

QUEBEC ANGLOPHONES WHO STAYED... AND THOSE WHO LEFT. A COMPARISON OF KEY CHARACTERISTICS, 1971–2001¹

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Abstract

Quebec's English-speaking community, once a strong, vital part of the province's human landscape, has declined considerably in the last thirty-five years. Recent studies show that the phenomenon is now important enough to be dubbed an exodus. This paper will focus on the significant changes of the Anglophone population's mobility since 1971 and will attempt to find the common characteristics of those "leavers". This, the author hopes, will provide some insight on the measures to be taken in order to replenish this dwindling community. By looking at the socio-economic profiles of the "leavers" and "stayers", as well as their education level, and also by examining these same characteristics in Quebec's Anglophone immigrants, the author seeks to give a better idea of Quebec's English-speaking community's present situation, highlighting its strengths and deficiencies in order to better understand the alarming out-migration this community has known in the past three decades.

Résumé

La communauté anglophone du Québec, qui formait récemment encore une part importante de la population, connaît, depuis les trente-cinq dernières années, un déclin appréciable. De récentes études démontrent que le phénomène a pris une ampleur telle qu'on peut maintenant le qualifier d'exode. Cet article examine les changements les plus notables dans les mouvements migratoires des Québécois anglophones depuis 1971, et isole les caractéristiques communes à tous ceux qui quittent la province. L'auteur espère ainsi jeter une lumière sur les mesures à prendre pour redonner vigueur à cette communauté en décroissance. Il y présente ses forces et ses faiblesses par le biais d'un examen minutieux de la situation socio-économique et du niveau d'éducation de ceux qui partent et de ceux qui restent, en comparaison avec les immigrants anglophones du reste de la province. Il parvient ainsi à dresser un tableau réaliste de la situation actuelle de la communauté anglophone québécoise, portrait essentiel à une meilleure compréhension de cet inquiétant phénomène migratoire.

The second half of the 20th century was a dynamic period where language relations in Canada were concerned. Quebec's Quiet Revolution, the adoption of official languages legislation at the federal level as well as in many provincial/territorial jurisdictions all marked this period as one of great ferment in Canadian society; this country has witnessed important changes in the status and circumstances of its citizens living as members of official-language minorities. Through the explicit recognition of the right to manage elementary and secondary level education in the 1982 *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Francophones living outside Quebec gained access to a key lever for community vitality and have made great strides toward reducing the gap in socio-economic status which they had previously experienced vis-à-vis their Anglophone counterparts. However, many of these Francophone communities continue to struggle with the effects of language transfer and low intergenerational transmission of French.

For their part, the Anglophones (or English-speaking communities) of Quebec have experienced a weakening of their institutional base and substantial demographic decline as increasing numbers of Anglophones born in Quebec have re-located to other provinces. The Quebec Anglophone group has been traditionally understood as a highly mobile population with an ability to replenish its population losses through inter-provincial in-migrants and international immigration. This takes as its time frame the 1971–2001 period and will examine whether the scope or nature of mobility has changed over this period.

In general, population growth depends on the net effects of mobility and on the difference between birth and mortality rates. To linguistic communities such as the Quebec Anglophone group, we add some linguistic factors variously represented as assimilation or language transfer. While the assimilation/language transfer of Francophone communities has been, and continues to be, a topic of intense research interest², little attention has been paid to mobility and even less to its cumulative effects, which, as will be shown, have had an important impact on the Anglophone communities of Quebec.

The following study seeks to deepen our understanding of the scope and nature of the inter-provincial migratory trends affecting language groups in Canada with an emphasis on Quebec, where "the proportion of Anglophones has declined continuously, dropping from 14% in 1951 to 8% in 2001. This has resulted largely from the English-mother-tongue population leaving Quebec to live

in other provinces, particularly during the 1970s.”³

More specifically, we will consider whether there are socio-economic differences between the group of Anglophones born in Quebec and still living there and the group of Anglophones who have left their province of birth, thereby testing the hypothesis that out-migration is selective. We will also briefly reflect on the impacts these migration trends have on the community by examining the situation over the past generation.

Sources and Methodology

Compared to other national censuses around the world, the Canadian census is particularly rich in the language concepts that it contains. For the time points under consideration here (1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001), each census contained questions for mother tongue, home language and knowledge of official languages. The 2001 Census contained a supplementary home language question relating to “regular use” and a new two-part question on the “language of work” was added.

Researchers and policy makers have worked with the data generated from these questions to develop an understanding of the status and usage of languages in Canadian society and to track the evolution of linguistic groups in various regions of the country. The wealth of language data and the various methods of calculation give rise to a number of options for estimating the size and proportion of various language groups, in turn stimulating some interesting public policy discussions. The following graph provides the number of Anglophones living in Quebec in 2001 based on four linguistic definitions (mother tongue, home language used most often, home language used most often or regularly or first official language spoken) using three methods of calculation (single responses only, multiple responses distributed among declared languages and multiple responses assigned to the minority group).

The population being considered consists of those persons born in Quebec having English as their mother tongue⁴ and are referred to as the “EMT born-in-Quebec” population. This population is then divided into two groups, those who continue to live in Quebec at the time of a given census (the “stayers”) and those who have moved from their province of birth to another Canadian province or territory (“the leavers”). To provide a context for understanding this target population, we will also examine the trends affecting Quebecers with French as a mother tongue as well as the

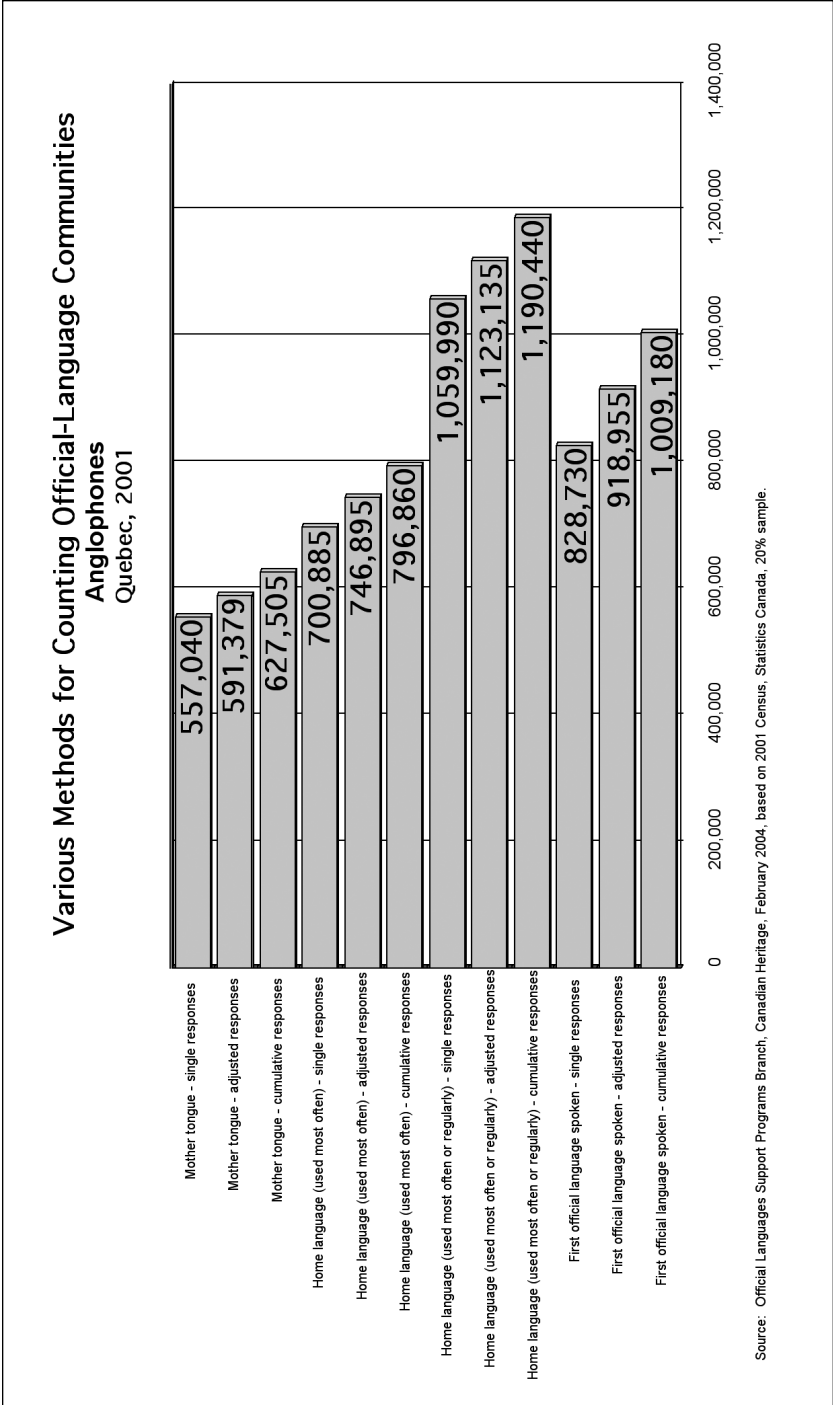


Figure 1.

Anglophone and Francophone groups living outside Quebec.

Unless otherwise stated, the data presented in this analysis is drawn from the Public Use Microdata Files for the Census of Canada and the language definition used in mother tongue with multiple responses is distributed equally among declared languages.⁵ It should be noted that the sample does not include those born in Canada who may now be living outside Canada since the census does not capture such persons.⁶

Retention Rate

The first aspect to be considered in our analysis of the cumulative effects of inter-provincial mobility patterns is that of the retention

Table 1 – Retention Rates for Population 15+, Provinces and Territories, Canada, 2001			
	minority	majority	mmi*
Newfoundland and Labrador	30.5%	67.1%	0.45
Prince Edward Island	66.9%	66.1%	1.01
Nova Scotia	75.9%	70.7%	1.07
New Brunswick	75.4%	68.0%	1.11
Quebec	50.1%	96.3%	0.52
Ontario	74.9%	89.4%	0.84
Manitoba	71.1%	61.4%	1.16
Saskatchewan	49.4%	53.4%	0.93
Alberta	71.4%	76.1%	0.94
British Columbia	63.0%	85.8%	0.73
Canada, less Quebec	84.2%	99.3%	0.85
<i>Source: Calculations by the author based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.</i>			
*The minority-majority index compares the retention rate for the minority-language group (Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the rest of Canada) with that of the majority-language group (Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones in the rest of Canada). An mmi of less than 1.00 indicates that the minority has a lower retention rate than its corresponding majority.			

rate, which is the proportion of a particular mother tongue group who continue to reside in the province of birth at the time of a census.⁷ As the attached table of retention rates by province/territory as of 2001 illustrates, there is considerable variation in the capacity of various provinces and territories to retain their populations.⁸ For the official-language minority communities⁹, a number of jurisdictions (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario) show retention rates of 70-75% while others (Saskatchewan, Quebec, Newfoundland-Labrador) show retention rates of 50% or less. For the majority language groups, the provinces of Quebec (96%), Ontario (89%), British Columbia (86%) and Alberta (76%) have the highest retention rates while Saskatchewan (53%) and Manitoba (61%) show the lowest rates.

When we compare the retention rates for the minority and majority groups, represented here as the minority-majority index (mmi), we note that the OL-minority groups in Newfoundland-Labrador (mmi=0.45) and Quebec (mmi=0.52) have the lowest retention rate relative to their respective majority-language group. The OL-minority communities in these provinces are approximately half as likely as their majorities to remain in their province of birth. At the other end of the spectrum, we find that a number of provinces (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Manitoba) show stronger retention in the minority than in the majority. In these cases, members of the OL-minority group were more likely to have remained in their province of birth than were the members of the Anglophone majority group.

Another frame of analysis that can be applied to this data is to divide the country into two large regions (Quebec and the rest of Canada) which permits the examination of Anglophone and Francophone groups as four linguistic factions, namely: Francophones in a minority situation, Francophones in a majority situation, Anglophones in a minority situation and Anglophones in a majority situation. Using this frame, it can be seen in Table 2 that the trend in the retention rate is particularly problematic for the Anglophone minority group as they show a rate of just 50% in 2001, down from 69% in 1971. It is also noteworthy that the retention rate for the other three groups has remained remarkably constant for the 1971-2001 period while that of the Anglophone minority group has declined substantially.

While the downward decline in the retention rate for this group appears to have slowed in the most recent period (1991-2001), analysis of other characteristics (age, level of schooling, employ-

Language Group	Retention Rate			
Year	1971	1981	1991	2001
Francophone – minority	85%	85%	84%	84%
Francophone – majority	96%	96%	96%	96%
Anglophone – minority	69%	58%	52%	50%
Anglophone – majority	98%	99%	98%	99%

Source: Calculations by the author based on data from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

ment status and income) suggests further deterioration of relative community status. Consideration of these aspects will be undertaken in the following section.

Migration and Age Groups

The vitality and dynamism of any society are frequently understood to be expressed through its youth and young adult cohort. A population with a low capacity to retain community members in this age group will clearly face challenges in the future. As can be seen in Table 3, the retention rate for members of Quebec’s Anglophone minority in the 25-44 and 45-64 age category shows that fewer than

Language Group	Retention Rate			
Year	15–24	25–44	45–64	65+
Francophone - minority	83%	84%	85%	84%
Francophone - majority	98%	96%	96%	96%
Anglophone - minority	74%	46%	43%	52%
Anglophone - majority	99%	99%	99%	99%

Source: Calculations by the author based on data from the 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

half of the Anglophones born in Quebec continue to reside there. The other three language groups show no appreciable difference in retention rates across age cohorts.

As Table 4 illustrates, there has been little change in the absolute numbers of the EMT born-in-Quebec group since 1971. What has changed is the province of residence for this group. The number born and still living in Quebec has diminished constantly since 1971, in contrast with the number of those born in Quebec and now living elsewhere in Canada which has steadily increased.

As Table 5 illustrates, Quebec has had an increasingly difficult time attracting Anglophones from other provinces and especially internationally. This phenomenon has altered over the period in question, with decreasing numbers of persons born outside Quebec joining the EMT born-in-Quebec group. While the overall EMT population living in Quebec declined by 27% over the 1971–2001 period, the EMT international immigrants group declined by 46% in the over that period while the EMT born-in-another-Canadian-province group has declined by 27% in the same time frame. Among the younger cohorts, this decline is even more marked as the number of EMT immigrants under 45 years of age has diminished by half since 1971.

Table 5 also illustrates the aging of the EMT born-in-Quebec group over the period in question. The ratio of EMT born-in-Quebec seniors (65 years and up) to children (aged 0–14) was 0.20 in 1971 but had risen to 0.51 by 2001. Put another way, there are 43% more seniors in the EMT born-in-Quebec in 2001 than there were in 1971, while there are approximately half as many children aged 0–14 in 2001 than there were in 1971. For the total Quebec EMT population, the seniors-to-children ratio rose steadily over the period in question 0.20 in 1971, to 0.39 in 1981, to 0.59 in 1991, and to 0.70 in 2001.

Table 4 – Quebec Anglophones by stayed/left status, 1971–2001				
	1971	1981	1991	2001
QC anglophones – stayed	517,000	467,450	421,566	402,164
QC anglophones – left	192,600	292,350	311,300	323,542
Total – EMT born-in-Quebec	709,600	759,800	732,866	735,706
<i>Source: Calculations by the author based on data from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.</i>				

Table 5 – English Mother Tongue (EMT) Population Living in Quebec, by Place of Birth and Age Cohort, 1971–2001							
Year		Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
1971	born in Quebec	517,000	175,700	100,900	108,100	96,500	35,800
	born elsewhere in Canada	136,639	16,910	18,340	43,152	37,236	21,001
	born outside Canada	141,421	19,465	16,801	47,548	37,978	19,630
	Total EMT in Quebec	795,060	212,075	136,041	198,800	171,714	76,431
		Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
1981	born in Quebec	467,450	119,200	100,350	112,350	89,150	46,400
	born elsewhere in Canada	112,850	17,600	15,500	38,100	28,450	13,200
	born outside Canada	116,500	10,100	15,800	41,950	27,400	21,250
	Total EMT in Quebec	696,800	146,900	131,650	192,400	145,000	80,850
		Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
1991	born in Quebec	421,566	106,867	66,317	123,967	75,483	48,933
	born elsewhere in Canada	105,083	15,417	13,417	38,800	21,883	15,567
	born outside Canada	88,850	5,883	9,500	33,117	23,933	16,417
	Total EMT in Quebec	615,499	128,167	89,234	195,884	121,299	80,917
		Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
2001	born in Quebec	402,164	99,758	59,548	106,595	85,009	51,254
	born elsewhere in Canada	99,109	12,505	12,916	32,325	26,446	14,918
	born outside Canada	76,320	4,675	6,565	24,437	25,190	15,453
	Total EMT in Quebec	577,593	116,938	79,029	163,357	136,645	81,625
Relative to 1971	Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+	
1981	born in Quebec	0.90	0.68	0.99	1.04	0.92	1.30
	born elsewhere in Canada	0.83	1.04	0.85	0.88	0.76	0.63
	born outside Canada	0.82	0.52	0.94	0.88	0.72	1.08
	Total EMT in Quebec	0.88	0.69	0.97	0.97	0.84	1.06
	Relative to 1971	Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
1991	born in Quebec	0.82	0.61	0.66	1.15	0.78	1.37
	born elsewhere in Canada	0.77	0.91	0.73	0.90	0.59	0.74
	born outside Canada	0.63	0.30	0.57	0.70	0.63	0.84
	Total EMT in Quebec	0.77	0.60	0.66	0.99	0.71	1.06
	Relative to 1971	Total	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
2001	born in Quebec	0.78	0.57	0.59	0.99	0.88	1.43
	born elsewhere in Canada	0.73	0.74	0.70	0.75	0.71	0.71
	born outside Canada	0.54	0.24	0.39	0.51	0.66	0.79
	Total EMT in Quebec	0.73	0.55	0.58	0.82	0.80	1.07

Source: Calculations by the author based on data from the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada.

To sum up, the Quebec English Mother Tongue group experienced a substantial demographic decline in the 1971–2001 period, experiencing a loss both in absolute numbers (from 788,800 down to 577,593) and as a proportion of the Quebec population (from 13.1% down to 8.1%). Over this same period, the Quebec's French Mother Tongue population increased by nearly a million, from 4,866,030 to 5,794,710. The number of Quebecers with mother tongues other than English or French more than doubled in this thirty-year period, rising from 372,900 to 752,980.

Relative to other language groups in Canada, the EMT born-in-Quebec group showed a higher tendency to depart from their province of birth while EMT groups born in other provinces and other countries showed lower tendencies to move to Quebec.

Education Levels

In comparison to the other Canadians, the EMT born-in-Quebec group tends to be highly educated. People in this group are much more likely to have graduated from university (+46%), to have a master's degree (+51%) and are substantially more likely to hold a doctoral degree (+32%). They are also much less likely than other Canadians to be without a high school graduation certificate. As will be seen in the following analysis, the contributions of this highly educated group are being experienced more in other provinces than in their province of birth.

In 1971, at the beginning of the period under consideration, the EMT born-in-Quebec group demonstrated a superior status in terms of educational achievement both with respect to their Quebec counterparts and to the Canadian population as a whole. This was true for both leavers and stayers. Those who had left Quebec by 1971 were 81% more likely than other Canadians to possess a post-secondary degree, certificate or diploma and were 19% less likely to be without a high school graduation certificate. The EMT born-in-Quebec group still living in Quebec in 1971 was 27% more likely than other Canadians to possess a post-secondary degree, certificate or diploma and was also slightly less likely to be without a high school graduation certificate. As of 2001, the leavers continued to show an educational advantage, being 36% more likely to have post-secondary credentials and 44% less likely to be without high school certification. In contrast, the stayers were slightly less likely than other Canadians to have post-secondary qualifications and also slightly less likely to be without high school certification. It can be demonstrated then, that the education advantage held by the EMT

born-in-Quebec group in 1971 has disappeared for those who still live in Quebec in 2001, while those departing from Quebec continue to show higher educational attainment than other Canadians.

When we compare the educational status of the EMT born-in-Quebec stayers and leavers over the 1971 to 2001 period, we note that those who have departed show higher levels of schooling than those who have stayed. In each of the census periods under consideration here, the chances that an EMT born-in-Quebec individual will have post-secondary accreditation is substantially higher for those who left than for those who stayed.

As Table 6 illustrates, the EMT born-in-Quebec group is a well-educated group in the Canadian population, with a strong tendency toward higher education, with higher proportions holding a university degree (22% to 15%) and higher chances of holding a master's (4.1% to 2.7%) or doctoral degree (0.7% to 0.5%). When we examine the two EMT born-in-Quebec groups, we note that those now living in other provinces are twice as likely as the Canadian population to hold a master's degree or doctoral degree while those still living in Quebec are much closer to the Canadian norm, albeit still slightly higher.¹⁰

The EMT group arriving from other provinces in Quebec is also a highly educated group as more than 25% have a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 15.4% in the Canadian population with this educational status. The EMT arriving-in-Quebec group also has a disproportionately high proportion of persons with master or doctoral degrees. Of this group, 5.9% have master's degrees and 1.4% have doctoral degrees, which is respectively more than twice and nearly three times the levels found in the Canadian population. Despite the high educational attainment of those EMT individuals arriving in Quebec from other Canadian provinces, it remains that the net effect of inter-provincial migration leaves Quebec in a deficit situation with a net loss of 62,959 EMT individuals with university degrees, including a net loss of 11,301 with master's degrees and a net loss of 1,948 with doctorates.

When we examine the net effects of inter-provincial migration by looking at the number and educational characteristics of those who left and the characteristics of those who arrived, we can see that there is a strong connection between the level of education and the tendency to stay or leave. Those EMT Anglophones born in Quebec who possess higher levels of education are much more likely to leave their province of birth than those with lower levels of education. This is clearly illustrated in Figure 2 which provides the

Net interprovincial migration, Quebec and Rest of Canada, by Highest Level of Schooling, 2001	Total Population 15+	No high school graduation or additional training	High school graduation	Trades certificate or diploma	Post-secondary no degree, certificate or diploma	Post-secondary with certificate or diploma (no degree)	University with bachelor or first professional degree	University certificate above bachelor	University with Master's Degree	University with Earned Doctorate
Canadian total	23,901,360	7,476,900	3,367,900	2,598,925	2,590,165	4,179,825	2,534,010	382,955	642,055	128,625
EMT born in Quebec	609,395	142,674	84,897	51,246	77,532	116,137	93,100	14,711	24,789	4,343
Born in Quebec, still living in Quebec	305,513	86,232	49,663	23,695	39,644	54,178	36,270	6,275	8,388	1,170
Born in another Canadian province, now living in Quebec	85,997	19,707	12,190	6,648	11,432	14,143	13,368	2,188	5,100	1,225
Born in Quebec, now living in another Canadian province	303,882	56,442	35,234	27,551	37,888	61,959	56,830	8,436	16,401	3,173
Net interprovincial migration, cumulative as of 2001	-217,885	-36,735	-23,044	-20,903	-26,456	-47,816	-43,462	-6,248	-11,301	-1,948
Canadian total	100.0%	31.3%	14.1%	10.9%	10.8%	17.5%	10.6%	1.6%	2.7%	0.5%
EMT born in Quebec	100.0%	23.4%	13.9%	8.4%	12.7%	19.1%	15.3%	2.4%	4.1%	0.7%
Born in Quebec, still living in Quebec	100.0%	28.2%	16.3%	7.8%	13.0%	17.7%	11.9%	2.1%	2.7%	0.4%
Born in another Canadian province, now living in Quebec	100.0%	22.9%	14.2%	7.7%	13.3%	16.4%	15.5%	2.5%	5.9%	1.4%
Born in Quebec, now living in another Canadian province	100.0%	18.6%	11.6%	9.1%	12.5%	20.4%	18.7%	2.8%	5.4%	1.0%
Net interprovincial migration, cumulative as of 2001	100.0%	16.9%	10.6%	9.6%	12.1%	21.9%	19.9%	2.9%	5.2%	0.9%

Table 6.

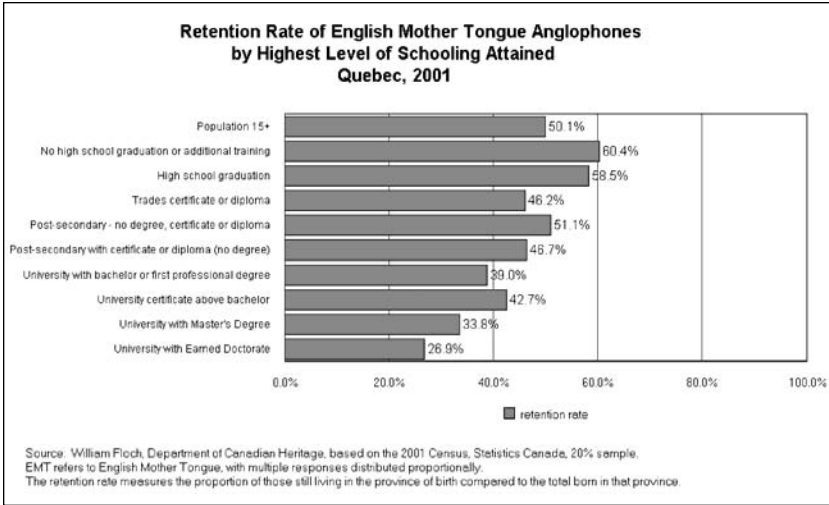


Figure 2.

retention rate for EMT born-in-Quebec Anglophones by the highest level of schooling.

Comparison to Francophones living in a minority situation, as shown in Figures 3 and 4, helps illustrate the extent to which education levels appear to be linked to the retention rate for the EMT born-in-Quebec group. For Francophones outside Quebec (the FMT born-outside-Quebec group), the tendency to re-locate to Quebec has remained remarkably constant for the 1971–2001 period and there is no apparent trend for leaving/staying among those with lower educational status nor for those with higher educational status. The value difference for the retention rate of those without high school certification compared to those with post-secondary qualifications was greatest in 1971 (0.86-0.78=0.08) and has nar-

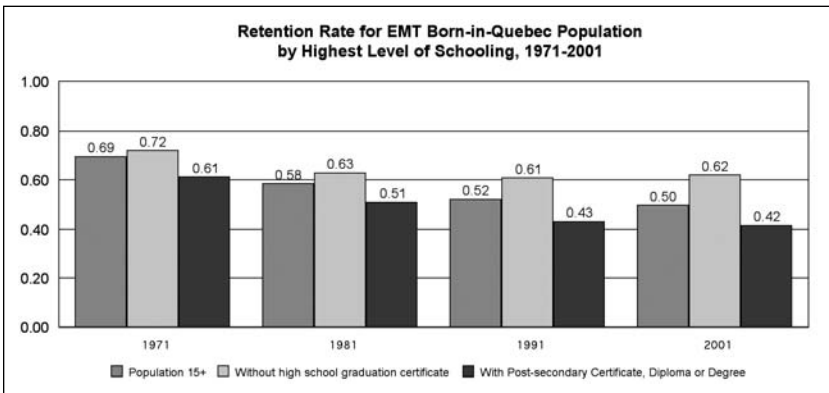


Figure 3.

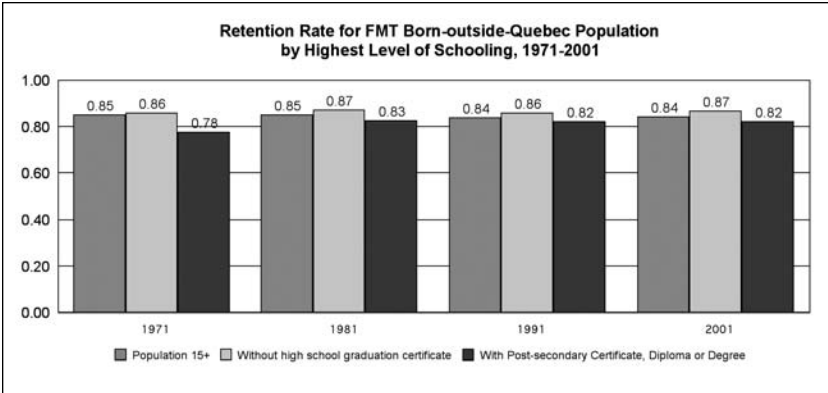


Figure 4.

rowed to 0.04, 0.04 and 0.05 for the three subsequent time periods. For the EMT born-in Quebec group, the value difference was already only slightly higher in 1971 ($0.72-0.61=0.09$), but grew substantially in the later periods, reaching 0.18 and 0.20 in 1991 and 2001 respectively.

There are a number of possible consequences of these trends. For Quebec Anglophones, the departure of an increasing proportion of the better-educated members of its population will, over time, contribute to a weakening of the leadership base and may undermine community institutions, particularly in vulnerable regions of the province where the critical mass of the Anglophone minority is far from assured. In terms of public policy, the impact of this type of brain drain will pose important challenges in terms of being prepared to enter the labour market and may influence long-term health in the community.

Labour Force Activity

As Figure 5 illustrates, the unemployment rate for the EMT born-in-Quebec group that continues to reside in Quebec has been higher than that of the leavers for each of the census periods under consideration and the gap has grown to the point where, in 2001, the unemployment rate for Anglophones who remain in Quebec is nearly twice that of the EMT born-in-Quebec group now living in another provinces. Clearly, if seeking better employment prospects was part of the motivation for leaving Quebec, these hopes have been realized. The 4.3% unemployment rate of the EMT born-in-Quebec group who had moved from their province of birth by 2001 is also substantially lower than the national rate of 7.4% recorded

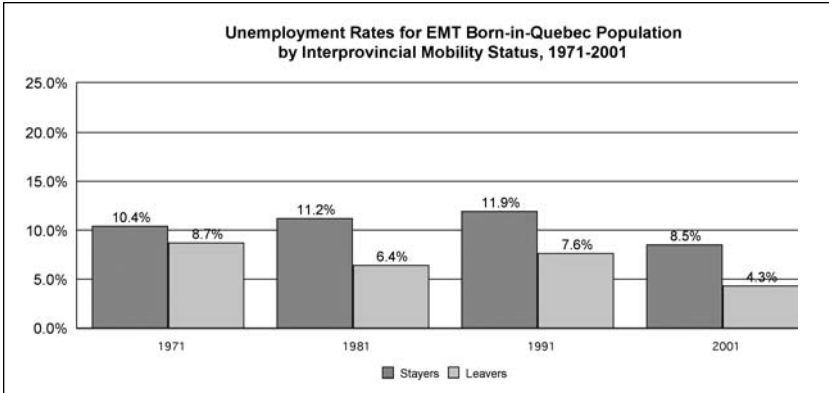


Figure 5.

in the census of that year. When compared with Quebec-born Francophones still living in Quebec, the EMT born-in-Quebec group has experienced a shift in relative status since 1971 and 1981 when they were generally better off in terms of access to the labour market, showing lower unemployment rates and similar tendencies to be out of the labour market. For the later periods, we can observe that the minority-majority index for unemployment rate and out-of-the-labour market measures show this EMT group to be worse off than the FMT group. While these differences are not huge, (the 1991 mmi for unemployment is 1.07 and the 2001 mmi for unemployment is 1.11) the trend is worrisome and likely to continue since closer analysis of the labour force activity by age cohorts reveals that younger Anglophones are experiencing greater relative difficulty in this regard than are their elders.

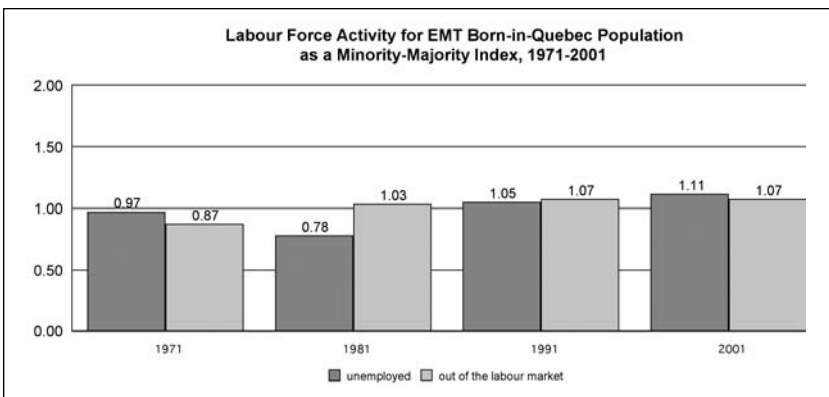


Figure 6.

Income Levels

Not surprisingly, the stronger educational status and higher labour market participation rates of the EMT born-in-Quebec appear to translate into stronger earnings on the labour market. Using 2001 dollars as the base, Figures 7 and 8 show the proportion of leavers and stayers who are in the low (less than \$20, 000) and high (greater than \$50, 000) annual income brackets. For the 1971 and 1981 periods, this earnings gap is not tremendously high as the proportion of those in the lower bracket are fairly similar for both leavers and stayers while the leavers are somewhat more likely to be in the higher income bracket (+2.8% and +4.6% for 1971 and 1981 respectively). For the 1991 and 2001 census periods, the gap between leavers and stayers has grown considerably as those who leave are much more likely to be in the high income bracket than those who stayed.

Conclusions

This analysis of the 1971–2001 decennial censuses demonstrates the considerable cumulative effect of out-migration on the size and composition of the Anglophone communities of Quebec. In 1971, 70% of EMT born-in-Quebec group continued to live there whereas by 2001 just 50% continued to live in the province of their birth. This low retention rate is abnormal when compared with other Canadian populations. The socio-economic profile of leavers and stayers suggests that the upwardly mobile are increasingly associated with the outwardly mobile as young, well-educated members of the Anglophone population of Quebec seek economic opportunities elsewhere. Those who have departed from Quebec tend to perform

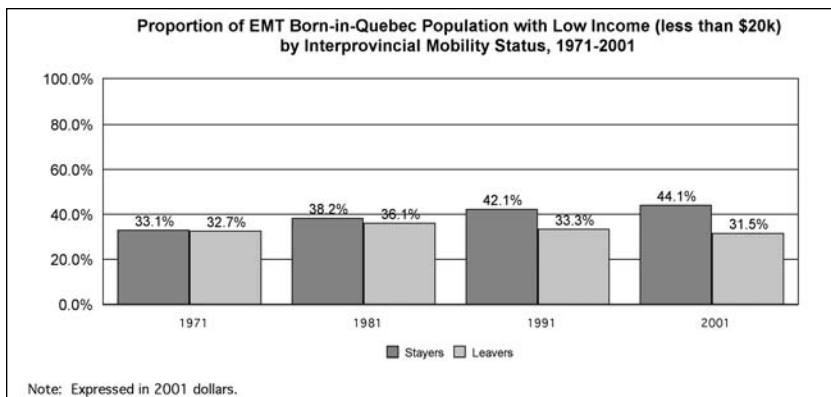


Figure 7.

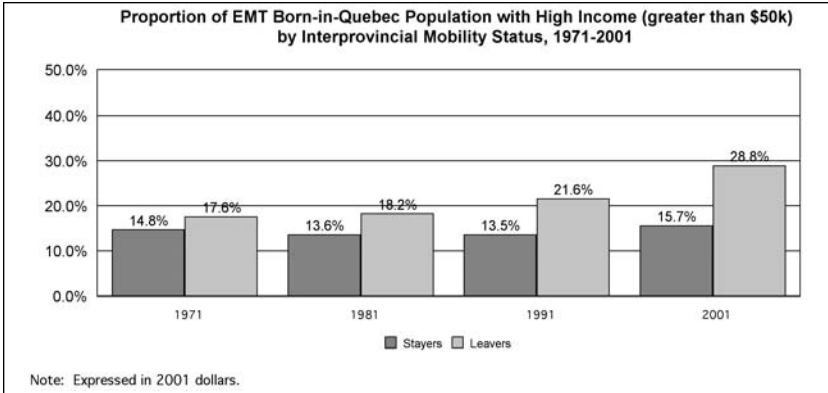


Figure 8.

very well in the labour market outside Quebec, showing substantially lower unemployment rates than other Canadians and higher tendencies to be in the high income bracket. In contrast, those who stayed have experienced a relative loss in socio-economic status and cohort analysis suggests that such decline will continue in the near future. It has also been demonstrated that the injections of population from other provinces and other countries has slowed considerably over the time period in question.

Further analysis of census mobility data could consider the trends described in this paper on a sub-provincial or regional basis and could also explore in greater detail the 5-year mobility trends for the period between censuses. Public opinion research data such as that undertaken by the CROP polling firm on behalf of the Missisquoi Institute and the Community Health and Social Services Network can also contribute to a better understanding of the motivations of stayers and leavers. The important work being undertaken by the *Institut national de la recherche scientifique* on inter-regional migration in Quebec will also further our knowledge of the dynamics of the migrational movements of the language groups in Quebec.

SOURCES

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NOTES

- 1 The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the Department of Canadian Heritage.
- 2 O'Keefe, M. and Canada. Canadian Heritage. (2001). *Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*. Ottawa, Canadian Heritage.
- 3 Marmen, L. (2004). *Languages in Canada: 2001 Census*.
- 4 Since the 1981 Census, Statistics Canada has published data providing for the possibility of multiple responses to the mother tongue and home language question. In keeping with established practices among researchers, those declaring multiple responses are divided proportionally among declared responses.
- 5 The choice of adjusted mother tongue as the language concept for this analysis is based on the greater circulation of mother tongue data for the census periods prior to 1986. From 1986 onward, Statistics Canada introduced the concept of First Official Language Spoken (FOLS), which is a language concept derived from three census questions: knowledge of official languages, mother tongue and home language. Most demographic analyses at Canadian Heritage use FOLS, which is a more inclusive language concept than mother tongue or home language.
- 6 It is likely that the trends observed in the out-migration patterns to other Canadian provinces would also be present in international out-migration. Accordingly, the impact of the trends observed in this analysis would likely be even greater if data on international out-migrants were available.

- 7 It should be noted that some persons have undoubtedly left their province of birth and then returned. The Census provides the capacity for cross-sectional analysis and does not provide longitudinal data which would allow close analysis of this “coming and going” phenomenon.
- 8 It should be noted that this retention rate is not the sole indicator of regional dynamism.
- 9 Under Canada’s official languages legislation, English and French are recognized as official languages. Francophones living in provinces and territories outside Quebec are considered to be part of the official-language minority group as are Anglophones living in Quebec.
- 10 Other analysis (Floch: 2004a) shows that the educational strength of Quebec Anglophones is diminishing across generations with higher relative levels found in the older age cohorts (45–64 and 65+) and lower relative levels observed in the younger cohorts (15–24 and 25–44).

