does not work

212/ Now let me ask you a few questions on language. What is your mother tongue, that is, the language you first learned in childhood and still understand?

- Ø1 _____ English
 Ø2 _____ French
 Ø3 _____ German
 Ø4 _____ Greek
 Ø5 _____ Italian
 Ø6 _____ Portugese
 _____ Other (specify: _____)

218/ Can you speak French well enough to conduct a conversation?

- 1 _____ Yes
 2 _____ No
 3 _____ Qualified answer

219/ Outside your home, how often do you speak French: nearly all the time, often, occasionally, rarely or never?

- 1 _____ Nearly all the time
 2 _____ Often
 3 _____ Occasionally
 4 _____ Rarely
 5 _____ Never
 6 _____ Depends, it varies

245/ Now, I'll ask you a few questions about the English-speaking institutions in Quebec. In 15 years from now, do you think the following English language service institutions in Quebec are in danger of disappearing: a great danger, some danger or no danger?

Elementary and Secondary schools:

- 1 _____ A great danger
 2 _____ Some danger
 3 _____ No danger
 4 _____ It depends (specify: _____)
 5 _____ Other (specify: _____)
 6 _____ Does not know

270/ For a few years a certain number of people have left Quebec. Have you considered moving out of Quebec in the last five years: seriously, more or less seriously or not at all?

- 1 _____ Seriously
 2 _____ More or less seriously
 3 _____ Not at all
 4 _____ Other answer (specify: _____)

307/ Would you say that Bill 101, the bill that introduced the new language legislation in Quebec, is a good law, a good law with bad features or a bad law?

- 1 _____ A good law
 2 _____ A good law with bad features
 3 _____ A bad law
 4 _____ Other answer (specify: _____)

322/ I'll read you a few statements. As I read, tell me if you agree or disagree with the statement. Canadians from other provinces should have the right to send their children to English schools.

- 1 Agree
 2 Disagree
 3 Qualified answer
 7 Don't know

323/ All new immigrants to Quebec should have the right to send their children to English schools

- 1 Agree
 2 Disagree
 3 Qualified answer
 7 Don't know

324/ All parents should be free to send their children to either French or English schools

- 1 Agree
 2 Disagree
 3 Qualified answer
 7 Don't know

330/ Here is a list of different kinds of voluntary associations. As I read the list tell me if you personally belong to such associations.

Church(or synagoue) connected groups

- 1 Yes
 2 No

331/ Fraternal lodges

- 1 Yes
 2 No

332/ Business or civic groups

- 1 Yes
 2 No

333/ PTA or Home & School Association

- 1 Yes
 2 No

334/ Neighbourhood clubs or centers

1 Yes
2 No

335/ Ethnic associations

1 Yes
2 No

336/ Sports teams or groups

1 Yes
2 No

337/ Self-Help Associations

1 Yes
2 No

338/ Charitable groups

1 Yes
2 No

339/ Municipal party or movement

1 Yes
2 No

340/ Groups advocating the unity of Canada

1 Yes
2 No

341/ Groups advocating the interests of non-francophones in Quebec

1 Yes
2 No

342/ Other associations or groups not mentioned here?

1 Yes (specify: _____)
2 No

346/ Are you a member of:

(CHECK AS MANY AS MENTIONED)

- 1 A labor or white collar union
 2 A trade association
 3 A professional association
 4 None

348/ Now, since Bill 101, it has become more difficult for non-francophones to receive provincial government publications and services in English. Have you taken part in projects or activities to help people who do not know French to receive adequate information for their needs?

- 1 Yes
 2 No

In general, would you say that you agree or disagree with:

360/ Pontiac-Ontario Movement

- 1 Agree
 2 Disagree
 3 Qualified answer
 6 Don't know association (enough)

361/ Freedom of choice

- 1 Agree
 2 Disagree
 3 Qualified answer
 6 Don't know association (enough)

406/ Some people are not too interested in politics. Personally are you interested in politics very much, moderately, somewhat or not at all?

- 1 Very much
 2 Moderately
 3 Somewhat
 4 Not at all

407/ Personally, which of the following options for the future of Quebec do you favor?

(HAND CARD "A" AND READ THE LIST)

- 1 A STRONGER CENTRAL GOVERNMENT in Ottawa
- 2 The STATUS QUO, that is, keeping the powers of Quebec within Confederation unchanged
- 3 A RENEWED FEDERALISM which would give Quebec and the other provinces more power in Confederation
- 4 SOVEREIGNTY-ASSOCIATION, that is, the political independence of Quebec with an economic association with the rest of Canada
- 5 The POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE of Quebec
- 6 Indifferent
- 7 Don't know

409/ If a Provincial election were held tomorrow, for which political party would you vote?

- 1 Liberal Party
- 2 Parti Quebecois
- 3 Union Nationale
- 4 Social Credit
- 5 Freedom of Choice Party
- 6 Libertarian Party
- 7 Other (specify: _____)
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Would not vote

410/ Have you ever done any voluntary work for a political party such as canvassing, office work, organizing,

(a) at the Provincial level:

- Yes (1)
 No (0)

(b) at the Federal level:

- Yes (1)
 No (0)

419/ Are you currently a member of any political party?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Refuse to answer

420/ If "YES" which political party are you a member of?

- 1 Liberal Party of Quebec (Provincial)
- 2 Federal Liberal Party
- 3 Progressive-Conservative Party
- 4 Parti-Quebécois
- 5 Union Nationale
- 6 Freedom of Choice Party
- 7 Libertarian Party
- 8 Other (specify: _____)
- 9 Refuse to answer

421/ If "NO"

Were you ever member of a political party?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Refuse to answer

426/ In the past 5 years, would you say the Provincial Liberal Party has served the interests of English-speaking Quebecers very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?

- 1 Very well
- 2 Fairly well
- 3 Fairly badly
- 4 Very badly
- 7 Don't know