

JOURNAL OF EASTERN TOWNSHIPS STUDIES

REVUE D'ÉTUDES DES CANTONS DE L'EST



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EDITOR'S NOTE

This special issue of *JETS* is devoted to the subject of the English-speaking community of the Eastern Townships, past, present and future. The following papers were part of a colloquium on the subject sponsored jointly by Townshipper's Association and the Eastern Townships Research Centre (ETRC), in collaboration with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). We would like to pay special thanks to the Bélanger-Gardner Foundation and to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada for financial assistance in publishing the papers, as well as for the colloquium itself. The colloquium was held on 31 March 2005 at Bishop's University under the title *The Eastern Townships English-Speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?*

Tom Fletcher, *English Editor*
Jean Levasseur, *French Editor*

NOTE DE LA RÉDACTION

Cette édition spéciale de la *RÉCE* est consacrée au passé, au présent et à l'avenir de la communauté anglophone des Cantons-de-l'Est. Les communications suivantes ont été présentées lors d'un colloque sur le sujet commandité conjointement par l'Association des Townshipers et le Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est (CRCE), en collaboration avec la Société Radio-Canada (SRC). Nous aimerions remercier tout particulièrement la Fondation Bélanger-Gardner et le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines (CRSH) du Canada pour leur contribution financière à la publication des communications et au colloque même. Intitulé *The Eastern Townships English-Speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?*, l'événement s'est déroulé le 31 mars 2005 à l'Université Bishop's.

Tom Fletcher, *rédacteur anglophone*
Jean Levasseur, *rédacteur francophone*

A WORD FROM THE TOWNSHIPPERS' ASSOCIATION

The 25th anniversary year of Townshippers' Association is an excellent occasion to look forward 25 years, to the future of the Eastern Townships English-speaking community. Migration is a key factor in this future, and was thus the logical focus of the March 31 conference, *The Eastern Townships English-speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?*

This conference included research on both demographic and subjective aspects of emigration by English speakers from the Townships. We are very grateful to **Hazel McVety**, whose bequest to Townshippers' Association supported the studies by Jan Waranke and Natalie Kishchuk.

Hazel McVety was a quiet woman who spent her life in the Eastern Townships. Her family was from Kinnear's Mills, and lived on a farm near Cookshire. She never had children of her own, but she left a legacy to all of us in the Townships English-speaking community. She did this by giving generously to various community causes and groups during and after her life. She was very committed to her community, with a special concern for youth.

Part of Hazel McVety's legacy, when she passed away in June 2003, was a \$10,000 bequest to Townshippers' Association. The Association's board of directors decided to use her generous gift to support research that will, we hope, plant the seeds for a brighter future for our community, and especially for our youth.

This research is part of the Association's Townshippers of Tomorrow initiative, focusing on opportunity for youth. Our www.topportunity.ca website highlights Townships opportunities – the top 40 job prospects available in the region, and how to obtain them.

This research conference is also an expression of the Association's commitment to developing a knowledge base about the Townships English-speaking community. We are committed to carrying out a strategic plan that is solidly based on evidence. With such a foundation, we hope to build a bright future for our community.



Ms. Hazel McVety.

Photo courtesy of Ms. Dorothy Ross.

That, indeed, was the focus of the conference. Beyond acquiring a better grasp of the situation of the community today, participants launched a strategic planning process that will guide us forward toward that bright future we envisage.

We have appreciated the excellent partnership of the Eastern Townships Research Centre and its executive director, Marie Thibault, in organizing the conference, and in publishing its proceedings in this issue of the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*. As well, we wish to thank the Bélanger-Gardner Foundation for its financial support in publishing these proceedings. We also thank Bishop's University for its partnership in applying for financial support for this event. We appreciate the contribution of all the presenters and discussion facilitators, as well as the participants. Finally, thanks go, as well, to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for its financial support. This initiative is an excellent example of community, academic and government partners working together for the community.

Heather Bowman

President, Townshippers' Association

UN MESSAGE DE L'ASSOCIATION DES TOWNSHIPPERS

Le 25^e anniversaire de l'Association des Townshippers est une magnifique occasion de considérer les 25 prochaines années et de jeter un regard sur l'avenir de la communauté anglophone des Cantons-de-l'Est. La migration, facteur clé de cet avenir, constituait donc un thème logique pour la conférence du 31 mars dernier intitulée *The Eastern Townships English-speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?*

Lors de cet événement, des conférenciers ont discuté de recherches portant sur divers aspects démographiques reliés à l'émigration de la communauté anglophone de la région. L'Association des Townshippers est très reconnaissante envers Hazel McVety, qui nous a fait un legs grâce auquel nous avons pu soutenir financièrement les études menées par Jan Warnke et Natalie Kishchuk.

Femme de caractère paisible, Hazel McVety a passé toute sa vie dans les Cantons-de-l'Est. Sa famille était originaire de Kinnear's Mills et elle a vécu sur une ferme près de Cookshire. Elle n'a jamais eu d'enfants, mais elle a laissé un héritage à l'ensemble de la communauté anglophone des Cantons-de-l'Est. Elle l'a fait en donnant

généreusement à diverses causes et groupes communautaires durant sa vie et en s'assurant que sa contribution se poursuive après sa mort. Elle était très engagée envers sa communauté et se souciait tout particulièrement des jeunes.

Au moment de sa mort en juin 2003, la succession de Hazel McVety incluait un legs de 10 000 \$ à l'Association des Townshipers. Le conseil d'administration de l'Association a décidé d'utiliser ce généreux don pour soutenir la recherche qui, nous l'espérons, sème le germe d'un avenir meilleur pour notre communauté, en particulier pour nos jeunes.

Cette recherche s'inscrit dans le cadre de l'initiative « *Townshippers of Tomorrow* » mise sur pied par l'Association et qui est axée sur les possibilités d'emploi offertes aux jeunes. Notre site Web (www.topportunity.ca) présente les 40 meilleures offres d'emploi dans les Cantons-de-l'Est et indique le cheminement nécessaire pour les obtenir.

Cette conférence sur la recherche est également une expression de l'engagement de l'Association à élaborer une base de données sur la communauté anglophone des Cantons-de-l'Est. Nous sommes résolus à exécuter un plan stratégique fondé sur des bases solides et appuyé sur des faits. Avec de telles assises, nous espérons préparer un bel avenir pour notre communauté.

C'était d'ailleurs là le sujet de la conférence. En plus d'avoir mieux saisi la situation actuelle de la communauté, les participants ont lancé un processus de planification stratégique qui nous guidera vers un avenir meilleur.

Nous avons apprécié l'excellent partenariat établi avec le Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est et sa directrice administrative, Marie Thibault, pour l'organisation de la conférence et la publication de ses travaux dans le présent numéro de la *Revue d'études des Cantons de l'Est*. Nous remercions également, pour son soutien financier, la Fondation Bélanger-Gardner. Nous avons apprécié la contribution des conférenciers, des animateurs de discussion et des participants. Tous nos remerciements au Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines (CRSH) pour son soutien financier, ainsi qu'à l'Université Bishop's, notre partenaire dans la demande de subvention au CRSH. Cette initiative est un excellent exemple de collaboration entre partenaires des milieux communautaire, universitaire et gouvernemental à l'intention de la communauté.

Heather Bowman
Présidente, Association des Townshipers

POURQUOI LES ANGLO-QUÉBÉCOIS QUITTENT-ILS LA PROVINCE?

REVUE DES TRAVAUX

Marie-Odile Magnan

Université Laval

Résumé

L'objectif de cet article est de présenter un bilan des connaissances portant sur le thème de l'émigration des Anglo-Québécois à l'extérieur du Québec. Le contexte, les perspectives adoptées par les chercheurs ainsi que les divers facteurs de migration seront explicités. L'on verra que les causes de ces départs massifs sont multiples et interreliées. Aucun facteur ne peut expliquer à lui seul la complexité de ces mouvements migratoires. Il n'y a pas de consensus dans la littérature quant à la prépondérance de certaines variables. Néanmoins, les migrations interprovinciales des anglophones du Québec semblent être le résultat de facteurs linguistiques, culturels, politiques, législatifs et économiques ainsi que de facteurs liés à la socialisation. Cette étude reste encore exploratoire; l'auteure conclut que de nouvelles recherches doivent être effectuées sur le sujet.

Abstract

The goal of this article is to present a literature review pertaining to the out-migration of Anglo-Quebecers. The context, the perspectives used by the researchers as well as the factors explaining this out-migration will be outlined. The causes of this exodus are multiple and interrelated. No single factor can explain in itself the complexity of this outflow. There is no consensus in the literature concerning the prevalence of specific variables; however, the interprovincial migration of Anglo-Quebecers seems to be the result of linguistic, cultural, political, legal, economic and socialisation factors. Studies conducted on this topic are still exploratory; the author concludes that further research is needed.

Lors de la parution du rapport de Marie-Odile Magnan (sous la direction de Madeleine Gauthier) « *To stay or not to stay : migration des jeunes anglo-qubécois. Revue de la littérature*¹ » en 2004, peu de travaux avaient été menés sur le thème de l'exode des jeunes anglophones du Québec. En fait, la dernière enquête avait été effectuée en 1994 par Uli Locher. Récemment, lors du colloque organisé conjointement par le *Centre de recherche des Cantons de l'Est* et *l'Association des Townshipers*, de nouvelles études sur le sujet ont été présentées, dont celles de Natalie Kischuk² et de William Floch³. Le but de cet article est de présenter une synthèse du rapport rédigé par Magnan; un bilan des connaissances sur le thème de l'émigration des Anglo-Québécois sera donc exposé, bilan dont peuvent s'inspirer les futurs chercheurs qui s'intéresseront à cette problématique. Le contexte du thème à l'étude sera d'abord présenté, puis une revue des travaux portant sur les facteurs de migration à l'extérieur de la province suivra. Tout au long de l'article, les comportements migratoires de la population anglophone totale seront comparés à ceux des jeunes anglophones. L'emphase sera mise sur cette nouvelle génération qui représente la vitalité future de la communauté.

Contexte

La problématique généralement abordée dans la littérature, celle qui inquiète, est la migration des Anglo-Québécois vers les autres provinces canadiennes. En effet, la migration interprovinciale est liée à la chute démographique du groupe anglophone⁴. Ce déclin, que Locher appelle « un des grands événements dans l'histoire démographique du Canada », remonte aussi loin que l'époque de la Confédération⁵. Cependant, c'est vers la fin des années 1960 que la migration a davantage contribué à la décroissance du nombre d'Anglo-Québécois, la période critique étant celle de 1976–1981⁶. Les chercheurs associent cette baisse marquée à la Révolution tranquille et aux différents événements politiques et législatifs survenus dans les années 1970, tels l'élection du Parti québécois en 1976 et l'avènement de la loi 101 en 1977⁷. C'est à partir de cette décennie mouvementée que la migration des Anglo-Québécois a commencé à être étudiée. Depuis les années 1980, la migration vers les autres provinces s'est davantage stabilisée, mais la proportion d'Anglo-Québécois diminue toujours⁸. En 2001, 8,3 % de la population du Québec déclarait l'anglais comme langue maternelle, 10,5 % affirmait parler l'anglais le plus souvent à la maison et 12,9 % avait l'anglais comme première langue officielle parlée⁹.

Les taux de migration interprovinciale les plus élevés au sein de la communauté anglophone du Québec se retrouvent principalement



Lennoxville High School, 1930.

Source: P998 Eastern Townships Research Centre Graphic Material Collection

chez les jeunes¹⁰, une tendance que l'on observe également dans d'autres pays industrialisés. Il reste que l'on assiste à une diminution constante du nombre de jeunes Anglo-Québécois : le taux de sortie du Québec vers le reste du Canada selon la langue maternelle des jeunes adultes de 25 à 34 ans pour la période de 1996–2001 était, en effet, de 15,8 % pour la catégorie « anglais » comparativement à 6,1 % pour la catégorie « autres » et à 1,6 % pour la catégorie « français¹¹ ».

Il devient alors crucial d'étudier la migration des jeunes adultes anglo-québécois puisque la proportion de jeunes d'un groupe ethnolinguistique a une incidence sur sa vitalité future¹². Ainsi, la connaissance des facteurs de migration, d'attraction et de rétention des jeunes Anglo-Québécois est indispensable. La communauté québécoise d'expression anglaise est d'ailleurs préoccupée par l'idée d'empêcher les départs massifs des jeunes anglophones vers les autres provinces¹³. Le *Quebec Community Groups Network* (QCGN) souligne ceci : « *A lack of research data perpetuates a lack of knowledge about these movements, which contributes to the English-speaking community of Quebec's malaise*¹⁴. » À la lumière de ce constat, plusieurs questions se posent : pourquoi les jeunes Anglo-Québécois quittent-ils en grand nombre le Québec? Quels sont les facteurs qui motivent leur décision? Qu'est-ce qui, par ailleurs, en retient d'autres au Québec? Voilà autant de questions auxquelles cet article tentera de répondre.

Perspectives adoptées par les chercheurs

Différentes approches sont utilisées afin d'étudier la migration interprovinciale des Anglo-Québécois ou, plus précisément, des jeunes Anglo-Québécois. Les principales sont exposées ici.

Celle qui prévaut dans la littérature est l'approche linguistique et culturelle. Ainsi, les chercheurs font l'hypothèse que les trajectoires migratoires des anglophones s'expliquent par le fait que ceux-ci constituent un groupe linguistique et culturel distinct. Par exemple, les chercheurs s'accordent pour dire que les anglophones sont beaucoup plus enclins à émigrer dans les autres provinces canadiennes que les autres groupes linguistiques du Québec¹⁵. Les comportements migratoires des anglophones sont alors comparés à ceux des francophones et des allophones. L'impact des compétences linguistiques en français des Anglo-Québécois sur leur migration est également vérifié¹⁶. Par ailleurs, certains chercheurs analysent la corrélation entre le désir de demeurer dans un milieu majoritairement anglophone et l'émigration hors Québec¹⁷. Amit-Talai fait cependant remarquer qu'il ne faut pas considérer le facteur linguistique comme étant la principale explication de la migration interprovinciale des jeunes anglophones : « *Clearly, we are dealing with social and cultural dynamics far more complex than our linguistic labels in themselves allow for*¹⁸. » Quelques auteurs tentent aussi de déterminer si l'identité ethnique, l'enracinement et le climat culturel du Québec sont des facteurs explicatifs de la migration interprovinciale des Anglo-Québécois¹⁹.

L'on tente d'analyser, par l'approche politico-légale, les parcours migratoires des Anglo-Québécois à l'aide des différents événements survenus au Québec tant sur le plan politique que législatif. Par exemple, les chercheurs qui adoptent cette perspective soulignent que les taux de migration interprovinciale des Anglo-Québécois sont généralement élevés lors de périodes dites de « tension politique²⁰ », telles l'élection du Parti québécois en 1976, l'avènement de la loi 101 en 1977 ainsi que lors des référendums de 1980 et de 1995²¹. Cette approche présente néanmoins des limites puisque, comme le mentionne Termote (2002; 1997), l'effectif des anglophones du Québec diminue même lors de périodes calmes sur le plan politique.

Puis, une approche économique est également utilisée afin d'expliquer l'exode²² des Anglo-Québécois. Certains chercheurs désignent le contexte lié à l'économie du Québec et des autres provinces canadiennes comme étant l'un des éléments pouvant pousser les anglophones à quitter la province²³. De plus, certaines études tentent de démontrer que l'émigration est due au fait que les anglophones québécois croient pouvoir bénéficier de meilleures

perspectives d'emploi hors Québec²⁴. Un sentiment de discrimination face aux francophones, plus qu'un manque de compétences linguistiques en français, pourrait mener à une telle impression²⁵. Puis, des facteurs liés à « l'avancement économique²⁶ », tels que la scolarisation (c'est-à-dire la scolarisation hors Québec dans le cas des anglophones), pourraient expliquer le phénomène à l'étude²⁷.

Les chercheurs combinent souvent plusieurs de ces approches puisque ces facteurs sont interreliés²⁸; ces éléments ont tous une certaine incidence sur la migration interprovinciale²⁹. Locher (1992) fait également remarquer que les raisons de migrer varient d'un individu à l'autre. Ce rapport présentera les différents facteurs de migration identifiés dans les études menées sur le sujet.

Migration à l'extérieur de la province

Mis à part les recherches qui ont été présentées par Floch et Kishchuk lors du colloque intitulé *The Eastern Townships English-Speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?* tenu en mars 2005, la migration des Anglo-Québécois est un sujet qui a été peu étudié jusqu'à présent. Lorsqu'il est abordé dans la littérature, il est principalement question de migration à l'extérieur de la province de Québec. Ainsi, les facteurs d'émigration du Québec vers les autres provinces canadiennes seront présentés.

Lorsqu'ils réfléchissent à leur avenir, la plupart des jeunes adultes anglo-québécois sont pris dans un dilemme : celui de rester ou de partir du Québec³⁰. Ce questionnement semble au cœur de leurs préoccupations : « *To stay or not to stay: that is the question that torments almost every English-speaking young person*³¹. » Les départs massifs d'anglophones vers les autres provinces canadiennes constituent un phénomène qui fait partie de leur environnement social et même de leur identité³². Selon Locher (1991), rester au Québec signifie apprendre le français, accepter le statut désormais minoritaire de la communauté anglo-québécoise et faire face à un marché du travail difficile pour ceux dont les compétences linguistiques en français laissent à désirer. En contrepartie, partir implique des inconvénients à la fois sur le plan psychologique (déracinement, perte du réseau social établi, « perte d'un statut social privilégié³³ ») et matériel (équivalence des diplômes, déménagement, nouvel emploi sans réseau social professionnel préétabli). Cependant, le départ peut aussi engendrer une certaine libération et une augmentation des chances de réussite professionnelle³⁴. Cette possibilité de partir semble préoccuper les Anglo-Québécois tout au long de leur existence. En effet, Radice a découvert au terme d'entrevues qualitatives menées auprès d'Anglo-

Montréalais que « ceux qui sont restés mettent toujours le fait de rester en rapport explicite avec la possibilité de partir »³⁵.

C'est donc un ensemble de plusieurs facteurs étroitement liés qui contribue à expliquer le phénomène de la migration des Anglo-Québécois³⁶. Sans nier que les causes de l'émigration anglophone soient interreliées, ces dernières ont été divisées par thèmes dans le présent article afin de mettre en parallèle les différents résultats de recherche obtenus pour chaque groupe de facteurs.

La plupart des études menées sur le sujet portent sur les intentions de migrer³⁷. Locher explique cette décision méthodologique ainsi : « *Tracking down migrants at their new destinations is the single most difficult and costly part of studying the “anglophone exodus”; it hardly ever gets done*³⁸. » Les chercheurs sont conscients que les intentions de migrer ne se concrétisent pas toujours³⁹. Locher (1992) indique que les énoncés d'intentions migratoires sont davantage basés sur des perceptions, des plans de carrière professionnelle et des insatisfactions face au contexte du Québec que sur une réelle détermination à quitter la province. Cependant, Locher (1992) affirme que l'étude des intentions de migrer permet tout de même d'identifier les déterminants d'une migration future. Il souligne que, dans les recherches antérieures menées sur la migration des anglophones, ce sont les intentions de migrer qui se sont avérées le meilleur prédicteur des mouvements migratoires.

Facteurs linguistiques

Les facteurs linguistiques mentionnés par les analystes qui se sont penchés sur la problématique de la migration anglophone englobent trois variables explicatives : la langue maternelle, les compétences linguistiques en français et la concentration linguistique d'un lieu donné.

L'impact de la langue maternelle sur les migrations entre le Québec et les autres provinces canadiennes fait consensus auprès des chercheurs. En effet, c'est cette variable qui déterminerait en majeure partie la migration interprovinciale observée au Québec : les anglophones du Québec émigrent davantage que les francophones et les allophones⁴⁰. Les mêmes constatations s'observent chez les jeunes Anglo-Québécois. Par exemple, l'étude quantitative d'Amit-Talai (1993) révèle que les étudiants des écoles françaises sont plus enclins à vouloir migrer à l'intérieur du Québec que les étudiants des écoles anglaises; ces derniers manifestent davantage le désir de quitter la province de Québec. Locher (1992), qui a lui aussi mené une étude quantitative, constate que les anglophones sont plus nombreux à manifester l'intention de migrer hors du Québec. Cependant, il conclut que la

langue maternelle a seulement un impact mineur sur les intentions de migrer exprimées par les membres de son corpus; cette variable n'explique qu'une petite fraction du phénomène. Le faible impact de cette variable est dû au fait que les intentions de quitter le Québec sont généralisées à l'ensemble du corpus, c'est-à-dire même au groupe des jeunes francophones. Amit-Talai (1993) a également découvert que les catégories linguistiques ne sont pas le principal facteur explicatif des intentions de migrer. Elle conclut ceci : « *If therefore we are going to continue to use categories such as English or French-speaking, we should be careful not to confuse classification with cause⁴¹.* »

Seulement deux études qui portent sur l'ensemble des Anglo-Québécois analysent l'impact des compétences linguistiques en français sur les migrations : l'étude quantitative de Locher (1988) et l'étude qualitative de Radice (2000). Locher (1988) a découvert que les compétences linguistiques en français des Anglo-Québécois, tous âges confondus, ont un impact mineur sur leurs comportements migratoires⁴². Radice, pour sa part, a observé des divergences au sein de son corpus concernant le lien possible entre les compétences linguistiques en français des anglophones et leurs comportements migratoires. Par exemple, plusieurs informateurs ont mentionné que, selon eux, des membres de leur entourage avaient quitté Montréal par crainte que leur manque de connaissances en français ne les empêche d'obtenir un travail⁴³. Cependant, d'autres participants qui ne possèdent pas une bonne connaissance du français ont exprimé, au cours des entrevues, leur satisfaction de vivre à Montréal.

Chez les jeunes Anglo-Québécois, la même tendance s'observe⁴⁴. En effet, il semble que le taux élevé de bilinguisme observé chez les jeunes anglophones n'a pas contribué à réduire leur propension à émigrer vers les autres provinces canadiennes⁴⁵. Les résultats de l'étude quantitative d'Amit-Talai (1993) révèlent que les étudiants des écoles anglaises qui avaient évalué leurs compétences linguistiques en français comme étant plus ou moins bonnes étaient les plus enclins à considérer l'option de quitter le Québec. Cependant, ces derniers constituaient une minorité au sein de l'échantillon. En fait, 55,3 % de ceux qui avaient manifesté leur intention de migrer se considéraient très bons en français⁴⁶. Amit-Talai (1993) concluait donc que le manque de compétences linguistiques en français ne contribuait que très peu à expliquer la proportion relativement élevée d'étudiants anglophones désirant migrer vers les autres provinces.

L'étude quantitative de Locher (1994) arrive aux mêmes résultats. Locher explique l'incidence moindre de la variable « compétences linguistiques en français » par le sentiment d'iniquité et de

discrimination ressenti par les anglophones. En fait, la connaissance de la langue maternelle équivaut rarement à celle d'une langue seconde. Ainsi, les jeunes anglophones sont peut-être convaincus que, malgré leurs efforts pour développer leurs habiletés linguistiques en français, ils n'auront pas les mêmes chances sur le marché du travail que leurs homologues francophones. Cette perception pourrait les amener à croire que l'option à suivre n'est pas de s'appliquer à apprendre le français, mais bien de quitter la province de Québec. Lo et Teixeira (1998) et Alliance Québec (1992) arrivent également à la conclusion que le problème des jeunes Anglo-Québécois n'est pas un manque de compétences linguistiques en français, mais bien un sentiment de discrimination.

L'autre facteur qui peut expliquer l'incidence moindre du bilinguisme sur le phénomène à l'étude est que les compétences linguistiques acquises en français par les jeunes anglophones rendent ces derniers très mobiles au sein du Canada : c'est du moins ce que révèle le texte que les jeunes anglophones du Québec ont présenté au Sommet du Québec et de la jeunesse 2000⁴⁷. De plus, selon le rapport d'Alliance Québec (1992), certains jeunes croient que leur connaissance du français les rend compétitifs sur le marché du travail dans les autres provinces canadiennes, alors qu'au Québec leur habileté à parler l'anglais n'est pas suffisamment valorisée.

Au sein de la population totale des Québécois anglophones, la concentration linguistique ou le désir de demeurer dans un milieu davantage anglophone semble être un des facteurs explicatifs de la migration. Kaplan, qui utilise les données des recensements de 1981 et 1986, indique que la composition linguistique d'un lieu donné joue un rôle clé dans la rétention et dans l'attraction des migrants⁴⁸. Les anglophones du Québec auraient tendance à vouloir s'installer dans les régions où vit une minorité de francophones. Radice (2000) a également découvert, à l'aide de ses entrevues qualitatives, que ce qui pousserait entre autres les Anglo-Montréalais à émigrer serait la disparition des institutions anglophones liées à l'éducation, à la santé, à l'expression culturelle et aux activités sportives; bref, l'inexistence d'une infrastructure qui permette aux anglophones de se réunir.

Néanmoins, la concentration linguistique semble avoir un impact mineur sur les intentions de migrer des jeunes anglophones du Québec. Dans son enquête quantitative portant sur l'exode futur des jeunes anglophones, Amit-Talai a découvert que seulement 12,2 % des répondants ayant manifesté l'intention de migrer donnaient comme raison le désir de vivre au sein d'un milieu davantage anglophone⁴⁹.

Facteurs culturels

Trois facteurs culturels sont présentés par les chercheurs afin d'expliquer les parcours migratoires des anglophones : l'identité, le climat culturel ainsi que l'enracinement des anglophones du Québec.

Lo et Teixeira (1998), qui ont mené une enquête auprès des résidants de Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, soulignent que les Québécois anglophones s'identifient davantage au Canada anglais qu'au Québec, ce qui expliquerait leur propension à émigrer vers les autres provinces. Pour ce qui est des jeunes Anglo-Québécois, l'étude quantitative de Locher (1994) révèle un certain attachement au Canada qui se reflète dans le choix de leur destination migratoire. À la différence de leurs homologues francophones, les jeunes anglophones optent en grand nombre pour le Canada anglais.

Le climat culturel semble également avoir un rôle à jouer dans la migration des Anglo-Québécois. Marmen et Corbeil (1999), qui analysent les résultats du recensement canadien, indiquent que le contexte social et culturel créé entre autres par la situation linguistique du Québec a une influence certaine sur les migrations observées entre les provinces canadiennes. Lo et Teixeira (1998) affirment que le phénomène de la migration interprovinciale s'explique notamment par le choc des cultures qui caractérise le Québec. Locher (1988) indique cependant que, selon les résultats de son étude quantitative longitudinale, l'intégration sociale a un impact statistique mineur sur la migration des Québécois anglophones; les Anglo-Québécois qui manifestent un comportement distant à l'égard de la majorité francophone ne sont pas plus enclins à émigrer hors de la province que les autres Anglo-Québécois.

Chez les jeunes anglophones, le sentiment de ne pas être accepté au sein de la majorité francophone expliquerait en partie leur exode vers les autres provinces canadiennes⁵⁰. Dans le texte présenté au Sommet du Québec et de la jeunesse 2000, des jeunes anglophones expliquaient ainsi le départ des anglophones du Québec : « *a sense of limited acceptance* », « *a sense of rejection at home* » et « *a sense of discomfort and alienation* »⁵¹. Il faut toutefois noter que ce texte n'est pas représentatif de l'opinion de l'ensemble des jeunes anglophones.

L'enracinement, mesuré notamment par le lieu de naissance ainsi que par le lieu de naissance des parents, semble également avoir un impact sur la migration des Anglo-Québécois. Newbold, qui utilise les données des recensements de 1986 et 1991, affirme que « *the high out-migration rate from Quebec [...] can be largely attributed to English-speaking non-native migrants returning to their province of birth* »⁵².

Chez les jeunes anglo-québécois, les variables « lieu de naissance »

et « lieu de naissance des parents » semblent expliquer une partie de la migration. Les jeunes anglophones nés au Québec seraient moins portés à migrer vers les autres provinces canadiennes que les jeunes anglophones nés hors Québec⁵³. Selon l'enquête quantitative de Locher, 87,1 % des élèves de niveau secondaire et collégial nés dans les autres provinces canadiennes avaient l'intention de migrer comparativement à 60,7 % des élèves nés au Québec⁵⁴. L'enracinement des parents semble avoir un effet semblable sur l'exode des jeunes; les enfants issus de parents nés dans une autre province sont beaucoup plus enclins à quitter le Québec⁵⁵. Locher (1994) souligne néanmoins que, selon les résultats de son étude, les corrélations entre le lieu de naissance et les comportements migratoires sont faibles.

Facteurs politiques et législatifs

Le climat politique ainsi que les lois linguistiques du Québec expliquent également l'émigration des Québécois anglophones vers le reste du Canada⁵⁶.

Termote, qui utilise les données du recensement de 1991, indique que le taux de migration interprovinciale des Anglo-Québécois varie selon le contexte politique⁵⁷. En période de changements politiques importants, les Anglo-Québécois émigrent en plus grand nombre⁵⁸. Par exemple, Gauthier (1998), qui suit l'évolution des mouvements migratoires à l'aide des recensements de 1966 à 1996, explique que ce sont les événements politiques survenus dans les années 1970 qui ont contribué à l'émigration record d'anglophones au cours de la période 1976–1981⁵⁹. Le niveau d'émigration interprovinciale aurait été plus élevé lors de l'élection du Parti québécois en 1976 et lors du référendum de 1980⁶⁰. L'avenir politique incertain du Québec semble jouer un rôle important dans les décisions migratoires des Anglo-Québécois⁶¹. Pourtant, selon l'étude qualitative de Radice (2000), ce qui pousserait les membres de son corpus à quitter Montréal ne serait pas nécessairement la sécession du Québec. Locher résume bien ces contradictions : « les raisons politiques, y compris une opposition à la Charte de la langue française, ont joué un rôle secondaire parfois important. Mais rien ne suggère que “ l'exode des anglophones ” devrait être interprété comme une fuite motivée principalement par des facteurs politiques ou linguistiques⁶². »

L'impact des facteurs politiques sur la migration s'observe également chez les jeunes anglo-québécois. Les données quantitatives recueillies par Locher (1992) révèlent que les principales raisons de quitter le Québec dans un avenir rapproché, mentionnées par les jeunes anglophones, sont politiques (les facteurs politiques incluent ici les lois

linguistiques du Québec).

L'émigration provinciale de la population totale des Anglo-Québécois s'explique également par les lois linguistiques du Québec⁶³. Par exemple, le taux de sortants interprovinciaux⁶⁴ a augmenté lors de l'adoption de la loi 101 en 1977. Tel que mentionné plus haut, Locher soutient cependant que les lois portant sur la langue n'ont joué qu'un rôle secondaire dans l'exode des anglophones; 17,8 % des membres de son échantillon ont mentionné, comme étant le principal motif de leur départ, la Charte de la langue française⁶⁵.

Pour ce qui est des jeunes Anglo-Québécois, la majorité des étudiants interrogés par Locher (1992) indiquent que les lois linguistiques constituent la principale raison de leur départ potentiel. Environ la moitié des jeunes anglophones ont expliqué l'exode global des Anglo-Québécois par les lois linguistiques du Québec. Locher fait cependant remarquer qu'il est impossible d'expliquer ce phénomène uniquement par l'adoption de la loi 101 en 1977. Il affirme que le niveau d'émigration interprovinciale est demeuré relativement constant depuis 1966 et qu'en fait, la majorité des anglophones n'a pas quitté le Québec durant cette période.

Facteurs économiques

Selon l'étude qualitative de Radice (2000) et l'étude quantitative de Locher (1994), ce sont les variables économiques qui déterminent le plus les décisions migratoires de la population anglo-qubécoise, tous groupes d'âge confondus. En ce sens, Locher (1991) remarque que les motivations des migrations anglophones sont sensiblement les mêmes que celles observées dans les autres pays. L'importance des déterminants économiques ressort autant des intentions de migrer, des raisons de départ évoquées par les émigrants ainsi que des analyses macro-économiques et démographiques (1994). Les Anglo-Montréalais interrogés par Radice (2000) expliquent principalement l'exode des Anglo-Québécois par des facteurs économiques. Locher explique ainsi la prépondérance des facteurs économiques : « Si le courant migratoire est en fait de longue durée, c'est surtout dans la structure économique du pays qu'on trouve ses causes, et non pas dans des changements politiques éphémères⁶⁶. »

Dans les travaux de recherche recensés, les facteurs économiques englobent les éléments suivants : le contexte économique, les perspectives d'emploi et « l'avancement économique » (c'est-à-dire la scolarisation hors Québec).

Le contexte économique du Québec semble être un facteur explicatif des comportements migratoires de l'ensemble des Anglo-Québécois⁶⁷.

Il semble que le déclin économique observé au Québec depuis la fin de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale (marqué, entre autres, par le transfert dans les années 1970 d'importants sièges sociaux anglophones de Montréal à Toronto) ainsi que la conjoncture économique favorable d'autres provinces poussent les Anglo-Québécois à quitter le Québec⁶⁸. Locher (1988) indique que la recherche d'un meilleur contexte économique explique en partie le départ d'Anglo-Québécois. Son enquête quantitative révèle que 26,7 % des émigrants « sont partis à la recherche de meilleurs avantages économiques ou parce que les conditions économiques du Québec leur déplaisaient »⁶⁹.

Plusieurs Anglo-Québécois quittent également le Québec pour des raisons liées à l'emploi. Certains Anglo-Québécois émigrent dans le but de bénéficier de meilleures perspectives d'emploi et, par le fait même, d'une meilleure qualité de vie⁷⁰. Pour sa part, Radice (2000) indique que ce qui pousserait les Anglo-Montréalais qu'elle a interrogés à quitter le Québec serait l'incapacité d'y trouver un travail.

Le désir de jouir de meilleures perspectives d'avenir explique également l'exode des jeunes anglophones du Québec vers les autres provinces⁷¹. Lo et Teixeira affirment que ce sont les facteurs économiques plutôt que le contexte politique qui détermineraient davantage la migration interprovinciale des jeunes anglophones. Ils analysent ainsi l'émigration des jeunes anglophones du Québec :

These are people at the beginning of their careers, relatively well educated, mobile, and characteristic of all language communities across the country [...]. They do not have much to lose in leaving Quebec. They are looking for better opportunities elsewhere, apparently conforming to classical migrants leaving on a voluntary basis⁷².

Les résultats de l'enquête menée par Amit-Talai (1993) révèlent que la principale raison de quitter le Québec mentionnée par les élèves anglophones est la poursuite des études, suivie de la recherche d'un emploi. Ces facteurs contribuent également à expliquer les comportements migratoires interrégionaux des jeunes francophones⁷³. Cependant, Amit-Talai (1993) souligne que les élèves ayant manifesté le désir de migrer à l'intérieur du Québec ont exprimé les mêmes motivations. Amit-Talai conclut que la principale distinction entre les migrants intraprovinciaux et interprovinciaux repose sur le choix du lieu où ces derniers désirent poursuivre leurs études et leur carrière professionnelle. Elle affirme que les étudiants anglophones interrogés ne désirent pas émigrer vers les autres provinces parce qu'ils croient que leurs chances de réussite sont réduites au Québec, mais bien parce

qu'ils sont intéressés par les perspectives d'avenir offertes dans les autres provinces.

Néanmoins, comparativement aux résultats présentés par Lo et Teixeira (1998) et Amit-Talai (1993), Locher (1994) indique que le désir de bénéficier de meilleures perspectives d'avenir professionnel n'explique qu'une fraction des intentions de départ exprimées par les jeunes anglophones : « On ne peut donc pas affirmer que seuls ceux qui ont les moyens et les ambitions socio-économiques expriment le désir de quitter le Québec⁷⁴. »

Facteurs liés au réseau social et à la socialisation

Les motifs de migration liés au réseau social et à la socialisation sont peu étudiés dans la littérature portant sur la migration des anglophones du Québec. Néanmoins, quelques études se sont penchées sur ces facteurs.

Le réseau social semble avoir un impact sur la migration interprovinciale des Anglo-Québécois. Lo et Teixeira (1998) soulignent que les liens sociaux à l'extérieur de la province que possèdent les non-francophones qu'ils ont interrogés constituent un facteur explicatif de leur émigration future. Cependant, les répondants qui prévoyaient quitter le Québec dans les cinq prochaines années ont expliqué leur décision par le besoin de rejoindre des membres de leur parenté dans une proportion ne s'élevant qu'à 14 %. Les résultats obtenus par Lo et Teixeira auprès des résidants de Notre-Dame-de-Grâce révèlent plutôt que les intentions migratoires des Anglo-Québécois s'expliquent surtout par des facteurs économiques et politiques. Locher (1988), qui a mené une enquête sur l'ensemble des Anglo-Montréalais, affirme qu'un manque de parenté au Québec influence très peu les mouvements migratoires des Québécois anglophones; le réseau familial n'est donc pas la principale cause de leur départ massif. Par contre, l'absence de parents augmenterait la propension des anglophones à quitter le Québec.

À notre connaissance, aucune étude ne porte sur l'impact du réseau social interne et externe au Québec sur la migration des jeunes anglo-québécois. Par contre, sur le plan de la socialisation, Alliance Québec (1992) mentionne que plusieurs jeunes anglophones sont poussés par leurs parents et par leurs professeurs à s'établir dans les autres provinces canadiennes. Il semble que la communauté anglo-québécoise soit plutôt pessimiste à l'égard de son avenir et des chances de réussite de ses jeunes. Ces affirmations demandent cependant à être vérifiées quantitativement.

Conclusion

La proportion de jeunes adultes au sein de la communauté anglophone du Québec diminue de façon importante. Cette décroissance démographique s'explique notamment par l'exode des jeunes Anglo-Québécois vers les autres provinces canadiennes. Les causes de ces départs massifs sont multiples et interreliées. Aucun facteur ou groupe de facteurs ne peut expliquer à lui seul la complexité de ces mouvements migratoires. Il n'y a pas de consensus dans la littérature quant à la prépondérance de certaines variables. Néanmoins, les migrations interprovinciales des jeunes anglophones semblent être le résultat de facteurs linguistiques, culturels, politiques, législatifs et économiques ainsi que de facteurs liés à la socialisation. Cette recension des travaux révèle à quel point les comportements migratoires des jeunes anglophones correspondent à une réalité socio-culturelle fort complexe qui doit être analysée plus en profondeur. Il est clair que de nouvelles recherches doivent être menées sur la migration des jeunes anglo-québécois. C'est ce à quoi s'attarde présentement le Groupe de recherche sur la migration des jeunes (GRMJ) qui a recueilli des données quantitatives en 2004 sur la migration des jeunes anglophones du Québec, ainsi que sur la migration de l'ensemble des jeunes du Québec.

NOTES

1. Marie-Odile Magnan, sous la direction de Madeleine GAUTHIER, « *To stay or not to stay* » : *migrations des jeunes anglo-québécois. Revue de la littérature*, Montréal, INRS Urbanisation, Culture et Société, 2004. (Traduction : Marie-Odile Magnan, sous la direction de Madeleine Gauthier, « *To Stay or Not to Stay* »: *Migrations of Young Anglo-Quebecers. Literature Review*, Montreal, INRS Urbanisation, Culture et Société, 2005).
2. Natalie Kishchuk, *Subjective Factors in Out-Migration among English Speakers in the Eastern Townships*, présenté à la conférence : *The Eastern Townships English-Speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?*, le 31 mars 2005 à l'Université Bishop's, Lennoxville.
3. William Floch, *A Comparison of the Socio-Economic Characteristics of Quebec Anglophone Out Migrants with those who Stayed, 1971–1996*, présenté à la conférence *The Eastern Townships English-Speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?*, le 31 mars 2005 à l'Université Bishop's, Lennoxville.
4. Charles Castonguay, « La vraie question linguistique : quelle est la force d'attraction réelle du français au Québec? », dans Michel VENNE (dir.), *L'annuaire du Québec 2004*, Montréal, Fides, 2003, p. 232–253.

5. Uli Locher, « Perspectives d'avenir des jeunes anglophones du Québec », *Relations*, 1991, p. 212.
6. Hervé Gauthier, « La migration », dans *D'une génération à l'autre : évolution des conditions de vie*, vol. II, Québec, Bureau de la statistique du Québec, 1998, p. 84–117; Vered Amit-Talai, « Will they go? A study of intentions regarding migration among secondary students in Quebec », *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 25, 1993, p. 50–61.
7. Marc Termote, « L'évolution démolingistique du Québec et du Canada », dans *La mise à jour des études originalement préparées pour la Commission sur l'avenir politique et constitutionnel du Québec*. Rapport soumis au ministre délégué aux Affaires intergouvernementales canadiennes, vol. 2, livre 2, Québec, Conseil exécutif, Bureau de coordination des études, 2002, p. 161–244; Gauthier, 1998; Amit-Talai, 1993.
8. Gauthier, 1998.
9. Statistique Canada, Première langue officielle parlée (7) pour la population, pour le Canada, les provinces, les territoires, les divisions de recensement et les subdivisions de recensement, recensement de 2001, Données-échantillon (20%), 2003, no 97F0007XCB01048; Statistique Canada, « Profil des langues au Canada : l'anglais, le français et bien d'autres langues », Série « Analyses », no 96F0030XIF2001005, 2002a. [En ligne] [http://www12.statcan.ca/francais/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/lang/provs_f.cfm#decline] (juin 2003).

Voici les définitions des indicateurs mentionnés : La langue maternelle est « la première langue apprise à la maison dans l'enfance et encore comprise par le recensé au moment du recensement » (Statistique Canada (2002b), Dictionnaire du recensement de 2001 (produits de référence : recensement de 2001), n° 92-378-XIF. [En ligne] [http://www.statcan.ca/francais/census2001/dict/index_f.htm#dictionnaire] (juillet 2003). La langue d'usage est la « langue que le recensé parle le plus souvent à la maison » (Statistique Canada, 2002b, n.p.); La première langue officielle parlée indique la première langue officielle (*i.e.* français, anglais) que le recensé a apprise et qu'il comprend encore. (Community Table of the National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority (2000), *Community economic development perspectives: needs assessment report of the diverse English linguistic minority communities across Quebec*, Huntingdon, Published by the Community Table of the National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority)
10. Lucia Lo et Carlos Teixeira, « If Quebec goes...the “exodus” impact? », *The Professional Geographer*, vol. 50, no 4, 1998, p.

- 481–498; Amit-Talai 1993; Uli Locher, *Les anglophones de Montréal : émigration et évolution des attitudes 1978–1983*, Québec, Conseil de la langue française, 1988.
11. Les catégories utilisées font seulement référence aux personnes ayant déclaré une réponse unique à la question sur la langue maternelle. Le taux de sortie est calculé sur la population se trouvant au Québec au début de la période, soit les personnes recensées en 1996, tout en tenant compte que ces personnes apparaissant au dénominateur sont plus jeunes de cinq ans en début de période.
 12. Brian Harrison, *Les jeunes et les minorités de langue officielle, 1971 à 1991*, Statistique Canada, no 91-545-XPF, 1996; Alliance Québec, *Task Force on Job Opportunities for English-speaking Youth in Quebec*, Montréal, Alliance Québec, 1992.
 13. Jack Jedwab, « La révolution “tranquille” des Anglo-Québécois », dans Denise LEMIEUX (dir.), *Traité de la culture*, Sainte-Foy, Éditions de l'IQRC, 2002, p. 181–199.
 14. Quebec Community Groups Network, *Suggesting Change: The Situation of the English-speaking Minority of Quebec and Proposals for Change*, Report presented to Minister Stéphane Dion, President of the Privy Council and Minister for Intergovernmental Affairs, 2002. [En ligne] [http://www.westquebecers.com/docs/nov26-2002_press.html] (juillet 2003).
 15. CNDRHC, 2000; Louise Marmen et Jean-Pierre Corbeil, *Les langues au Canada : recensement de 1996*, Ottawa, Patrimoine canadien et Statistique Canada, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; K. Bruce Newbold, « The Ghettoization of Quebec: Interprovincial Migration and its Demographic Effects, Canadian Studies », *Population*, vol. 23, no 1, 1996, p. 1–21; K. L. Liaw, « Joint effects of personal factors and ecological variables on the interprovincial migration patterns of young adults in Canada: a nested logit analysis », *Geographical Analysis*, vol. 22, no 3, 1990, p. 189–208.
 16. Martha Kate Radice, *Feeling comfortable? Les Anglo-Montréalais et leur ville*, Sainte-Foy, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Uli Locher, *Les jeunes et la langue (tome 2). Comportements et attitudes linguistiques des jeunes faisant leurs études en anglais*, Québec, Conseil de la langue française, 1994; Locher, 1988; Amit-Talai, 1993; Alliance Québec, 1992.
 17. David H. Kaplan, « Differences in Migration Determinants for Linguistic Groups in Canada », *The Professional Geographer*, vol. 47, no 2, 1995, p. 115–125; Amit-Talai, 1993.
 18. Amit-Talai, 1993, p. 58.
 19. William Johnson, *A Brief on Quebec's English-Speaking Youth*. On the Occasion of the Youth Summit, 2000. [En ligne]

- [http://www.alliancequebec.ca/Main_English/bryouth.htm] (mai 2003); Marmen et Corbeil, 1999; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Newbold, 1996; Uli Locher, *Intentions to Leave Quebec among Students in English High-schools and Colleges*, Montréal, Department of Sociology, McGill University, 1992; Locher, 1994, 1988; Alliance Québec, 1992; Gary Caldwell, « Itinéraire migratoire des jeunes qui ont quitté l'école secondaire anglaise au Québec en 1971 », *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, vol. 12, no 3, 1983, p. 281–294.
20. Termote, 2002, p. 32.
 21. Matthew Stevenson, « Canada's other Brain Drain: The Continuing Exodus from Quebec », *Policy Options*, vol. 21, no 8, 2000, p. 64–66; CNDRHC, 2000; Marmen et Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Marc Termote, « L'avenir démographique des Anglophones du Québec », *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, vol. 5, no 2, 1997, p. 80–89; Newbold, 1996; Locher, 1992; Alliance Québec, 1992.
 22. Les concepts « migration » et « exode » sont utilisés tout au long de cette revue des travaux. Le sens du mot migration varie selon le contexte dans lequel il est utilisé; en effet, il désigne à la fois les déplacements des Anglo-Québécois d'une province à une autre (c'est-à-dire la migration interprovinciale) et les déplacements d'une région à une autre (c'est-à-dire la migration interrégionale). Le mot exode n'est utilisé que pour désigner la migration interprovinciale des Québécois anglophones. En effet, selon Gauthier et Bujold : « Le mot exode ajoute une qualification à la notion de migration : celle de son importance. Il comporte l'idée de déplacement massif et d'un déplacement vers des conditions meilleures, ces conditions pouvant être de différents ordres : économiques, sociaux, culturels, ethniques, etc. » (Madeleine Gauthier et Johanne Bujold, avec la collaboration de Claire Boily, *Les jeunes et le départ des régions : revue des travaux*, Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1995, p. 14). Or, chez les Anglo-Québécois, c'est la migration interprovinciale et non la migration interrégionale qui correspond à un déplacement massif.
 23. CNDRHC, 2000; Radice, 2000; Stevenson, 2000; Marmen et Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo et Teixeira, 1998.
 24. Johnson, 2000; Radice, 2000; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Amit-Talai, 1993; Locher, 1991, 1988; Ronald Rudin, *Histoire du Québec anglophone 1759–1980*, Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture 1986.
 25. Alliance Québec, 1992.
 26. Locher (1991) utilise le terme « avancement économique » pour désigner des facteurs de migration tels que les études et la scolarisation des enfants du migrant. Ce terme sera utilisé tout au

long de cette revue de littérature et désignera surtout la scolarisation hors Québec du migrant anglophone.

27. Amit-Talai, 1993.
28. Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Jack Jedwab, *English in Montreal: A Layman's Look at the Current Situation*, Montréal, Images, 1996.
29. Jedwab, 1996.
30. Johnson, 2000; Locher, 1992.
31. Johnson, 2000; Locher, 1992.
32. Radice, 2000; Locher, 1994, 1992.
33. Locher, 1991, p. 211.
34. Locher, 1991.
35. Radice, 2000, p. 36.
36. Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Jedwab, 1996; Locher, 1992.
37. Depuis le début des années 1990, deux chercheurs seulement se sont penchés sur la problématique de la migration interprovinciale des jeunes Anglo-Québécois. Amit-Talai a effectué une enquête en 1987 auprès de 1 295 étudiants de secondaire V d'écoles anglophones du Québec et de 501 étudiants d'écoles francophones. L'analyse des données portait principalement sur les compétences linguistiques en français, les motivations d'une future migration et les destinations envisagées. L'échantillon tentait de refléter l'ensemble des étudiants de secondaire V des écoles anglophones du Québec. Ainsi, les jeunes étudiés se caractérisaient par diverses origines ethniques, langues maternelles et langues d'usage. Néanmoins, la majorité des résultats sont analysés selon la langue maternelle. Les étudiants répondaient à un questionnaire en classe. Locher a lui aussi mené une étude quantitative portant sur les intentions des jeunes Anglo-Québécois de quitter le Québec. Les derniers résultats ont été publiés en 1994. Cette recherche a été réalisée pour le *Conseil de la langue française*. Quelque 4 082 étudiants de secondaire IV et V ainsi que du cégep ont répondu à un questionnaire en classe. Les répondants étaient sélectionnés par classes entières suivant un échantillonnage au hasard. Ces jeunes provenaient de 19 établissements différents. Ces institutions avaient été sélectionnées dans le but de représenter les cinq principaux milieux linguistiques du Québec anglais. Cette étude reprenait sensiblement le même questionnaire utilisé par Locher en 1979, ce qui permettait des comparaisons diachroniques.
38. Locher, 1992, p. 5.
39. Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994; Amit-Talai, 1993.
40. Marmen et Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Newbold, 1996; Liaw, 1990.

41. Amit-Talai, 1993, p. 58.
42. Locher (1988) a suivi le parcours migratoire de 251 Anglo-Montréalais de 1978 à 1983. Il tient compte de la langue maternelle pour définir le groupe des Anglo-Québécois. Toutefois, il a également inclus les personnes qui ont l'anglais comme langue d'usage et qui sont nés dans un pays anglophone.
43. Radice, 2000.
44. Termote, 2002; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994; Amit-Talai, 1993; Alliance Québec, 1992.
45. Termote, 2002; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Locher, 1994; Amit-Talai, 1993.
46. Amit-Talai, 1993, p. 55.
47. Johnson, 2000.
48. Kaplan (1995) analyse les mouvements migratoires d'une région à une autre du Canada à l'aide des données des recensements de 1981 et 1986 selon la langue maternelle.
49. Amit-Talai, 1993, p. 57.
50. Johnson, 2000; Alliance Québec, 1992.
51. Johnson, 2000, n.p.
52. Newbold, 1996, p. 14; Newbold utilise les données des recensements de 1986 et de 1991 afin d'analyser la migration interprovinciale au Québec. Il utilise la variable « langue maternelle ».
53. Locher, 1994; 1992; Caldwell, 1983; Caldwell a mené une étude longitudinale. Il a suivi l'expérience migratoire de 975 jeunes Québécois anglophones de 1970 à 1983. Il est le seul, à notre connaissance, à avoir mené une recherche de cette envergure sur le sujet. Dans le cadre de ce projet, il a fait, en 1980, 110 entrevues qualitatives avec les Anglo-Québécois qui avaient décidé de demeurer au Québec après avoir terminé leurs études secondaires.
54. Locher, 1994, p. 95.
55. Locher, 1994; Caldwell, 1983.
56. Stevenson, 2000; CNDRHC, 2000; Marmen et Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Termote, 1997; Newbold, 1996.
57. L'article de Termote (1997) porte principalement sur l'évolution démolinguistique future du groupe des Anglo-Québécois. Pour ce faire, Termote utilise la variable « langue d'usage » du recensement de 1991.
58. Stevenson, 2000; Termote, 1997.
59. Gauthier (1998) utilise la langue maternelle pour définir les anglophones.
60. Stevenson, 2000; Rudin, 1986.

61. CNDRHC, 2000; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Newbold, 1996.
62. Locher, 1988, p. 44.
63. Conseil permanent de la jeunesse, « Forum de discussion pour les représentants des jeunes anglophones du Québec : compte rendu », Québec, Conseil permanent de la jeunesse, 2003. [En ligne] [http://www.cpj.gouv.qc.ca/fr/pdf/forum_francais.pdf] (janvier 2003); CNDRHC, 2000; Stevenson, 2000; Marmen et Corbeil, 1999.
64. Locher, 1988, p. 41.
65. Les sortants inter provinciaux sont des individus qui quittent la province de Québec pour s'établir dans une autre province canadienne.
66. Locher, 1988, p. 117.
67. CNDRHC, 2000; Radice, 2000; Stevenson, 2000; Marmen et Corbeil, 1999; Gauthier, 1998; Lo et Teixeira, 1998.
68. Marmen et Corbeil, 1999; Lo et Teixeira, 1998.
69. Locher, 1988, p. 41.
70. Radice, 2000; Locher, 1991; 1988.
71. Johnson, 2000; Lo et Teixeira, 1998; Amit-Talai, 1993.
72. Lo et Teixeira, 1998, p. 489.
73. Madeleine Gauthier, Marc Molgat, et Serge Côté, *La migration des jeunes au Québec : résultats d'un sondage auprès des 20–34 ans du Québec*, Montréal, INRS Urbanisation Culture et Société, 2001.
74. Locher, 1994, p. 97.

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FACTORS IN OUT-MIGRATION AMONG ENGLISH SPEAKERS IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS: A QUALITATIVE STUDY*

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Abstract

The study reported in this paper provides some exploratory qualitative data on the experiences of a purposive sample of recent English-speaking Townships leavers. The study aimed to provide descriptive insight into the leavers' reasons for migrating, their choice of new location and reasons for this, the nature and extent of their continuing ties to the Townships, and factors that might influence choices to return to the region. It involved qualitative telephone interviews with 26 Townships leavers living in Ontario, Alberta or elsewhere in Quebec whose first official language was English and who had migrated in the last 10 years. Findings confirmed those of other studies that employment and educational opportunities were the main drivers of out-migration. While respondents still had many ties to the Eastern Townships, most had not regretted their choices about leaving and most were able to identify significant advantages to their subsequent locations, over and above the availability of suitable employment. The interview findings suggest that there is a continuum of leavers, ranging from those who would not at this point in their lives reconsider their move, to those who would have preferred to stay and would reconsider under the right conditions. Actions to redress out-migration, either by preventing it or by encouraging re-entry to the region, could perhaps best be targeted according to specific points on this continuum.

Résumé

L'étude qui fait l'objet de cette communication fournit des données qualitatives exploratoires sur les expériences d'un échantillon choisi à dessein d'anglophones des Cantons-de-l'Est ayant récemment quitté la région. Cette étude cherchait à donner un aperçu descriptif des raisons derrière la migration, le choix de la destination, la nature et l'étendue des liens durables des émigrants avec les Cantons-de-l'Est ainsi que des facteurs pouvant influencer leur décision de revenir ou non dans la région. Des entrevues qualitatives menées par téléphone ont été réalisées avec 26 anglophones

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ayant quitté la région au cours des 10 dernières années et qui habitent maintenant en Ontario, en Alberta ou ailleurs au Québec. Les conclusions sont venues confirmer celles d'autres études selon lesquelles l'emploi et la poursuite des études sont les principaux moteurs de l'émigration. Même si les répondants avaient encore plusieurs liens avec les Cantons-de-l'Est, la plupart d'entre eux ne regrettaien pas leur décision de quitter et pouvaient identifier des avantages non négligeables, autres que des meilleures possibilités d'emploi, associés à leur région d'adoption. Les conclusions tirées de ces entretiens suggèrent qu'il existe un continuum de personnes qui quittent la région, allant de ceux qui ne sont pas prêts, pour l'instant, à reconsidérer leur départ à ceux qui auraient préféré rester et qui reconsidéreraient leur décision dans un contexte favorable. Les actions pour contrer l'émigration, qu'elles visent à éviter qu'elle se produise ou à promouvoir le retour dans la région, pourraient probablement être mieux ciblées en tenant compte des caractéristiques particulières de ce continuum.

INTRODUCTION

Out-migration of the English-speaking community from the Eastern Townships has been a concern for several decades. Early landmark studies by Caldwell (1980; 1992) described in detail the patterns of out-migration among cohorts of English-speaking youth followed over several years, raising awareness of out-migration as an issue for sustainability of the English community in the region. More recent studies have continued to show high levels of out-migration of the English-speaking community, especially among youth (Floch & Warnke, 2004). While these studies provide a useful population-level view of the patterns of out-migration and their implications for Eastern Townships community composition and demographics, they provide little information about the reasons and motivations that underlie individual choices to move away from the Townships, nor about the factors that would work for or against ex-Townshippers returning to the region.

Recent studies with current residents of the Townships have identified issues that may contribute to out-migration. A focus group study of English-speaking high school and vocational school youth in the Townships found that a majority, 61%, felt that they would likely leave the Townships in the next few years for education-related reasons (Brault, Karpenko & Kishchuk, 2005). Similarly, a survey of Bishop's students showed that overall, 61% of students intended to leave the region after graduation; this included 36% of students who were originally from the Townships

(Aljane, 2004). These studies echo other findings about the mobility of the broader Anglophone Quebec community, which is primarily influenced by economic and educational concerns (Magnan, 2004; Missisquoi Institute, 2002; Jedwab, 2004).

The study reported in this paper is a small attempt to provide complementary qualitative data on the experiences of a sample of recent English-speaking Townships leavers. The purpose of the study was, within the current political, social and economic context, to provide descriptive insight into the leavers' reasons for migrating, their choice of new location and reasons for this, the nature and extent of their continuing ties to the Townships, and factors that might influence decisions to return to the region.

METHODOLOGY

Study sample

The study involved qualitative telephone interviews conducted with 26 Townships leavers whose first official language was English and who had left the region within the last 10 years. The sample was identified using a purposive, snowball sample method (Atkinson & Flint, 2001), informed by the statistical portrait of out-migration. Specifically, data from the study being simultaneously conducted by Warnke (this issue) was used to construct sampling targets within categories of age and post-Townships location. Given the concentrations of ex-Townshippers in Ontario, Alberta (especially Calgary) and Montreal, sampling efforts were concentrated in these areas. Respondents were sought in three age categories: under 25 years, 25–44 years, and 45 years and older.

Initial or "seed" respondents were identified through interpersonal contacts with Townshippers' Association staff or board members. Contact with these individuals established first their eligibility for the study, and second whether they could nominate additional potential respondents in the target regions and age ranges. Although there were several nominated individuals who did not return the researchers' telephone calls, there were no refusals to participate in the study.

Alternative sampling procedures were considered (such as recruiting respondents through advertising in the newspapers of the target region), however, the snowball method was adopted because of its relative efficiency and low cost. The sample should not be considered representative of the entire population of Township leavers, but rather as illustrative of a certain set of experiences.

Interview procedures

Once eligible interviewees were identified and had agreed to participate, telephone interviews were scheduled. These were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide focusing on the study questions. The interviews lasted between 20 and 45 minutes.

Respondents were informed that their answers would be kept confidential and that no individuals would be identified by name in the report.

Analysis

The interviewers' notes were summarized in text documents and then analyzed using a standard matrix-based content analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

FINDINGS

Sample characteristics

Fourteen of the 26 participants had left the Townships prior to 2000, and 12 had left after 2000. When they left the Townships, nine were aged 15–24, and 17 were 25–44 (with a concentration in the younger ages of this range). Sixteen were female and 10 were male.

Respondents had resided in the Townships for a wide range of periods: 12 had lived in the Townships their whole lives or since early childhood, three had lived in the region for many years, and 11 had lived in the Townships for five years or less. This latter group was comprised mainly of students who had come to the region to study at Bishop's University and left immediately or shortly after completing their studies.

This pattern of association is reflected in respondents' last location of residence in the Townships: 15 had been living in Lennoxville, four in Sherbrooke and seven in other locations throughout the region. These included towns mainly from the western part of the region.

The sample was highly educated: 21 respondents had completed or were completing undergraduate or graduate university studies. The highest level of education achieved for the remainder was CEGEP (4 respondents) or high school (1 respondent).

All but two respondents considered themselves to be bilingual, in that they could fully function in either an English or French work environment.

Overall, the sample was comprised of two fairly distinct profiles:

Former Bishop's students who resided in the Lennoxville area for the duration of their schooling, and others from various parts of the region, most of whom had been long-time residents.

Main reasons for leaving the Townships

Work-related reasons. Employment reasons were by far the most common main reason for leaving the Townships. Almost all of the respondents (23 of 26) mentioned work-related reasons, for example: "*When I graduated from university, there was limited opportunity for a business career in the area.*" Those few who did not mention work as a primary reason for leaving the Townships were seeking a more urban environment that they also associated with employment opportunities: "*At the time I pretty much thought 'OK it's time for work, that's the city.'*"

Leaving the region to look for work elsewhere generally coincided with the end of schooling, either for the respondent or his or her spouse or partner. In some cases, the choice to leave was driven by a concrete job offer elsewhere, sometimes accepted before graduation, and sometimes before the respondent had considered staying in the region as an employment option: "*I was offered a job in [the city] straight out of university.*" In other cases, the choice to leave was driven by perceptions or experiences of limited opportunities within the region, coupled with a perception that prospects for meaningful and well-paying work were better outside the region: "*I had applied everywhere for jobs... There just isn't anything for me in the Townships job-wise.*"

Sectors that seemed especially challenging for respondents' employment opportunities within the Townships included the information technology sector ("*Job opportunities in the Tech/IT field. If I could get a job there in Lennoxville, I would move back*") and the creative sectors (arts, design, fashion). Several respondents aimed to start businesses in their field of work but mentioned perceptions of significant bureaucratic and population barriers to successful entrepreneurship in the region.

This is not to say that all respondents had completely excluded the possibility of staying in the Townships. In a few cases, respondents had included the Townships in their consideration of employment opportunities after completing university but had ended up making a choice of a location outside the region. Several respondents mentioned directly that they would have stayed in the region if appropriate jobs had been available: "*I would have preferred to stay. It is a matter of there not being any job opportunities for me.*" In one

case, a respondent had left the region to study elsewhere and had wanted to come back after graduation but had not found suitable work: "*I tried to move back to the Townships, but could not find a full-time job.*"

Education-related reasons. A few respondents had left the Townships to pursue educational goals that they could not reach within the region, for example: "*I couldn't get the education that I needed here.*" This was the case for individuals seeking specialized educational programs not available in the Townships or more general education programs that are not available in English in the Townships.

Change-related reasons. Finally, the third main reason for leaving the Townships mentioned by a few respondents was not to move towards better work or educational opportunities, but simply to move away from the Townships and their existing lives: "*I just wanted to get out of there when I was young... I wanted to get out of the area and experience new things. So I moved to an area I didn't even know just to get away.*" For some, this was expressed as wanting to move out of a small-town or to get away from small-town life: "*It's good to be away and not have everyone in your hair.*" Similarly, several respondents stated they had moved because of a desire to experience city life. For a few, leaving the region was driven by wanting to create distance from their families.

Choice of new location

About half of the 26 respondents first moved to Montreal. Others left the Eastern Townships for Toronto or other Ontario locations, either other parts of southern Ontario or the Ottawa region. A few respondents initially went to other Canadian cities, mainly Calgary. Only one respondent left the Townships for another rural Quebec region. Many had moved several times in the years they had left the Townships, some coming back to Quebec but none to the Townships, even briefly.

As would be expected from the preceding results, the main factor behind the choice of these locations was actual or anticipated work opportunities. Similarly, for some, the choice of location was driven by the availability of particular educational programs or institutions. For the group of shorter-term Townships' residents who had come to the region to study and who thus did not have pre-existing friendship or kinship ties to the region, their choice of location was determined by their desire to return to their "home" location, or the location of family members and/or friends. One respondent

summed up her trajectory as follows: “*I returned to Montreal because that's where my family is. And then I moved to Toronto because there are more job opportunities. I came with a friend of mine and we just wanted to go somewhere new, really.*”

Experience in post-Townships locations

Respondents were asked to describe their experience in their new locations. Several clear themes, both positive and negative, emerged from their responses.

Diversity. Younger respondents were particularly likely to mention appreciating a greater diversity in their new location. This was expressed at several levels. Generally, these new locations were appreciated for the range and diversity of activities they offered, especially for social and cultural activities: “*The diversity, multicultural, so much arts and culture.*” Cultural diversity of the population and its expressions in terms of activities and events also contributed to satisfaction with the new location: “*There is more cultural diversity here. More people obviously, but also events, films, dances and things like that.*” For some, diversity in friendships was an important factor: the opportunities to associate with different people, from varied backgrounds.

Public services. Better public services were also seen as an important positive factor, especially, but not only, among older respondents. This was particularly true in regards to health services. Several respondents expressed concerns about access to and quality of medical services, especially hospitals, in the Townships, and compared their experiences in other provinces very favourably: “*Health care is great. The environment is clean... Service is fantastic everywhere you go because people are so happy.*” For the younger members of the sample, many of whom did not own cars, the availability of public transport was another main positive factor they experienced: “*Having the metro is a big plus.*” This contributed to greater freedom and mobility, and consequently a greater capacity to participate in a wider variety of cultural and social activities.

Bilingualism. Several respondents noted that their bilingualism was a great asset in their lives outside the Townships, whether in Montreal or other Canadian locations. These respondents reported having experienced being a bilingual Anglophone in the Townships as a handicap to work opportunities and advancement, whereas elsewhere their linguistic skills were valuable and contributed to employability and advancement: “*In the rest of the country my French is an asset, in Quebec my French is a liability.*”

Political stability. Only a few respondents mentioned political issues as part of their experience in their new locations. When mentioned, it was in terms of being comfortable with the greater political stability in their new province: “*Also, the political environment in Quebec is not the most conducive to raising a family. It was great when I was young to experience Quebec, but now that I have kids I would rather provide them with a happier, safer, more stable environment,*” and not missing the uncertainties of Quebec politics: “*I don't miss the separatist thing, I must say.*”

Approximating the Townships elsewhere. Interestingly, several respondents mentioned factors in their new environment that resembled features of their Townships’ life that they particularly appreciated: “*I live in a place similar to the Townships just outside of the city.*” These factors were often proximity to nature and the outdoors, through parks and green spaces, enabling easy access to outdoor recreation such as skiing or cycling: “*There is skiing here too, closer than in the big cities... Here it's not on your doorstep like there (in the Townships) but it's still close.*” For some, living in a neighbourhood of a larger city that had a strong local or historical identity permitted approximation of a small town feeling in daily life. Some appreciated the possibility of moving easily between a faster-paced urban environment and this small-town urban setting: “*I live in a (neighbourhood) and I get a good mixture of the city and the mountains and nature.*” As one respondent noted: “*You miss it when you leave it and you try to recreate it wherever you go.*”

Negative factors. The negative factors mentioned by respondents when describing their experiences tended to reflect the trade-off for life in more urbanized settings. These included higher levels of pollution, traffic issues, and lack of safety both within their neighbourhoods and in sectors of their cities that had to be avoided: “*we hitchhiked from Lennoxville to Sherbrooke often... I would never do that in Toronto. I would be afraid of getting shot or something.*”

Ties to the Townships and potential for return

All but two respondents stated that they still have ties to family and friends in the Eastern Townships, for example: “*My family and friends are still there. So I have many ties to the area.*” For many, these ties seemed quite strong, and a few who had lived in the region most of their lives stated that they still considered the Townships as their home: “*I have grown to appreciate the Eastern Townships more and more since I moved away. I definitely consider myself a Townshipper.*” Several respondents, including some having spent

only a few years there, noted that they have visited the region since they left, and some continued to visit regularly: "*I love the Townships. When I lived in Ontario, I used to visit often.*" Several also noted that they try to encourage others to visit during holidays or for other activities, seeing themselves as promoters or ambassadors to the region although they no longer live in the Townships.

When asked about the circumstances that would lead them to consider moving back to the Townships, many of these ex-Townshippers were open to the idea, if only on a theoretical level. Specifically, most respondents said they would consider moving back if they found work that they considered equivalent or better to their current conditions: "*if there were more industries and good places to work.*" For some, this was in terms of salary or job level (especially among those older respondents who had by now acquired considerable seniority within their work domains), but for many others, this equivalence meant essentially work in their domain of qualification or interest. Since most had excluded the possibility of staying in the Townships because of lack of work, they essentially felt that it was extremely unlikely that current employment opportunities would allow them to consider moving back: "*It kind of pains me to say that. That I wouldn't go back. But I have a good life here and as much as I love it there, I wouldn't move back permanently. If there were more career options I would consider it though.*" For those respondents in long-term relationships with working spouses, including those few respondents who were not working, moving back would also require equivalent work for their spouses. As one respondent summed it up: "*Maybe if there was a job opportunity; I could not survive without a job. But if there was a good job for me I would move back for sure. Of course there would have to be a job for my husband too.*"

For some younger respondents, moving back to the Townships would be an option they would consider when they reached the point in their lives of wanting to settle down and begin a family. Again, these responses were mostly at a theoretical level, and did not indicate concrete plans in this direction: "*Maybe when I am older, to settle with a family. Like when I decide to get married and have children.*"

A few older respondents mentioned seeing the Townships as a good place to retire, that is, as an option for later life. For these individuals, the quieter pace in circumstances where employment was no longer an issue would be an attraction factor: "*I like the friendliness and you feel like a close community. It would be a good place to retire.*" However, two respondents also mentioned that in these

circumstances they would first view the Townships as a location for a second residence (country home or cottage); because of the higher tax burden in Quebec they would prefer to maintain their primary residence outside the province.

Over and above the availability of suitable employment, a factor that some respondents stated would increase their interest in living in the Townships again was increased economic and social development, leading to a greater diversity of activities and services: "*If there was more development in the Townships. Like English movie theatres, a face lift, like new stores and new facilities.*" Some of the younger respondents noted that as the Townships' population aged, there was less for younger people to do. They would be more interested in returning to the Townships if the population was younger: "*If there were more jobs and more action I guess. We would need a car for sure.*" A few respondents noted that they felt that the region had become increasingly French-speaking since they left, and they perceived there to be correspondingly fewer English services and activities. For these respondents, an increase in English activities would be a factor contributing to a decision to return. Finally, a few respondents stated that needing to live near family members, in particular aging parents, would be another motivating factor: "*If there was family need for a long-term move.*"

When asked about factors that would make them hesitate about moving back to Townships, many of the issues already mentioned were raised again – in particular the lack of suitable work: "*A very good business opportunity might lure me back with my family.*" Over and above work factors, linguistic factors were mentioned by seven respondents, as well as the perceived increasing predominance of French, the lack of activities, services and interactions in English, or the handicap of being an Anglophone. Other factors contributing to hesitations were related to the perceived lack of diversity already discussed: not enough to do, difficulties of finding people with similar interests, and lack of cultural diversity. Also mentioned as a hesitation factor was the overall climate for business development. A few respondents felt that the relative insular environment made it harder to establish new businesses in the Townships than elsewhere. For some, returning to the Townships would mean reduced access to and quality of health care, and this was a factor that would make them hesitate to move back: "*I never got the impression that health services in the Estrie were top notch and quite often found the services to be less than friendly and professional since I am not fully bilingual.*" Other factors mentioned were the lack of public transporta-

tion, the small-town culture where everyone knows everyone, the political situation, the Quebec bureaucracy especially in business dealings ("Quebec is so bureaucratic, it would be hard to be there") and the high taxation rate.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Although this study was conducted with a small and non-representative sample of leavers from the Eastern Townships, several patterns emerged that merit further exploration in larger studies. First, the study suggests clearly that work is the driver for both leaving and for coming back. While most of these respondents had and maintain strong emotional ties to the region, these have not been, and are not likely to be, sufficient to overcome the need to finding meaningful, suitable work. For some, the search for work and eventual relocation seemed to have been based on perceived lack of opportunity in the Townships; for others, real opportunities presented themselves, obviating the Townships as a choice. Educational choices showed a similar pattern, but seemed to be less based on perceptions and more on veridical assessments of lack of desired post-secondary and/or post-graduate programs in the region. These findings are entirely consistent with the bulk of previous work on out-migration from the Townships as well as other non-urban areas (Magnan, 2004).

Second, although this may be an artefact of the particular sample, it seems that post-secondary education stages – moments when people enter and leave education levels – are critical moments for decisions to either move into or out of the Townships. This is hardly surprising, because employment decisions tend to be tied to these stages. However, this observation has important implications for the nature and timing of efforts to reach potential leavers with information and opportunities that could shape their decision-making.

Overall, ex-Townshippers in this study had not regretted their choices about leaving the Townships, and most were able to identify significant advantages to their subsequent locations, over and above the availability of suitable employment. Many of these factors mirror concerns and dissatisfactions expressed by current residents of the Townships (Missisquoi Institute, 2000; Groupe Recherche Focus, 2004). For many of the younger respondents, leaving the Townships meant moving toward a more urbanized lifestyle and more opportunities to experience diverse activities and relationships. To the extent that similar features were available in the Townships, they would be factors in attracting them back to the

region. A more dynamic and open business environment would also be a factor, coupled with a more active level of economic development and activity. Linguistic and political factors were important but not central among these, and tended to be raised in the sense of being happy to have left these annoyances behind, rather than having escaped from personally threatening situations. Interestingly, however, leavers often sought to re-create or approximate valued features of the Townships in their new environments, suggesting that these features – outdoor amenities, close and supportive communities – have continued appeal.

Implications for actions to redress out-migration

Overall, the study findings would seem to be discouraging to those interested in promoting retention of the English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships. Many of the factors responsible for out-migration and for the positive experiences encountered by leavers in their new locations are the product of macro-level economic and demographic forces, well beyond the control of local or regional development activities. These factors are part of a broader phenomenon of out-migration from non-urban areas, which was already contributing to out-migration of English-speaking youth in Quebec in the 1980s (Caldwell, 1992). As noted earlier, they also echo findings from previous larger studies and reviews about mobility and migration in the English-speaking community, in which work and education have consistently been major factors (Magnan, 2004; Jedwab, 2004; Missisquoi Institute, 2000).

At the same time, however, the study results suggest some points of potential leverage that could be further explored. The interview findings suggest that there is a continuum along which Township leavers can be placed and along which they may move during their cycles of education, career and family. At one extreme are individuals who see leaving the Townships as an escape from a limited environment and perhaps from family situations they would rather leave behind – generally toward a more exciting, diverse and urbanized setting. Individuals at this end of the continuum are not, at least at this point in their lives, ready to consider the Townships as an option. At the other extreme are a few individuals who have already made attempts either to stay or to come back, and would benefit from concrete help to support a decision that would be relatively easily made. This includes many of the individuals who had been long-term residents of the region. In the middle of the continuum are the majority of those who end up leaving but who, if

the right information or opportunity had come up at the right critical moment – generally when entering or leaving school – might have made other choices. This group included some of those who came to the region to study at Bishop's University, as well as some of those long-term residents who had found better opportunities outside the region.

Actions to redress out-migration, either by preventing it or by encouraging re-entry to the region, could perhaps best be targeted according to specific points on this continuum. Initiatives such as www.topportunity.ca and Topportunity Talks (Brault, Karpenko & Kishchuk, 2005), aiming to provide timely information about employment opportunities in the region and redress negative perceptions, may be helpful in this regard. In the longer term, strategies designed to retain young graduates in the region until the point where they make strong friendship ties and start families may be crucial. Such strategies – for example, increased availability of a wider range of entry-level professional and technical positions; more effective professional and technical education programs in English in the region – would be consistent with existing recommendations for regional economic development (Comité national, 2000; Caldwell, 1992) and could contribute to increased retention.

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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.

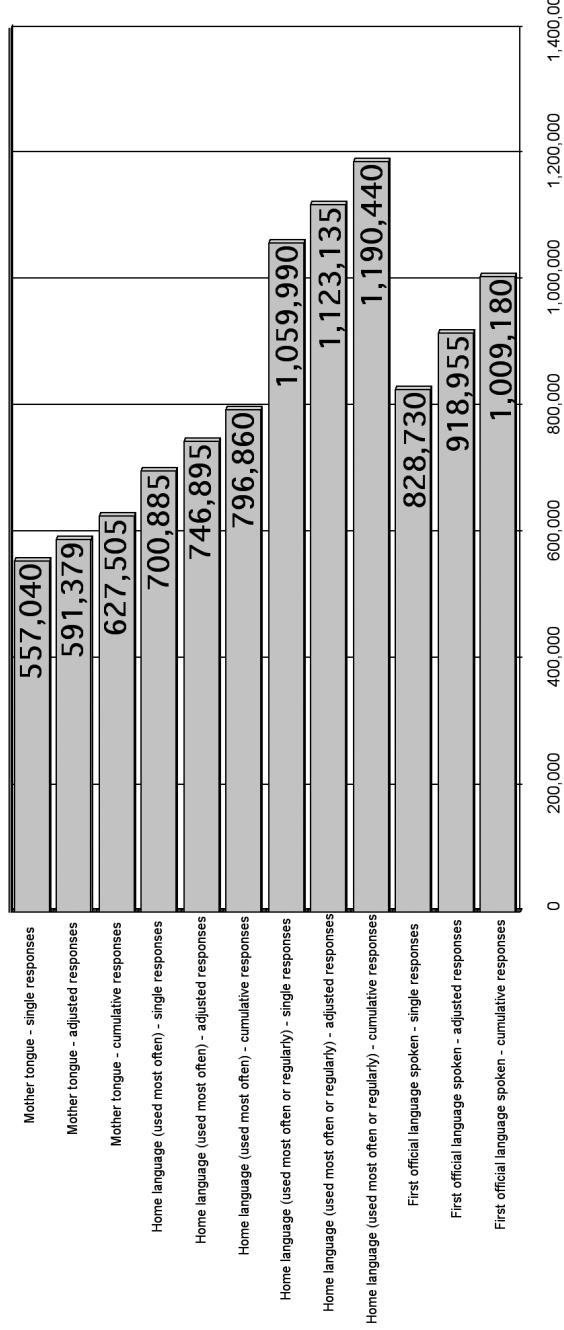
Sources and Methodology

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

**Various Methods for Counting Official-Language Communities
Anglophones
Quebec, 2001**



Source: Official Languages Support Programs Branch, Canadian Heritage, February 2004, based on 2001 Census, Statistics Canada, 20% sample.

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

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

*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-

Table 2 – Retention Rate for Population 15+, Anglophones and Francophones, by Minority Status, Canada, 1971–2001

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

Table 3 - Retention Rate for Population 15+, Anglophones and Francophones, by Minority Status, by age cohort, 2001

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

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

**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 addi- tional training	High school graduation	Trades certificate or diploma	Post- secondary - no degree, certificate or diploma or diploma	Post- secondary - with cer- tificate or diploma (no degree)	University with bachelor or first profession- al degree	University with 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.

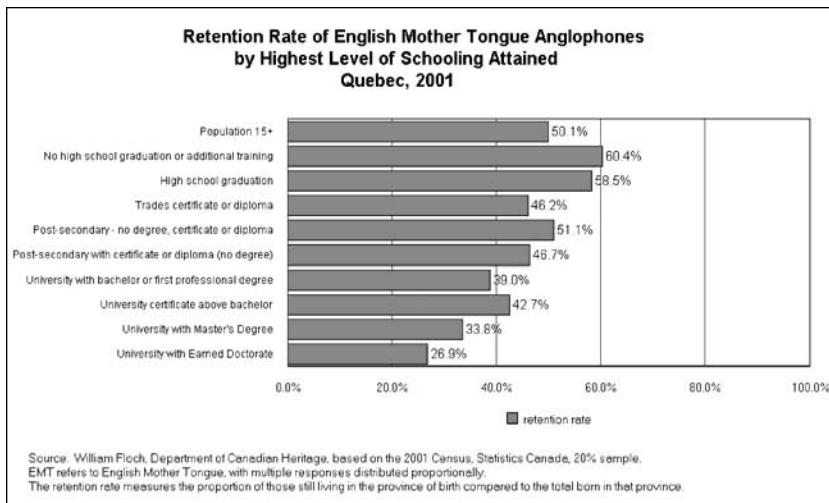


Figure 2.

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 ($0.69 - 0.61 = 0.08$) and has nar-

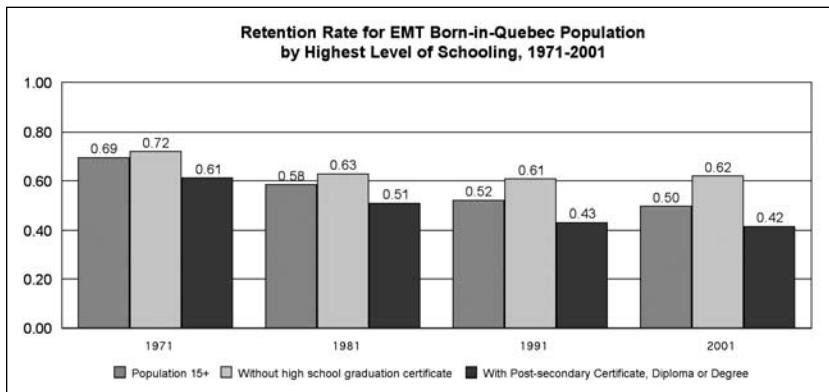


Figure 3.

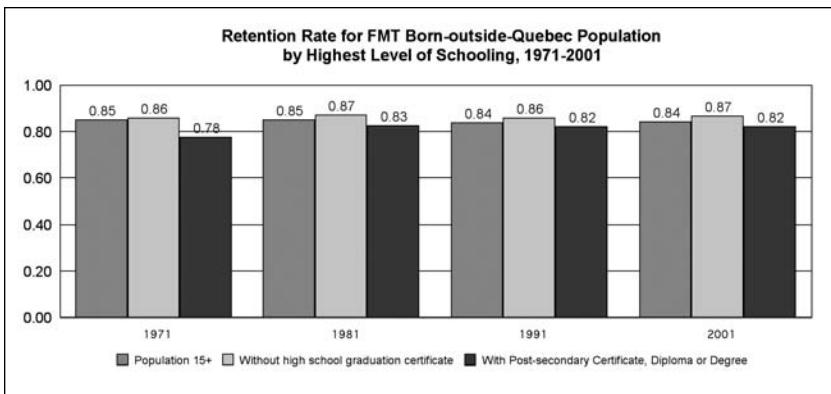


Figure 4.

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

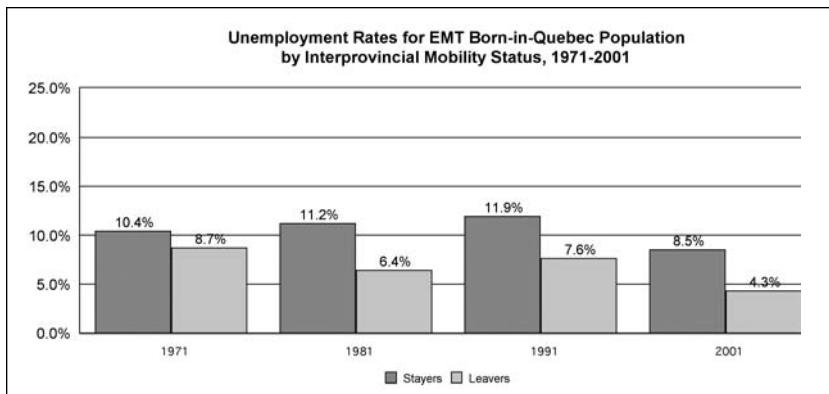


Figure 5.

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.

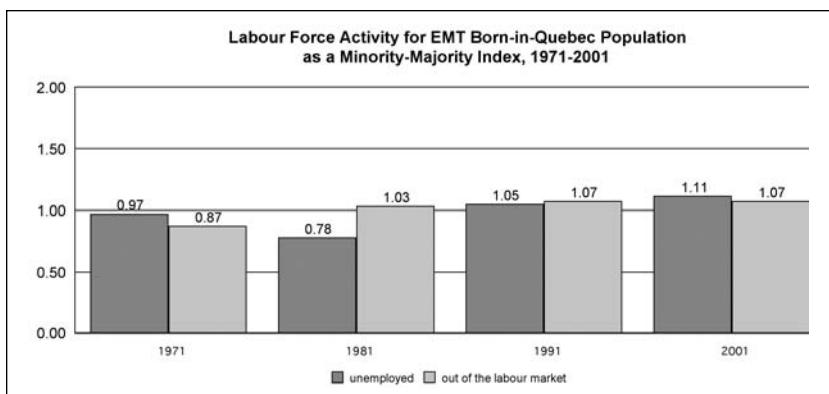


Figure 6.

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

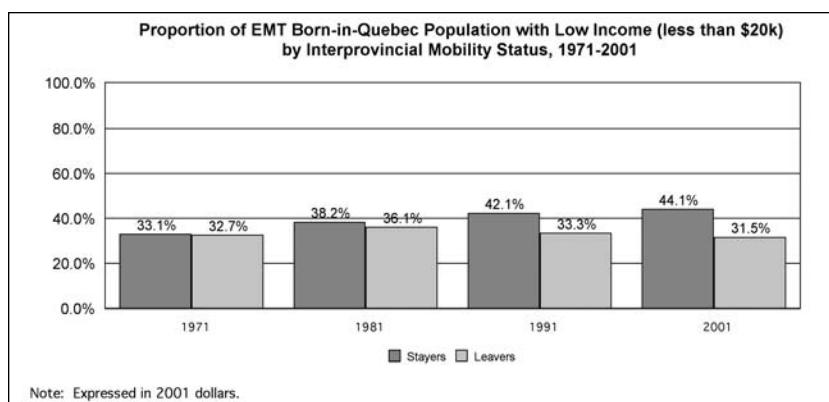


Figure 7.

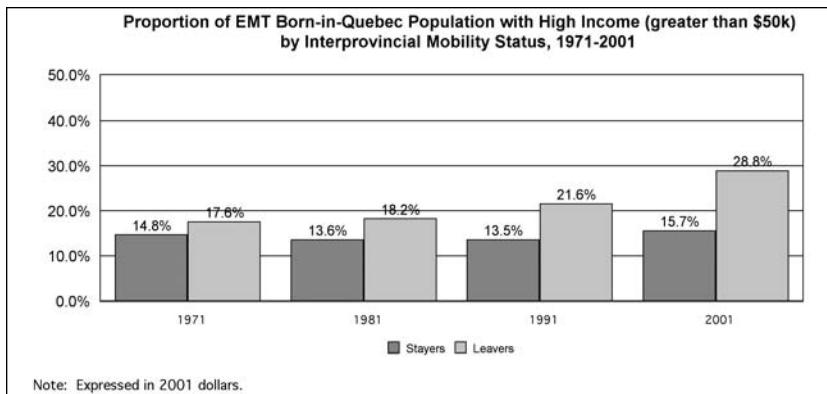


Figure 8.

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.

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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).

MOBILITY AND MIGRATION – THE CHALLENGE TO COMMUNITY VITALITY IN THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS OF QUEBEC

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Abstract

Upon noting that the English-speaking population of the Eastern Townships of Quebec is rapidly decreasing and that the Anglophone community is an ageing one, it has become necessary to conduct a study focusing on the destinations and age characteristics of the English-speaking population leaving or migrating out of the 8 counties of the Eastern Townships. The analysis of custom migration tables from Statistics Canada indicates that the Anglophone population of the Eastern Townships, counting 38,213 people in 2001, has decreased by 1,140, losing 2.9% of its members, from 1991 to 2001. Meanwhile, the number of English-speakers across Quebec has increased by 1,62% in the same period. Part of the decrease witnessed by the Eastern Townships is due to the migration of 7,945 English-speakers. Of these, 4,495 migrants chose a destination in another Canadian province. The breakdown of destination and age structure gives further insight into the pattern of movement by the Anglophone population. The presentation of the results of this study is followed by a discussion of the different ways that this on-going out-migration affects the vitality and identity of this geographically dispersed linguistic community.

Résumé

Cette étude portera sur la description des destinations et des caractéristiques de la structure par âge de la population anglophone migrante ayant quitté huit comtés des Cantons-de-l'Est, au Québec, au cours de la période comprise entre 1996 et 2001. La population de la communauté anglophone des Cantons-de-l'Est, dans le Sud du Québec, est vieillissante et décroissante. L'analyse de tableaux de migration personnalisés de Statistique Canada démontre que la population anglophone de la région, qui comptait 38 213 personnes en 2001, a diminué d'environ 1140 personnes, soit 2,9 %, depuis 1991, alors que la population anglophone de l'ensemble du Québec augmentait de 1,62 % au cours de cette même période. La migration de

7945 anglophones explique en partie cette décroissance. Parmi ceux-ci, 4495 se sont établis dans une autre province canadienne. L'analyse des destinations et de la structure par âge nous permet d'en apprendre davantage sur les tendances des mouvements de la population anglophone. La présentation des résultats est suivie d'une discussion sur les problèmes qu'entraîne cette décroissance pour la vitalité et l'identité de cette communauté linguistique dispersée sur le plan géographique.

The English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships is faced with a serious challenge: a decreasing population due to ageing and out-migration. Like numerous English-speaking communities outside large urban areas in Quebec, the Anglophone population in the Eastern Townships is rapidly changing in size as well as age (Warnke, 2002). The English-speaking community has initiated numerous local research projects in an effort to understand the factors that may be contributing to the diminishing Anglophone population in the Eastern Townships. Previous research has already identified some of the tendencies for out-migration. Perhaps the most notable initial study was made in the 1970s (Caldwell, 1974). Other basic descriptive studies followed ([Jan Warnke 2002]; Caldwell, 1974).

The lack of overall knowledge about the current demographic dynamics of the Anglophone population in the Eastern Townships as well as across Quebec indicates the need for establishing a better understanding of the factors that may be contributing to population change in the Eastern Township's English-speaking community. Part of the change in this community may be explained by natural ageing and non-replacement of the local population by new-arrivals. However, a significant proportion of the change may also be due to out-migration (see Floch, 2005, this issue). This decrease in population is a serious challenge to the English-speaking community's vitality and identity.

This study describes the destinations and age structure characteristics of the Official Language Minority population that is leaving or migrating out of the Eastern Townships in the period between May 1996 and the date of the 2001 Census. The context for the review of the salient characteristics of this exodus will be provided by a general description of population change between 1991 and 2001 and of the general mobility characteristics of the population in the study area. The analysis of the Anglophone out-migration will be followed by a discussion of how this mobility pattern may affect

the vitality of the Eastern Townships' English-speaking population. These objectives are consistent with the knowledge-based approach for furthering the understanding of community vitality and community development.

The Study Area

The study area in the Eastern Townships was limited to 8 counties or MRCs¹ approximately 100 kilometres south of Montreal, Quebec. These 8 counties are part of a greater region identified as the Historic Eastern Townships by the *Townshippers' Association*, a community-based organization promoting a knowledge-based approach for the development of the English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships.

The Study Population

The study population being taken into consideration here is the English-speaking population in the Eastern Townships. Today, this English-speaking population is considered a minority language population. However, it was at one time a majority here and across Quebec. According to the *Townshippers' Association* website (<http://www.townshippers.qc.ca/E-history.aspx>), this English-speaking population represented 59% of the total provincial population in 1861.

For the purposes of this study we will be using a linguistic definition of the English-speaking population. A linguistic population is a single community of interest. The English-speaking population may also be treated as a cultural group by looking at the ethnic origin of the English-speakers in the study area. Since the English-speaking population in Quebec is culturally more heterogeneous than the French-speaking population (Warnke, 2002), a cultural definition would break down the community into segments of similar cultural or ethnic origins. However, the linguistic community concept is more pertinent for issues concerning education, employment and access to health and social services. Consequently, the analysis of migration from the Eastern Townships study area will focus on the Anglophone minority language population in the Eastern Townships as well as its mobility and its out-migration.

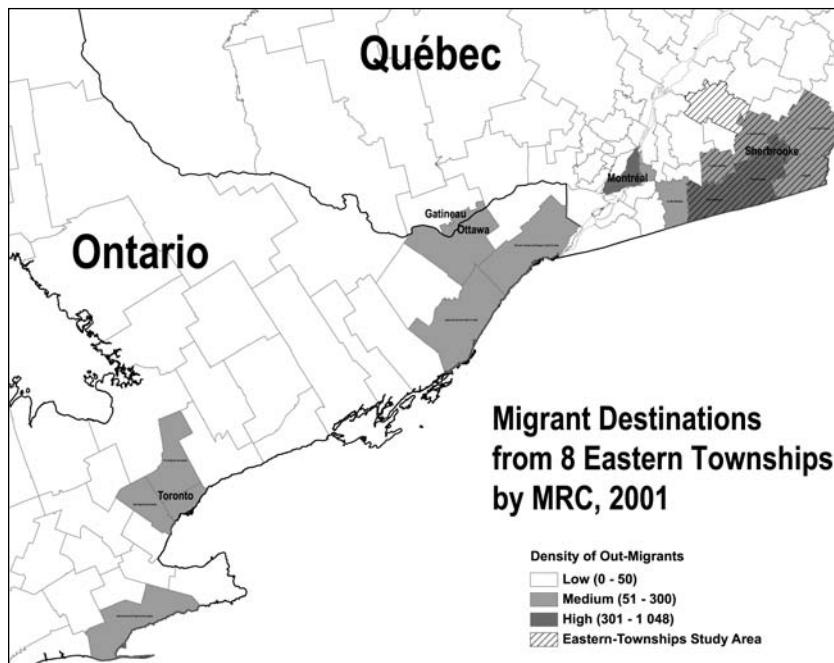
What then is an English-speaker? There are many ways of defining this term. Statistics Canada provides several commonly used measures derived from questions during the census. This study will use a derived measure, the First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) for

estimating the Anglophone minority language population in the Eastern Townships. This well-established measure is derived from the answers to three census questions concerning the respondent's knowledge of official languages (in Canada there are two official languages, English and French), mother tongue and language spoken at home. The measure has been further adjusted to take into account respondents who speak both official languages, unless otherwise specified.

General population characteristics

The Eastern Townships study area overlaps three different administrative regions out of the 18 administrative regions in Quebec². For the most part, the study area is found in the Estrie Administrative Region. According to the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada), the total population of these 8 counties was 452,465. The FOLS-English population was 38,213 or 8.5% of the total population in 2001. At the same time, the total English-speaking population in Quebec stood at 918,958, or 13% of the total population.

The challenge to the vitality of the English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships is closely associated with the changes in its population size, distribution and age structure. The total First



Official Language Spoken – English (FOLS - English) population of the Eastern Townships region decreased by approximately 1,140 or 3% in the ten year period from 1991 to 2001 (Statistics Canada, 1991, 2001). Over the same period of time the FOLS - English population in Quebec increased by 14,660 or 1.6% (Statistics Canada, 1991, 2001). The FOLS-French population in the Eastern Townships increased by 8% which is higher than the 5% FOLS-French population increase in Quebec (Statistics Canada, 1991, 2001). We can observe that the English population in the Eastern Townships is diminishing in size and in proportion to the total population, whereas the majority language population is increasing in size at a much greater rate than the FOLS-French population in the rest of Quebec (see figures 1 and 2).

**Table 1: Change in FOLS-English population proportion
in the Eastern Townships study area**

MRC	Administrative Region	Total Population 2001	Total Population 1991	FOLS-English 2001	FOLS-English 1991	% FOLS-English 2001	% Change in English
Le Haut-Saint-François	Estrie	21 020	20 525	2 603	2 463	12,38%	5,69%
Le Val-Saint-François	Estrie	27 690	31 750	2 370	2 550	8,56%	-7,06%
Sherbrooke	Estrie	137 940	124 845	7 873	8 503	5,71%	-7,41%
Coaticook	Estrie	16 220	15 440	1 275	1 395	7,86%	-8,60%
Memphrémagog	Estrie	41 200	35 350	8 473	7 875	20,56%	7,59%
Brome-Missisquoi	Montérégie	44 825	44 065	11 085	11 705	24,73%	-5,30%
La Haute-Yamaska	Montérégie	77 540	72 525	3 345	3 710	4,31%	-9,84%
Drummond	Centre-du-Québec	86 030	78 345	1 190	1 153	1,38%	3,25%
Province of Quebec		7 125 580	6 810 300	918 958	904 298	12,90%	1,62%
Total study area		452 465	422 845	38 213	39 353	8,45%	-2,90%

**Table 2: Change in FOLS-French population 1991–2001
in the Eastern Townships study area**

MRC	Administrative Region	Total Population 2001	Total Population 1991	FOLS-French 2001	FOLS-French 1991	% FOLS-French 2001	% Change in French
Le Haut-Saint-François	Estrie	21 020	20 525	18 413	18 063	87,60%	1,94%
Le Val-Saint-François	Estrie	27 690	31 750	25 315	29 200	91,42%	-13,30%
Sherbrooke	Estrie	137 940	124 845	129 513	115 993	93,89%	11,66%
Coaticook	Estrie	16 220	15 440	14 945	14 040	92,14%	6,45%
Memphrémagog	Estrie	41 200	35 350	32 718	27 445	79,41%	19,21%
Brome-Missisquoi	Montérégie	44 825	44 065	33 730	32 340	75,25%	4,30%
La Haute-Yamaska	Montérégie	77 540	72 525	74 160	68 780	95,64%	7,82%
Drummond	Centre-du-Québec	86 030	78 345	84 770	77 153	98,54%	9,87%
Province of Quebec		7 125 580	6 810 300	6 149 338	5 844 433	86,30%	5,22%
Total study area		452 465	422 845	413 563	383 013	91,40%	7,98%

In general the population is ageing, although the proportion of the English-speaking population 65 years and older decreased slightly from 19% of the total FOLS-English population in 1991 to 18% in 2001. These proportions are almost twice the FOLS-French proportion of 10% in 1991 and 12% in 2001. In contrast, the FOLS-English population aged 0-14 decreased from 18% to 17%, a lesser decrease than the FOLS-French population, which went from 22% to 19%, respectively.

The English-speaking population is also changing in its demographic structure. It was already noted in 1996 that the FOLS-English population (single response) in the Estrie Administrative Region (a major component of the Eastern Townships study area) had a median age of 38.2 years, the highest median age of all the English-speaking communities in Quebec (Warnke, 1997). On the other hand the median age of the FOLS-French population (single-response) was 34.3 years of age in the Eastern Townships.

**Table 3: Change in FOLS 0-14 year population 1991 – 2001
in the Eastern Townships study area**

MRC	Administrative Region	FOLS-English 0-14 years 2001	FOLS-English 0-14 years 1991	FOLS-French 0-14 years 2001	FOLS-French 0-14 years 1991	% Change English 1991-2001	% Change French 1991-2001
Le Haut-Saint-François	Estrie	413	428	3 873	4 313	-3,51%	-10,20%
Le Val-Saint-François	Estrie	410	443	5 045	7 123	-7,34%	-29,17%
Sherbrooke	Estrie	1 125	1 140	23 360	23 640	-1,32%	-1,18%
Coaticook	Estrie	200	308	3 280	3 588	-34,96%	-8,57%
Memphrémagog	Estrie	1 543	1 495	5 523	5 830	3,18%	-5,27%
Brome-Missisquoi	Montérégie	2 030	2 578	6 230	7 168	-21,24%	-13,08%
La Haute-Yamaska	Montérégie	505	708	14 230	15 693	-28,62%	-9,32%
Drummond	Centre-du-Québec	145	155	15 965	17 390	-6,45%	-8,19%
Province of Quebec		159 215	159 158	1 115 845	1 198 943	0,04%	-6,93%
Total study area		6 370	7 253	77 505	84 743	-12,17%	-8,54%
						Minority-Majority Index 2001	Minority-Majority Index 1991
Le Haut-Saint-François	Estrie	15,85%	17,36%	21,03%	23,88%	0,75	0,73
Le Val-Saint-François	Estrie	17,30%	17,35%	19,93%	24,39%	0,87	0,71
Sherbrooke	Estrie	14,29%	13,41%	18,04%	20,38%	0,79	0,66
Coaticook	Estrie	15,69%	22,04%	21,95%	25,55%	0,71	0,86
Memphrémagog	Estrie	18,21%	18,98%	16,88%	21,24%	1,08	0,89
Brome-Missisquoi	Montérégie	18,31%	22,02%	18,47%	22,16%	0,99	0,99
La Haute-Yamaska	Montérégie	15,10%	19,07%	19,19%	22,82%	0,79	0,84
Drummond	Centre-du-Québec	12,18%	13,45%	18,83%	22,54%	0,65	0,60
Province of Quebec		17,33%	17,60%	18,15%	20,51%	0,95	0,86
Total study area		16,67%	18,43%	18,74%	22,13%	0,89	0,83

**Table 4: Change in FOLS 65+ year population 1991–2001
in the Eastern Townships study area**

MRC	Administrative Region	FOLS-English 65+ years 2001	FOLS-English 65+ years 1991	FOLS-French 65+ years 2001	FOLS-French 65+ years 1991	% Change English 1991-2001	% Change French 1991-2001
Le Haut-Saint-François	Estrie	465	505	2 235	1 895	-7,92%	17,94%
Le Val-Saint-François	Estrie	468	485	2 763	2 625	-3,61%	5,24%
Sherbrooke	Estrie	1 498	1 773	15 098	11 348	-15,51%	33,05%
Coaticook	Estrie	210	165	1 790	1 565	27,27%	14,38%
Memphrémagog	Estrie	1 600	1 593	4 430	3 048	0,47%	45,37%
Brome-Missisquoi	Montérégie	2 103	2 263	4 273	3 473	-7,07%	23,04%
La Haute-Yamaska	Montérégie	493	628	7 978	6 258	-21,51%	27,49%
Drummond	Centre-du-Québec	190	230	9 800	8 255	-17,39%	18,72%
Province of Quebec		121 685	115 448	737 250	574 448	5,40%	28,34%
Total study area		7 025	7 640	48 365	38 465	-8,05%	25,74%
MRC	Administrative Region	FOLS-English 65+ years 2001	FOLS-English 65+ years 1991	FOLS-French 65+ years 2001	FOLS-French 65+ years 1991	Minority-Majority Index 2001	Minority-Majority Index 1991
Le Haut-Saint-François	Estrie	17,87%	20,51%	12,14%	10,49%	1,47	1,95
Le Val-Saint-François	Estrie	19,73%	19,02%	10,91%	8,99%	1,81	2,12
Sherbrooke	Estrie	19,02%	20,85%	11,66%	9,78%	1,63	2,13
Coaticook	Estrie	16,47%	11,83%	11,98%	11,15%	1,38	1,06
Memphrémagog	Estrie	18,88%	20,22%	13,54%	11,10%	1,39	1,82
Brome-Missisquoi	Montérégie	18,97%	19,33%	12,67%	10,74%	1,50	1,80
La Haute-Yamaska	Montérégie	14,72%	16,91%	10,76%	9,10%	1,37	1,86
Drummond	Centre-du-Québec	15,97%	19,96%	11,56%	10,70%	1,38	1,87
Province of Quebec		13,24%	12,77%	11,99%	9,83%	1,10	1,30
Total study area		18,38%	19,41%	11,69%	10,04%	1,57	1,93

**Table 5: FOLS-English/French median age
by Administrative Region (1996 Census)**

	Total Population	Total French	Total English	Percent French	Percent English	Median Age French	Median Age English
Nord-du-Québec 10	36 265	21 575	8 760	59.49%	24.16%	26.83	24.89
Côte-Nord-du-Québec 09	102 540	95 215	5 800	92.86%	5.66%	30.8	30.88
Laval 13	311 170	254 580	39 595	81.81%	12.72%	33.62	32.55
Outaouais 07	281 735	230 670	46 585	81.87%	16.54%	31.63	32.88
Abitibi-Témiscamingue 08	150 625	143 715	6 190	95.41%	4.11%	30.65	33.98
Montréal 06	1 749 335	1 098 495	502 145	62.80%	28.70%	35.74	34.19
Montérégie 16	1 187 340	1 040 315	129 730	87.62%	10.93%	32.47	34.51
Lanaudière 14	331 235	321 510	8 070	97.06%	2.44%	32.1	35.07
Gaspésie–Îles-de-la-Madeleine 11	105 070	94 200	10 595	89.65%	10.08%	33.63	35.33
Saguenay – Lac-Saint-Jean 02	283 205	280 755	2 135	99.13%	0.75%	31.57	36.08
Québec 03	607 295	592 885	11 985	97.63%	1.97%	34.27	37.36
Chaudière-Appalaches 12	362 855	359 185	3 285	98.99%	0.91%	32.48	37.4
Laurentides 15	377 320	346 680	28 045	91.88%	7.43%	32.39	37.46
Mauricie – Bois-Francs 04	458 590	452 435	5 100	98.66%	1.11%	34.28	38.69
Bas-Saint-Laurent 01	202 115	201 105	920	99.50%	0.46%	33.93	38.88
Estrie 05	263 585	238 865	23 100	90.62%	8.76%	32.75	39.75
Québec	6 810 300	5 772 180	832 045	84.76%	12.22%	33.32	34.25

Note: Please note that single-response values for English and French were used in this table since it is impossible to determine with certainty the median age of the Official Language Minority and Majority in the multiple-response population.

Source: <http://www.veq.qc.ca/qds/>, July 22, 2005.

Movement, mobility and migration

The concepts of movement, mobility and migration further the understanding of the changes in the English-speaking population in the study area given its specific demographic structure. Population mobility is the process of movement from one place to another over time. When the movement also represents a significant change in social networks and requires a readjustment in "community affiliation", it is often referred to as migration (Jones, 1981). Statistics Canada (2001) defines people who move within the same municipality as "movers". On the other hand "migrants" are movers who have moved to a different municipality.

The migrants referred to in this study have been identified only at the census division or MRC level. Consequently, the data generated by Statistics Canada indicates the mobility status by FOLS for the population that has moved between May 15, 1996 and the date of the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada, 2001).

One indicator of movement and migration is the mobility concept from Statistics Canada. The concept reflects the population that has moved in the five years preceding Census Day. If in 1991 a person did not live at the same address during the last five years, the previous address was used to indicate the place from which the person or family had migrated. The information on the place where the person lived previously is compiled and categorised to identify the different places of origin. The categorised information on the origin of the people that have migrated into the region is then used to make inferences about the movement characteristics of the population. The entire population is broken down into two major categories, movers and non-movers, which are then broken down into several sub-categories. The definitions of several different dimensions of the mobility concept are listed in Table 4. For the purpose of this study, the migrants from other provinces have been added to the external migrants to create the category "migrants from outside of Quebec". This broad definition provides a means of assessing the extent to which the Quebec population is being influenced by an influx of people from outside Quebec. Furthermore, it provides a basis for the comparison of all the regions.

The population balance in the Eastern Townships region is dependent on the inflow and outflow of population. There are two forms of adding population to the region. The movement into the region may be by natural increase (birth rate minus death rate) or it may be by movement into the region from other areas (in-migration). There are also two forms of leaving the region, mortality and out-migration.

There are clear indications that the sources of movement into the Eastern Townships study area from outside of Canada is diminishing. For example, 38% of the English-speaking immigrants into the Eastern Townships study area, sometimes referred to as the Historical Eastern Townships (or HET) arrived in the period before 1961 whereas 24.1% of all English-speaking immigrants arrived in that same period in all of Québec. However, during the period between 1991 and 1996 the Eastern Townships study area was the target for 11% of the total English-speaking immigrants in the area whereas 19% of all the Anglophone immigrants in the whole of Quebec arrived during the same period. Clearly, the Eastern Townships study area is no longer a prime destination for English immigrants from outside of Canada. It also means that it has to rely on internal-migration (migration from other regions within Canada) to maintain a stable population and off-set migration out of the study area (see Floch 2005, this issue)

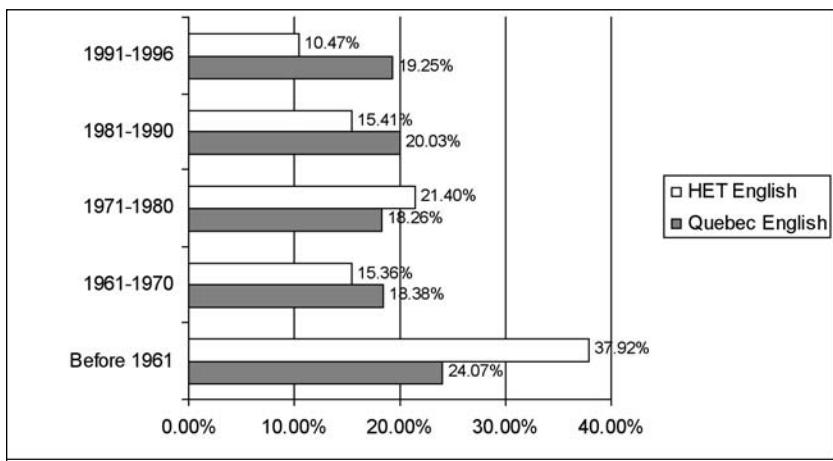


Figure 1: The FOLS-English Immigrants in the HET and in Quebec as of the 1996 Census (Warnke, 2002)

Sources of out-migration

There is considerable variation in out-migration among individual Eastern Townships MRCs. The main source of out-migrants is the Sherbrooke MRC, which accounts for 39% of the people leaving the Eastern Townships. The Sherbrooke MRC also saw a drop of 23% of its population from 1996 (8,490) to 2001 (7,872). The Brome-Missisquoi MRC was the second-highest source of out-migrants (22%) and its population also dropped by 24% from 1996 to 2001. Finally, the Memphrémagog MRC is the third-highest source of

migrants out of the Eastern Townships at 18% of all Anglophone out-migrants. It is the only MRC that had a net gain in population since 1996, with 203 people representing an 8% increase. It is clearly a target for in-migrants who are more than compensating for the net outflow of English population.

	FOLS-English Migrants		Change in Population 1996 to 2001	
Region	% inside the ET	% outside the ET	ET_% pop	ET_pop
ET_mobility	100,00%	100,00%	-100,0%	-2 655
MRC Le Haut-Saint-François (2441)	6,16%	2,56%	-13,2%	-350
MRC Le Val-Saint-François (2442)	8,45%	6,01%	-13,7%	-363
MRC La Région-Sherbrookoise (2443)	22,71%	39,38%	-23,3%	-618
MRC Coaticook (2444)	3,44%	0,22%	-11,1%	-295
Memphrémagog (2445)	19,20%	17,69%	7,6%	203
MRC Brome-Missisquoi (2446)	28,58%	21,47%	-23,6%	-628
MRC La Haute-Yamaska (2447)	8,60%	7,90%	-10,5%	-278
Drummond (2449)	2,87%	4,78%	-12,3%	-328

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated the major demographic patterns of mobility among English-speaking Quebecers generally and within the region of the Eastern Townships. It is obvious that the FOLS-English population is decreasing due to a number of factors, including increasing out-migration and decreasing in-migration between Quebec and other parts of Canada, as well as internationally. These patterns vary within the Eastern Townships region, with most of the out-migration of English-speakers coming from the Sherbrooke area. In addition to the decrease of in-migrants and the increase in out-migrants, these flows are not sufficiently offset by birth rates. The result is a natural decrease, rather than a natural increase that is more typical in regional demographics.

Public policy responses to these patterns should keep a number of factors in mind. For one, most of the out-migrants among the FOLS-English population in the Eastern Townships have moved to other

parts of Quebec (typically Montreal), Ontario and Alberta (see Kishchuk 2005, this issue). It is therefore of utmost importance to consider the attractions of these other areas (the pull factors) as well as the local circumstances of their decisions to leave the Eastern Townships (the push factors). This information is critical to finding practical solutions to encourage inflow and retention of the English-speaking population.

GLOSSARY

Mobility and immigration terms

Period of Immigration: Refers to groupings of years derived from the year of immigration question. Year of immigration refers to the year landed immigrant status was first obtained.

First Official Language Spoken (FOLS): "This variable was derived within the framework of the application of the Official Languages Act. This derivation method is described in the regulations concerning the use of official languages for the provision of public services. It takes into account first the knowledge of the two official languages, second the mother tongue and third the home language.

People who can conduct a conversation in French only are assigned French as their first official language spoken.

People who can carry on a conversation in English only are assigned English as their first official language spoken.

The responses to questions on mother tongue and home language are subsequently used to establish the first official language spoken by people who speak both English and French, or who cannot speak either of the two official languages. The French category includes people who have French only or French and at least one non-official language as their mother tongue. People who have English only or English and at least one non-official language as their mother tongue are included in the English category. For cases that have not yet been classified, people are assigned to the French category when they speak French only or French and at least one non-official language as their home language. The procedure is the same for English. Thus, the population is classified into two principal categories: English or French.

It is necessary to add two residual categories for people who cannot be classified in accordance with the information available: English and French and neither English nor French." (Statistics Canada, 2001)

Mobility Status: "Refers to the relationship between a person's usual place of residence on Census Day and his or her usual place of residence five years earlier. A person is classified as a non-mover if no difference exists. Otherwise, a person is classed as a mover and this categorization is called Mobility Status (5 Years Ago). Within the category movers, a further distinction is made between non-migrants and migrants; this difference is called migration status.

Non-movers are persons who, on Census Day, were living at the same address which they occupied five years earlier.

Movers are persons who, on Census Day, were living at a different address than the one at which they resided five years earlier.

Non-migrants are movers who, on Census Day, were living at a different address but in the same census subdivision (CSD) that they occupied five years earlier.

Migrants are movers who, on Census Day, were residing in a different CSD five years earlier (internal migrants) or who were living outside Canada five years earlier (external migrants)". (Statistics Canada, 2001)

Indices

Relative Geographic Index (RGI): The relative geographic index is the ratio of a population proportion in a geographic region to the proportion of the same type of population in a larger geographic region. It provides a measure of the intensity of a specific variable as the scale of the geography changes. For example a municipality with an RGI of 1.5 on the variable FOLS-English population 65+ years in the province of Quebec would indicate that the municipality has a higher proportion (50% points more) of people aged 65 years and over than the province.

Minority-Majority Index (MMI): The ratio of the minority language population proportion to the majority language proportion. It provides a measure of the difference between the English (minority language group in Quebec) and the French (majority language group in Quebec). For example an MMI of 1.65 in any one given area for the population aged 65 years and over would indicate that the English population in that area has a higher proportion (65% points more) of aged people than the French population in the same area.

NOTES

- 1 An MRC, or *Municipalité Régionale de Comté*, is an administrative unit in Quebec that is the equivalent of a county or the Statistics Canada census geographic unit called the *Census Division*.
- 2 Administrative regions are the equivalent of economic regions used for the purpose of aggregating information by Statistics Canada as well as for administrative purposes by federal and provincial governments. There are a total of 77 economic regions across Canada of which 18 are found in Quebec.

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TOWNSHIPPERS' ASSOCIATION: A QUARTER CENTURY OF COMMUNITY SERVICE

Caroline Viens
Bishop's University

Throughout the past twenty-five years, Townshippers' Association has continually provided a myriad of services to the Anglophone community of the Eastern Townships region. The board of directors and the members of the executive represent the "who's who" of a very active contingency of resident volunteers who serve every age and socio-economic group of this community. In addition, the Association's staff has provided excellent job experience for the next generation of concerned residents. Over the years Townshippers' has achieved accomplishments in a variety of areas: community development, education, job opportunities, health and social services, heritage and cultural affairs and advocacy on behalf of the Anglophone population of the Eastern Townships.

Townshippers' members have supported this local organization since its inception, which according to registration patents deposited with the *Ministère des Consommateurs, Coopératives et Institutions financiers, Direction des compagnies* in Quebec, Canada, occurred on 17 October 1979. *L'Association des Anglophones de l'Estrie Inc.*, also known as the *English Speaking Townshippers Association Inc.*, was registered as a non-profit volunteer organization that aimed to address and respond to the needs and concerns of the English-speaking community of the Eastern Townships (*appendix 1*).¹ *The Dialogue between the Government of Quebec and representatives of English-speaking Townshippers* that took place on 16 June 1979 at Alexander Galt Regional High School, Lennoxville, made clear the position of the Anglophones in the Townships as a minority according to the perception of the Quebec government. This meeting provided the impetus for Townshippers to develop an organization that could communicate with the government and the other areas of Quebec with a voice that represented a significant percentage of the English-speaking population within the traditional Townships region (*appendix 2*).

The organization's name was quickly shortened to what is now referred to as *Townshippers' Association* and over the years the association has acquired a reputation for responding to the needs of the community in a professional, fair-minded manner within the financial restraints of its operating budget. The mission statement of the organization reflects the Association's community role, which is to

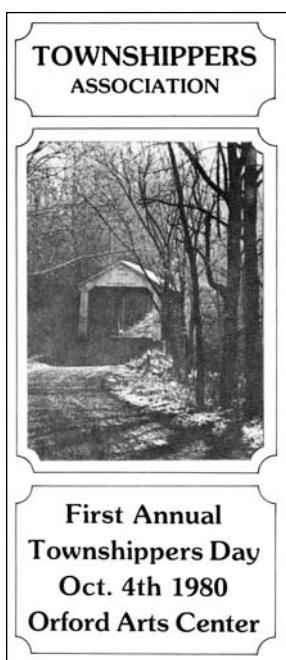
promote the interests of the English-speaking community, strengthen its cultural identity, and encourage the full participation of English speakers in the community at large in the historical Eastern Townships of Quebec. (Crossroads 2005)

In the past year alone, according to Executive Director Rachel Garber (2005), Townshippers' has proceeded with a number of initiatives such as the *Partners for Health and Social Services* projects in both the Estrie and Montérégie areas of the Townships. These initiatives have included carrying out an extensive health and social needs assessment in both areas, the Healthy Active Living 50+ senior's project, a Volunteer Bank, a new phone line for confidential Information and Referral calls, and assistance to the newly developing Mental Health Estrie. Townshippers' also published

Taproot III: Poetry and Prose from the Eastern Townships, and organized its first *Townships Leaders of Tomorrow* awards offering \$500 prizes to three young Townshippers.²

Townshippers' Association provides unique opportunities to researchers through its collaboration with the Eastern Townships Research Centre of Bishop's University. Projects concerning the Anglophone community of the Townships are launched at conferences. For example, *The Eastern Townships English-speaking Community: Coming? Going? Staying?* (2005) was coordinated by the association and the research centre to raise awareness of the reality of the Townships lifestyle and current concerns or issues.

It is not always "work and no play" at the organization. Any group that coordinates gatherings called *Spring Fling* and *Townshippers' Day* knows how to have a good time. Townshippers' Day is an insti-



**First Annual
Townshippers Day
Oct. 4th 1980
Orford Arts Center**

Leaflet (1st Townshippers' Day 1980) : P038 Townshippers' Association fonds

tution within the Anglophone community and open to all who wish to take part. It is a one-day event held each fall, where Townshippers of all walks and ages gather from far-flung areas of the traditional Townships' territory to meet their neighbours, reconnect with old friends, catch up on the news or gossip (whichever you prefer) and have a good time. Activities range from clogging, music for all tastes, exhibitions, food, children's activities, kiosks and ... did I mention food? Rain or shine, it takes place. The host town changes every year allowing different areas an opportunity to promote the beauty and lifestyle of their corner of the region.

Fall 2004 *Townshippers' Day* was held on Merry's Point, in Magog, situated at the head of lake Memphrémagog. It was so cold and windy that the kiosks almost took flight. Not to be deterred, the participants pulled on their gloves and hats, oblivious to the weather, and intent on enjoying themselves. This is also an occasion for various agencies to make contacts with the geographically dispersed Anglophone population. It is not uncommon to see municipal, provincial and federal representatives at this event promoting their services to the participants.³

Organizing an event like *Townshippers' Day* annually is a large undertaking considering that most of the preparatory work is done by volunteers. In addition it is not without its stressful moments such as, for example, the hiring ... or not ... of CBC's "On the Road Again" host Wayne Rostad as an emcee for *Townshippers' Day* 1992 (*Townshippers' Day* archives 1992). Susan C. Mastine, then Executive Director of Townshippers, was organizing a bi-centennial *Townshippers' Day* in Richmond on 19 September 1992 with the help of the community. One must understand that by 1992 the association had a certain expertise (12 years) at organizing this event so Mr. Rostad was contacted early and by February 13 had signed a contract through his agency, Laurie-Ann Entertainment Agency Ltd., and Gastoni Attractions of Brossard, Quebec (*appendix 3*). A month later Karl Nerenberg, the executive producer of CBC's *On the Road Again*, appeared to be in agreement with Mr. Rostad's appearance in Richmond. By June 4, however, a fax between Susan Mastine and Nicole Bélanger of the CBC indicates that procurement of an emcee is proving difficult. Susan tactfully requests "[we] would appreciate all of your help with this – it's getting hard to be patient ..." as negotiations do not appear to be advancing for the release of Mr. Rostad for his Richmond appearance by CBC (*ibid.*). The minutes of the *Townshippers' Day* Committee dated July 6 begin with "Wayne Rostad is not available"



Townshippers' Day (two ladies at a table) : P038 Townshippers' Association fonds

under business arising (*ibid.*). All is not lost however, as a fax between Ms. Mastine and Wayne Rostad indicates on July 9: "GREAT NEWS! We have managed to find the money to cover the cost of the plane to bring you to the area Saturday morning, thanks to the efforts of Nicole Bélanger. The \$950 will be paid by CBC – 50% CBC Network Communications, – 50% CBC Quebec Region" (*ibid.*) This successful negotiation for the emcee, Wayne Rostad, was announced to the *Townshippers' Day* Committee members on



Four musicians (Townshippers' Day 1992) : P038 Townshippers' Association fonds

August 17 by Susan C. Mastine, barely a month before the event took place. The 1992 bi-centennial celebrations on *Townshippers' Day* in Richmond, Quebec proved to be an organizational challenge extraordinaire.

In the 1980s, Townshippers' Association also engaged in serious lobbying on behalf of the Anglophone population with the state, both provincial and federal. It was a time of linguistic insecurity for the community members and a series of changes were being implemented by the provincial government that directly impacted the English-speaking population. Rural Anglophones, collectively through the Townshippers' Association, ensured that their interests would be represented in the decision-making process. For example, 17 briefs and papers were submitted to the provincial and federal governments from 21 May 1981 to 11 May 1988 (Townshippers, administration & organization briefs 1980–1996). Titles included among the submissions to name but a few were:

- 21 May 1981: Brief to the Council on the French Language
- 11 May 1983: "Brief concerning Bill 3 – Archives Act" submitted to the Commission on cultural affairs
- 8 October 1984: "Brief presented to the Standing Committee on Culture in response to the document *L'Évolution de la population du Québec et ses conséquences*"
- May, 1985: "Brief presented to the Special Senate Committee on Youth"
- 8 September 1986: "Brief for the Parliamentary Commission on the Charter of the French Language"
- May, 1986: "Brief on the Availability and Accessibility of Health and Social Services in English in the Eastern Townships to be presented to *La Commission d'Enquête sur la Santé et les Services Sociaux* (Rochon Commission)"
- September, 1987: "Recommendations to the CRSSS(E) Working Committee concerning the Isolation of the English-speaking Community"
- 4 March 1988: "Brief on the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord to be presented to the Senate Committee of the Whole"
- 11 May 1988: "Brief to the Legislative Committee on the Official Languages Act (Bill C-72)"

This brief list provides an overview of the collective lobbying on behalf of the Anglophone population in the Townships. By the early 1980s the effectiveness of Townshipers' Association drew the attention of the urban lobby organization, Alliance Quebec of Montreal (Off-Island Committee Of Alliance Quebec 1982–84). Coordinated lobbying efforts were attempted but it became apparent that there were philosophical differences regarding each organization's methods of advocacy. The rural/urban experiences provided barriers to possible integration of the two although they continued to recognize each other's efforts regarding their respective constituents.

Townshipers' Association continues to inform the English-speaking population about available services within the Townships, both governmental and private, through the publishing of information books for free distribution. The most recent one, entitled *An English Speaker's Guide to Life in the Eastern Townships* (2005), is a first, disseminating general information pertinent to the Townships as a whole. Almost all of the 10,000 copies were snapped up within a month. An earlier attempt was the *Directory of English-Language Institutions in Sherbrooke and Surrounding District* (1983), an information brochure for the area Anglophones.

In 1984, Townshipers' Association petitioned on behalf of the seniors within the Anglophone community in regards to obtaining an English translation of a Quebec government document describing the services provided to seniors. This campaign lasted two years and success was realized with the launch of the *Seniors Guide* in October 1986, thanks to the efforts of Majorie Goodfellow and Della Goodsell who both served as President of the Board during this time period (*appendix 4*).

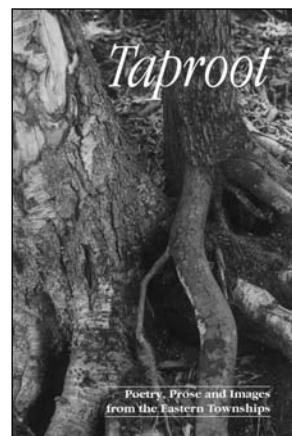
One of the most active aspects of the Association's work is communications. Immediately following the disposition of the patent documents with the government, the members took it upon themselves to inform the government about who exactly the Anglophone community was, disseminated facts about issues of importance to the government, the Anglophones isolated in smaller communities within the Townships and the Francophone community-at-large. Various means were developed to coordinate these efforts. Strategies such as the *Keeping in Touch* column in *The Record, Crossroads*, nominations to the *Comité régional de Radio-Québec Estrie*, a mini-series *Les Anglophones en Estrie*, workshops on Communications, Customs, and Conventions in French, and Liaison with the French-speaking Community were implemented to

increase the visibility of the English-speaking Townshippers (Communication Committee 1978–1993). The communications and outreach committees provided a broad conduit for informing the community-at-large about the very real economic, health and social services, as well as educational problems existing within the Anglophone minority and helping to deconstruct the myths surrounding them. They also helped to maintain the bonds between those Anglophones who are isolated in small rural areas with those who live closer to Sherbrooke and District.

Townshippers' Association actively developed programs and encouraged community members to embrace with pride the achievements, the history, and the beauty of the area. A few of the activities and projects that were supported over the years were: *The Way We Were* 1984, Photo exhibition: *As We Were* 1980–1987, *Cemetery Project* Western Sector and *Cemetery Project* Eastern Sector 1980, Stanstead and Rock Island Walking Tours, *The Treasure of Place Names* 1982–1983, and *An Oral History of the Granite Industry of Beebe* 1984 (Heritage and Culture Committee 1980–1991).

Pride in the community is cultivated through connections with the tourism industry and intergenerational support is an ongoing concern for the membership. From its inception to the present day, Townshippers' Association has reached out to young people. It provides a liaison to local industry and thereby job opportunities. Furthermore, access to training to improve job skills for those who are in need are promoted via programs developed expressly to encourage youth participation and to discourage, if possible, out-migration of the next generation (Youth Committee 1984–). A website, www.topportunity.ca, provides information about the top 40 job prospects in the Eastern Townships and how to qualify for them.

To this day, Townshippers' Association continues to network with community resources to address the most apparent needs of the Anglophone Community and to inform the governments (local, provincial and federal) of these needs in a timely fashion, including demographic statistical analysis to provide credibility to the community demands (Floch & Warnke 2004; presentations by Floch and Warnke, 2005). It maintains contact with other organizations



*Taproot : Publication of
Townshippers' Association*

throughout Quebec, and is a member of the Quebec Community Groups Network. One call to the information line can provide an Anglophone with information about resources or services in the area, or if necessary, the coordinator will tell the caller who to contact. The volunteers and the employees of the association work diligently to maintain the visibility of the English-speaking community's concerns; this is done in conjunction with active advocacy efforts directed to the various governments, and nominations of English speakers to boards and committees, so that the community is fully represented in all decision-making processes. The promotion of the English-speaking Townshippers' heritage and cultural community will continue to provide challenges and opportunities to the Townshippers' Association well into the next quarter century.

NOTES

- 1 The patent documents of the organization are on exhibition, where they are held at the time of this writing, in the Old Library at Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec, Canada. Another note of interest regarding these documents is given that this period is post second wave feminist movement the females are required to state their marital status while the males do not.
- 2 See *Townships Crossroads* March 2005 for a detailed update on the Townshippers' current activities in the region.
- 3 Townshippers' Day 2005 is planned for September 17 in Bedford.

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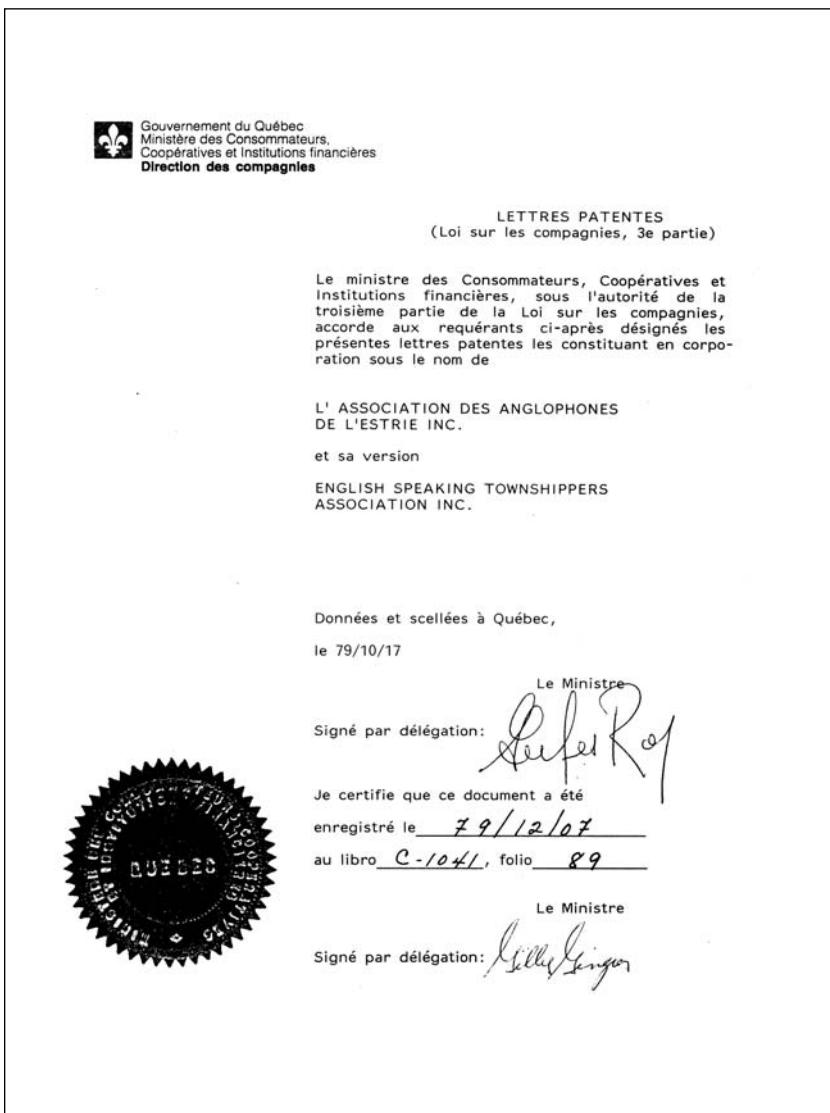
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Gouvernement du Québec
Ministère du
Conseil Exécutif

Le ministre d'État
au Développement culturel

DIALOGUE

between the Government of Quebec

and

representatives of English-speaking Townshippers

June 16, 1979

Alexander Galt

Regional High School

Lennoxville, Quebec

APPENDIX 3 (*chronological order*)

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*Senior Citizen Guide to services 1984:
P038 Townshippers' Association fonds*

Townshippers Association

The Townshippers Association (or English-Speaking Townshippers Association, Inc.) evolved from a symposium on the future of the anglophone minority in Quebec in June 1979. The symposium was attended by Cultural Development Minister Camille Laurin and about 700 area residents.

Many of the concerns expressed at that meeting contributed to the founding of the Association, in October, 1979. The Association is administered by a 29 member Board of Directors, and a nine person Executive Committee. Day-to-day co-ordination of the professional staff is handled by the Executive Director, David Weiner.

The Association maintains two offices, the headquarters in Sherbrooke and a regional office in Cowansville, that is open half days. The Sherbrooke office is located in Room 310, 31 King West, J1H 1N5, telephone (819) 566-5717. It houses four of the five permanent staff.

About 5,000 members have been signed up in the Association, for a \$2.00 membership fee. Primary funding is from the federal Secretary of State's Aid to Minorities program.

The Association has several goals, set down at its founding meeting. They are the promotion of the interests of the English-speaking community in the Townships; the strengthening of their cultural identity; the encouragement of the participation of English-speaking Townshippers in the community at large and the collection of funds through dues, donations or grants, to further the interests of the organization.

The Townshippers Association is a non-profit, non-partisan organization that obtains its grassroots input through a system of regional tables that operate from six main areas. A series of Task Forces has also been established to address several key concerns of the Association. They are health and social services, education, employment, heritage, and participation in Quebec society.

The Townshippers Association is involved in several successful undertakings, among them a summer student employment project, the publication of a quarterly tabloid newsletter and ensuring that anglophones are represented on the various administrative regional councils.

English Speaking Townshippers Association, Inc. L'association des anglophones de l'Estrie, Inc.

31, ouest rue King W., Suite 310, Sherbrooke, Québec J1H 1N5. (819) 566-5717
Succ: Cowansville: (514) 263-4422



Meeting (Townshippers' Association early 1980s) : P038 Townshippers' Association fonds



Spring Fling (Townshippers' Association 1986) : P038 Townshippers' Association fonds

BIOBIBLIOGRAPHIES / NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

WILLIAM FLOCH has been with the Department of Canadian Heritage since 1990. He has served as manager of official languages (OL) research since 2001, where the priorities have been documenting the vitality of official-language minority communities and exploring the conditions under which second official languages are learned. An important aspect of OL research at Canadian Heritage is the development of relative indices which place OL minority communities in context with their majority-language neighbours, with other OL groups at other levels of geography and with themselves at a different period of time. Prior to working with the Department, Mr. Floch worked in the education and community-based sectors, including a stint as Executive Director of Townshippers in the mid-1980s.

NATALIE KISHCHUK holds a PhD in Social Psychology (University of Waterloo). She has more than 20 years' experience in applied social research and evaluation, including population health and health promotion, community development, education and social services organization and delivery systems. She has carried out more than 60 studies in academic, government and community contexts, many in relation to English-speaking communities in various regions of Quebec. Well versed in qualitative research, she has conducted many studies using key informant interviews and focus group methodologies, including two that explore motivational factors in out-migration among the Townships' English-speaking community. Dr. Kishchuk holds adjunct appointments at McGill University and the Université de Montréal and is an experienced facilitator.

MARIE-ODILE MAGNAN est une étudiante à la maîtrise dans le département de sociologie de l'Université Laval. Elle a participé à six projets de recherche, et elle fait présentement partie de l'équipe de chercheurs de l'Institut canadien de recherche sur les minorités linguistiques, dirigé par Rodrigue Landry (Université Moncton). Mme Magnan a participé à plusieurs conférences et compte déjà six publications à son nom, la

plupart traitant du sujet de la migration de sortie. Elle a récemment écrit une revue des travaux intitulée « "To stay or not to stay": Migrations des jeunes Anglo-Québécois ».

CAROLINE VIENS obtained her B.A. at Bishop's University and her M.A. at Concordia. She has taught Sociology at Bishop's since 1997. Her teaching is focused on courses in criminology, gerontology, communications and women's studies. Her main research interests include the aging society, social psychology, deviance, gender equality, social inequality and communications. She works in the field of gerontology in collaboration with a research project at the University of Sherbrooke entitled "*La participation sociale des ainés : apport à la collectivité et bien-être individuel.*" She also continues to cultivate strong community ties with Health and Social Services committees including: The Townshipers' Association Steering Committee for the Networking Project (funded through Heritage Canada); the Women's Centre of Lennoxville; Centre Notre-Dame D' Enfants/Dixville and Les Fantastiques de Magog. Professor Viens is also a member of the Bishop's University Senate and a Vice-President of the Faculty Union.

JAN WARNKE, a PhD student of geography at the Université Laval, has a highly respected geographic and demographic research career spanning more than 25 years and more than 25 reports of studies in academic, government and community contexts. In addition to his current study of mobility and migration demographics of the Townships' English-speaking community, he has carried out three earlier studies concerning this community's demographics, including a comprehensive analysis of its demographic characteristics in the historical Eastern Townships based on 1996 Census data (2002). In 2004, he was co-investigator, with William Floch, in a study comparing this 1996 data, on certain key variables, using 2001 census data.

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