

**“Mais Je Suis Anglophone...”:
Geographies of Place and Belonging in English Quebec**

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the everyday experiences of Anglophone communities in three different regions of Quebec – the Gaspésie, Gatineau and Eastern Townships – with the aim to understand their sense of place. Specifically, the focus is on the role of different geographic contexts on everyday access to social services, particularly healthcare, and how these experiences contribute to Anglophones’ place attachment. Data collection involved semi-structured personal interviews with ten participants in each region. Comparative analysis yielded three main findings: (1) issues with accessing healthcare in English reinforces Anglophones’ minority status; (2) in spite of the challenges faced as a linguistic minority, Anglophones demonstrate a strong sense of place to their region; and (3) feelings of home, heritage, and rootedness constitute elements in Anglophones’ place attachment and contribute to their sense of place in Quebec. The study also concludes that age, mobility, and location are important variables in influencing everyday experiences in each of the three regions.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse présente un examen des expériences quotidiennes et le sentiment d'appartenance dans les communautés anglophones de trois régions du Québec – la Gaspésie, Gatineau et les Cantons de l'Est. L'objectif principal est de déterminer le rôle des différents contextes géographiques pour l'accès quotidien aux services sociaux, particulièrement les soins de santé, et comment ces expériences contribuent à l'attachement des anglophones à un lieu. La collecte des données a été effectuée en menant des entrevues personnelles semi-structurées avec dix participants de chaque région. L'analyse comparative a donné lieu à trois constatations principales : (1) les problèmes liés à l'accès aux soins de santé en anglais renforce le statut de minorité des anglophones ; (2) malgré les défis auxquels les anglophones font face en tant que minorité linguistique, le lieu a une grande importance pour leur identité ; et (3) les sentiments à l'égard du patrimoine et l'enracinement sont des éléments clés pour évaluer l'attachement des anglophones à un lieu et contribuent à leur sentiment d'appartenance au Québec. Cette étude conclut également que l'âge, la mobilité et le lieu sont des facteurs importants qui exercent une influence sur les expériences quotidiennes de la minorité anglophone dans chacune des trois régions.

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Chapter 1:

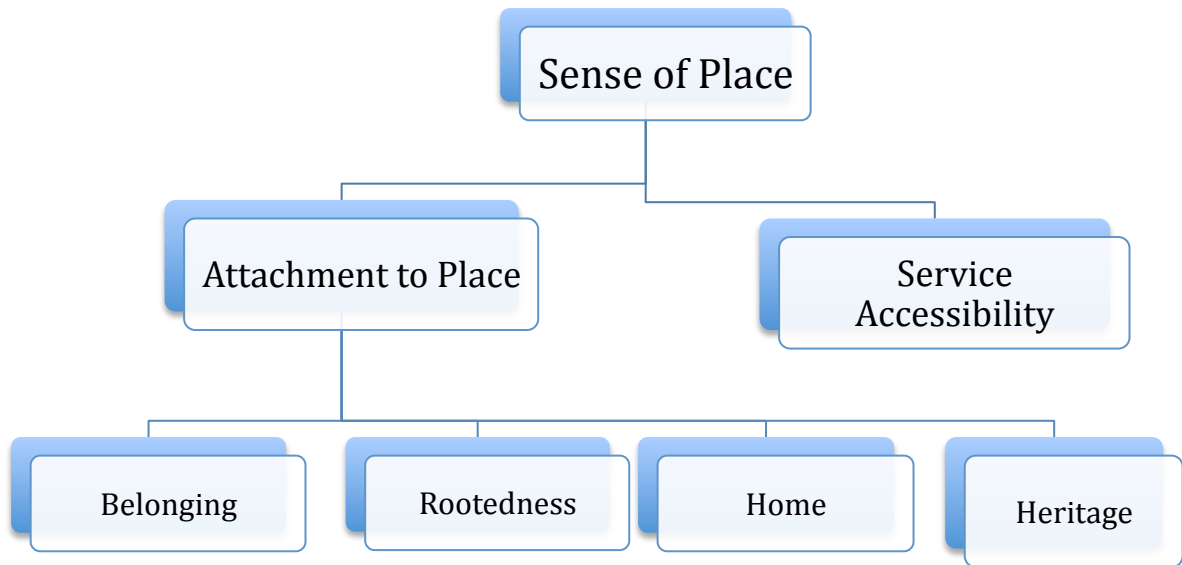
Introduction: A Sense of Place for Anglophones in Quebec

Quebec experiences a unique positioning of minority Anglophone populations within its geographic boundaries in comparison to the majority positioning of Anglophone populations in the rest of Canada. Within Quebec, Anglophones form a minority group in relation to the province's Francophone majority population. This minority status is largely a result of Quebec's Anglophone demographic transformation over the past several decades, most notably, the steady 20% decrease of the group since 1971 (Jedwab, 2001). Naturally, this decline has had a significant impact on the cultural presence of Anglophone communities as part of the province's social makeup. Specifically, these demographic shifts have resulted in "[...] the aging of the community and its reduced degree of 'rootedness'" (Jedwab, 2001, p.2). Jedwab's demonstration that there is a decline of 'rootedness' and a decrease in population provides a useful starting point for the exploration of why the Anglophones currently living in Quebec choose to stay and the importance of their relationship to a particular locality. To better understand the everyday experiences of Anglophone minorities in Quebec, this research studies the sense of place and belonging that Anglophones possess in three specific regions of the province: Gaspésie, Gatineau, and the Eastern Townships.

A population's geographical experiences refer to their relationship with a specific geographical space. A sense of place is shaped and informed by one's attachment to a particular locale. This research will advance the idea that rootedness, belonging and ideas of home are the determinative factors that make up the content of the attachment to place for Anglophones in Quebec. Figure 1 illustrates the conceptual framework adopted in this

study. In an effort to better understand the relationship between attachment to place and the degree of belonging to the English community, this study will look at the ways in which rootedness, belonging and ideas of home are negotiated by Anglophones, the sense of place that is consequently formed, and what it reveals about Anglophone experience in Quebec. For the purposes of this research, sense of place is understood as the general feelings an individual or group of individuals has about a particular place. Attachment to place, by contrast, refers to a more specific and very literal emotional attachments individuals have to particular places. Attachment to place forms part of the content of sense of place. This paper will show how rootedness, belonging, and ideas of home make up the content of attachment to place for Anglophone minorities thereby shaping their sense of place.

Figure 1: Sense of Place



Most past research on Anglophones in Quebec has focused on the role of education, which traditionally proved to be a critical method for official language minority groups to preserve their culture. Important insight, however, can be gained by examining other aspects of Anglophones' everyday experiences in Quebec. Geographical location within the province, heritage (specifically, family histories), and access to social services (in particular, healthcare) provide useful research subject matter because they are all important facets of Anglophone experience in Quebec. Moreover, an aging Anglophone population requires that healthcare, and the increasing need for healthcare services, demands a better understanding of the group's need to stay in the province. The accessibility of English health services shows the institutional and administrative recognition of the needs of Anglophone minorities within the broader Quebec community. Access to English language services has been identified as a major problem facing Anglophones in the province of Quebec (Carter, 2008). Despite this recognition, little research has been conducted on how accessibility challenges might influence Anglophone attachment to place.

1.1 Research Purpose and Objectives

In light of the status of Anglophones as a linguistic minority in Quebec, this research will examine the geographical experiences of Anglo-Quebecers contributing to their sense of place—or lack thereof—in three different regions: Western Quebec (Gatineau), Eastern Quebec (Gaspésie), and Southern Quebec (the Eastern Townships). The choice of these study regions is largely a consequence of the presence of prominent Anglophone communities outside the large Anglophone populations in the metropolitan regions of

Montreal and Quebec City. Furthermore, the use of these three case studies provides comparative value for several reasons: (1) they consist of pockets of Anglophone populations situated among dominant Francophone communities in each region, allowing for a comparison of minority experiences occurring within the broader provincial framework; (2) the study regions can at once be placed on similar and different regional scales with respect to characteristics impacting experience (i.e. metropolitan areas versus non-metropolitan areas outside of Montreal and Quebec City) and, (3) the different geographical positioning of the regions in terms of proximity to, or isolation from, larger Anglophone communities. While Gatineau is situated in proximity to Ottawa (Ontario), and its residents have access to the services available in this Anglophone majority CMA, the Anglophone communities in Gaspésie are completely isolated from larger Anglophone communities. The Eastern Townships, on the other hand, are only relatively isolated in that they are immediately removed from major Anglophone populations, but have indirect access to the City of Montreal and across the U.S. border to the South.

The study of everyday experiences of Anglo-Quebecers is significant and relevant for several reasons. First, an understanding of the relationship between language minority status and everyday experience allows for a better understanding of sense of place and belonging for Anglo-Quebecers. Second, this research fits within the field of linguistic minority studies, and while there seems to be significant research on the Anglophone minorities of Quebec, little has been done outside of the Montreal CMA. Most recent research on this minority group has employed quantitative techniques using census data. Much less qualitative research has been conducted on the social and cultural dimensions of the minority position Anglophones experience within the province. Developing a more

detailed study of the everyday experiences of specific populations and comparing them provides a better understanding of Anglophone sense of place and the factors informing their place attachment. Finally, the study contributes to developing greater understandings of how language minority experiences differ both within and between geographic locations.

1.2 Outline of the Research

The questions asked in this research focus on sense of place and how Anglophones' everyday experiences as a minority population of Quebec differ depending on their region of residence. Specifically, how do differences in locality and geographic context shape sense of place and belonging for Anglophone minority populations in Gatineau, Gaspésie, and the Eastern Townships? How does geographic location determine the socio-cultural experiences of Anglo-minorities in these regions of Quebec? Answering these questions requires consideration of *three* interrelated themes for each specific region. (1) The research investigates how the sense of place and belonging of these minority communities has been shaped by the features of their geographic location in the province. For example, how do the experiences of participants in regions that are in proximity to larger Anglophone communities (e.g. Gatineau) compare to those that are more isolated (e.g. Gaspésie)? (2) The research also examines how heritage embedded in a particular place influences the degree of the Anglophone group's sense of belonging. The research approaches this relationship from the premise that one's family history and 'rootedness' in the English community contributes to a sense of place and belonging for Anglophones in Quebec. (3) Lastly, the research focuses on how everyday access to

social services in general, and healthcare in particular, in their immediate region has impacted Anglophone sense of place.

This research contributes to academic debates on the positioning of linguistic minorities in a given geographical context and helps justify why Anglophones choose to remain in Quebec in a minority position. The literature review (Chapter 2) outlines the relevant theoretical themes surrounding this research, including: (1) Sense of place and questions of place attachment, belonging, home, community, mobility, and healthcare, and (2) official language minorities in the Canadian context, specifically, Anglophones in Quebec. An understanding of these concepts in the context of everyday Anglophone experiences of place in three distinct regions of Quebec allows the research to provide insight into what it is like for an Anglophone living in this province. Chapter 3 provides a description of the case study and methodology. The following three chapters discuss the research findings. Chapter 4 describes the type of experiences articulated by participants and the role of geographical location on these experiences. Chapter 5 discusses the impact of healthcare access has on the development of a sense of place and belonging for Anglophones. Place attachment is analyzed in Chapter 6 primarily through the concepts of rootedness, home and heritage. In conclusion, Chapter 7 summarizes the analysis and discusses the contributions of this research project to broader theoretical debates concerning the positioning of Anglophones in the province and their sense of place.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Approaches to Sense of Place and Official Language Minorities

To understand the everyday experiences of Anglophone minorities in various regions of Quebec, a discussion of different theoretical approaches to the notion of ‘place’ will be supplemented with a review of the concepts of belonging, home, mobility, community, healthcare and healthcare access to explain how they are linked to a sense of place. Next, some background on official language minorities in the Canadian context is necessary, including an overview of the history of Anglophones in Quebec and their experiences as a language minority. The research findings also builds on and complement the current research on Quebec Anglophone populations that has either focused on the Montreal CMA (Raddice, 2000) or has been largely limited to quantitative analysis (e.g., Jedwab 2001, 2004, Cater 2008). This informs a conceptual framework for the understanding of place attachment for Anglophones in the Gaspésie, Gatineau, and the Eastern Township regions, and how this influences their sense of place.

2.1. Place and Attachment to Place

The meaning of place has been of particular and critical importance for human geographers since it is an essential concept for understanding people, their socio-cultural organizations, transnational positioning in the world, how they move or do not move, and how a population or individual might think of themselves *in* place. However, how place is used, defined, and applied vary within the discipline of geography (McDowell, 1997).

Reliance on different approaches to the concept by human geographers effectively renders place a contested notion in the field of geography (McDowell, 1997). Therefore, it is necessary to first develop an understanding of the theoretical meanings attributed to place and their application in the discipline. A discussion of how various authors have defined place will allow for an understanding of the theoretical debates surrounding the term.

Cresswell's (2004) work has made significant contributions to the understanding of place in human geography. Cresswell recognizes the theoretical complexities that accompany this concept when he argues that as important as it is to human geographers, place is underpinned with stigmas of common sense that complicate the possibility of a unitary or universal definition (Cresswell, 2004, p.5). He, therefore, explains and conceptualizes place without providing definitive conceptual parameters for the term. For instance, Cresswell wrestles with the relationship between human communities and place; he tries to answer the complex question of whether geographical place informs society or whether, in fact, society informs place. By demonstrating the inherent plurality of the term, Cresswell points to the ways in which it is informed by external sources, and in turn informs social, political, and cultural existence.

Staheli's (2003) theoretical approach to place can be positioned in dialogue with Cresswell's work. She argues that definitions of place within the field of human geography are largely inadequate. Consequently, she uses more general definitions of place to build a conceptual framework for the term. As a starting point, Staheli uses the more straightforward definition from the *Dictionary of Human Geography* and explains the concept as follows:

Place is defined as a context or setting, in relational terms, as an outcome or product of processes, and as something active and dynamic. This multifaceted definition suggests the complexity of the term as used by geographers, as well as the reasons people might use the term in vastly different ways (Staheli, 2003, p. 159).

In order to help deconstruct our understanding of place, Staheli traces conceptual components such as physical location or site, cultural and/or social locations, context and construction over time, and process. Similarly to Cresswell, Staheli demonstrates that the understanding of place and its meaning is complex and interchangeable throughout the discipline. Entrikin (1997) has an arguably compatible conceptualization of place, but offers an alternative definition: “The geographical concept of place refers to the areal context of events, objects and actions. It is a context that includes natural elements and human constructions, both material and ideal” (p. 299). While both Cresswell and Staheli conclude that place is something that remains complex in the realm of geography, Entrikin (1997) argues for a more narrow conceptual scope and grounded definition. In the explanation of his approach, Entrikin maintains that people are constantly involved in places. He specifically describes the human relationship to place in the following terms: “We live our lives in place and have a sense of being part of place, but we also view place as something separate, something external” (Entrikin, 1997, p. 299). Consequently, in Entrikin’s view, place is something both inhabited and external to human activity.

Place is seen by most theorists as something complex and difficult to define within the field of geographical study. Cresswell (2004) suggests that place is predominantly a process of informative interactions at different levels between humans, cultures and social settings that, in turn, inform social, political and cultural existences.

Furthermore, according to Cresswell, place is often defined in opposition to another significant geographical concept, space. He writes, “space, then, has been seen in distinction to place as a realm without meaning – as a ‘fact of life’ which, like time, produces the basic coordinates for human life. When humans invest meaning in a portion of space and then become attached to it in some way (naming is one such way) it becomes place” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 10). One could thereby trace the connection between place and identity whereby individuals define themselves according to the spaces they inhabit, in effect, creating *places*. As the focus of this research, Anglo-Quebecers are characterized as a minority within the majority Francophone population in Quebec. Like everyone else, their sense of belonging and identity is inherently shaped by the space they inhabit and the place (or places) they subsequently create in the province.

While there are many theoretical positions on the concept of place and the factors contributing to the meaning of place, the nature of this study and the importance it gives to “place,” requires a more narrow focus and shaping of its conceptual boundaries. For purposes of this research, I adopt Cresswell’s definition of place as the product of space transformed through the intersections of culture, economics, and socio-political interactions. Place, then, exists in the combination of—and exchange between—physical landscape (Gaspésie, Gatineau, and the Eastern Townships) and cultural geographies so that they are at once shaping individuals and shaped by them. This is employed because of the uncertainties that underlie the definition of place. This conceptualization will provide the theoretical framework of place in which to discuss the everyday experiences and the sense of place articulated by Anglo-Quebecers in the three study regions. It also

provides important context for discussions of how belonging and home operate on different scales (local/community, region, province, and national levels).

2.1.1 Place, Belonging, and Home

Mitchell (2000) addresses questions concerning geographies of belonging, an issue that is of particular importance to the interactions of minority and majority populations in Canada. He argues that although the nation is essentially an “imagined community” the contemporary world is still very much nation-oriented. In this sense, identities are still bound up in places and spaces of nationhood. Therefore, Anglo-Quebecers as a minority group within the majority Francophone population of Quebec, face not only issues of functioning daily in someone else’s language, but also the complications of identity formation. One particular approach to place and belonging that has proven useful in this context and helps to explain why Anglophones maintain attachment to place despite their minority status in Quebec, is developed in Cresswell’s discussion of the notion of “home”. He asserts that, “[by] transforming the earth into home we create places at a myriad of different levels. Tuan argues that the making of places at all scales is seen as the production of a certain kind of homeliness. Home is an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness” (2004, p. 24). Feelings of home can be understood as one way in which people create places. The way a place is experienced determines the way people form attachment to that place and their feelings of rootedness in a community. The transformation of space into place through ideas of home will be used to explain Anglophones’ sense of belonging and attachment to place in the face of language barriers. To summarize, I adopt the idea of

home as one mechanism for transforming space into place and, ultimately, a major contributor to Anglophone attachment to place.

2.1.2. Place and Mobility

Mobility is a critical feature of sense of place because, as Cresswell (2006) argues, movement between spaces is imbued with different levels of meaning: “mobility involves displacement – the act of moving between locations [...] the movements of people (and things) all over the world and at all scales are, after all, full of meaning. They are also products and producers of power” (p. 2). Cresswell concludes that mobility is “practiced,” “experienced” and “embodied” (p. 3). Therefore, notions of mobility are important to this research because movement, or an individual’s capacity for movement, within and outside their physical locations can significantly influence an individual’s sense of place.

In his study of landscapes and cultural identities Norton (1998) maintains, “there is a general relationship between language distributions and physical regions because physical barriers tend to limit movement” (p. 180). Limitations to mobility can be understood as a form of entrapment and cultural isolation. Place and mobility within and among spaces become a definitive factor when discussing language minorities in non-metropolitan Quebec. If Norton (1998) is right and there is a significant correlation between language and population distribution in geographic terms, then this is something that must be addressed and reconciled with the existence of pockets of Anglophone communities throughout various regions of Quebec. Each region selected for this study represents a different geographical context and the issues of mobility vary accordingly.

For example, proximity or isolation from a major Anglophone population can significantly impact the everyday experiences of Anglophones because the opportunities and capacity for mobility will differ according to the geographic context. In particular, accessing services and meeting daily needs within the community, region, or province can be a challenge for members of the aging population who are not as mobile as younger members. Therefore, the lack of mobility described by Norton creates barriers preventing the movement of Anglophones within and outside their regions to fulfill daily needs. The need of mobility to fulfill these needs and the challenges it poses is a potentially significant influence on one's sense of place. This study, therefore, examines sense of place and place attachment for Anglophones in Quebec from a perspective sensitive to issues of mobility.

2.1.3. Place and Community

Geographically, community is commonly understood as, “[a] group of people who share a common culture, values and/or interests, based on social identity and/or territory, and who have some means of recognizing, and (inter) acting upon, these commonalities” (Gregory et al., 2009, p.103). Therefore, community is defined by territory (attachment to place and identity defined by place), culture and society (identity and accessing services). Commitment to serving the interests of a population within a region can have underlying implications on a population, specifically a minority group.

In her discussion of community, Valentine (2001) identifies the complexities of the concept and the diversity of ideological meaning attached to it (similarly to Cresswell's theories of place). Nevertheless, she offers the basic conceptual requirements

for community: mutual relationships built within a community where individuals share a sense of identity and caring for one another (p.111). A strong sense of community, consequently, helps contribute to identity formation and the establishment of a sense of belonging for individuals. For instance, one could imagine that a common language bond would link Anglophones in different regions of Quebec creating communities based on shared identity as official language minorities.

Selznick (1992) argues that “community essentials” includes combinations of the following factors: “historicity (interpersonal bonds developed through a shared history and culture), identity (evident through loyalty), mutuality (interdependence and reciprocity between members), plurality (members taking part in intermediate associations or group attachments), autonomy (the flourishing of unique and responsible persons), participation (in different roles and aspects of society) and integration (via political, legal and cultural institutions)” (p.361). These basic elements that go into the makeup of community help to determine the realities of people in a given place. Everyday experiences (one’s social actions and everyday practices) can impact how individuals feel towards a community, as well as how they are involved and included in it.

According to Carter and Jones (1989), community should be understood as social interactions that play out within a given space. Specifically, they define neighborhood community as “a socially interactive space inhabited by a close-knit network of households, most of whom are known to one another and who, to a high degree, participate in common social activities, exchange information, engage in mutual aid and support and are conscious of a common identity, a belonging together” (Carter and Jones,

1989, p. 169). This idea of sharing commonalities is essential to Carter and Jones' analysis of neighborhood communities. The foundation is built on relationships and links between the people sharing one place. It is this bond that ultimately determines how one feels towards a given place or develops attachment to a specific locale as in, for example, the Anglophone Gaspésie experience discussed in the following chapters.

Accordingly, if a group does not feel represented or involved in their community, the group members are more likely (than not) to feel decreased attachment to the region or neighborhood (Bourhis, 2008). Furthermore, “neighborhoods, the locality, residential areas (or whatever we choose to call them) may be a source of security and the basis of a supportive network for many people whose lives are relatively restricted in an everyday sense to a small area [...]” (McDowell, 1997, p. 61). Therefore, for the sake of this research, the understanding of community that will be used is a social network of individuals that identify with each other in a specific geographic space on the basis of social and cultural commonalities. An appreciation of one's attachment to a community, their feelings of membership, and the positioning of a population within community, can enable understanding of the study population and their sense of belonging to a particular place.

2.1.4. Place and Healthcare

There is a key relationship between place and healthcare. As mentioned, individuals' interactions within a locality can determine their attachment to place. According to Eyles and Williams (2008), the inherent construction of sense of place is the core element of physical and built environments. The amenities and services within

that physical and built environment contribute to a sense of place. Moreover, if services and facilities are accessible within a region, then individuals will feel represented. This can contribute to a sense of belonging and increase the likelihood of feelings of attachment to place.

Access to social services—especially access to healthcare—is a critical issue for Quebec and its minority communities because it dictates the fulfillment of their basic needs. Jedwab and Maynard (2008) note that, “dialogue with representatives of cultural and ethnic communities has to be pursued with greater vigor and continuity to determine the scope of services these communities wish to receive in English” (p.180). However, access to services in one’s preferred language is not always guaranteed in the province of Quebec. Not having equal access to services may affect not only place attachment for Anglo-Quebecers, but also their sense of place to neighborhoods, and on a larger scale, the province of Quebec as a whole. While, education appears to be a vital factor in the preservation of Anglophone culture in Quebec, an aging Anglophone population and issues regarding their mobility increase the importance of focusing on healthcare. This focus on healthcare access for Anglo-Quebecers aims to investigate the link between access to services and sense of place for this minority population.

2.1.4.1 Place and Accessing Healthcare

Place has come to assume a key role in geographies of healthcare. Healthcare is no longer studied in a vacuum without careful attention to the social and cultural landscape in which services are provided and accessed. In their study of primary healthcare and place, Crooks and Andrews (2009b) explain the development of human

geography's conceptualization of a relationship between healthcare and place. Kearns (1993) in Crooks and Andrews's study instigated a reconsideration of place as merely "location of services and research sites" (2009b, p. 30). These authors contend that scholarship following this shift in geography's approach to healthcare studies has paid more meaningful attention to the role that place plays in healthcare "as a powerful social and cultural phenomenon" (Crooks and Andrews, 2009b, p. 30). Kearns understands places to be "complexly constructed social phenomena that hold particular significance for people, how a person's background and experience may shape their experience of places and how places affect people's opportunities and activities. Indeed, experiences of places are thought to be obtained through *situatedness* (or being socially in place), and result in feelings about the place (or a sense-of-place)" (Crooks and Andrews, 2009b, p. 30). This acknowledgment of a multifaceted relationship between place and healthcare is foundational to the analysis of healthcare experiences in this study. This thesis will explore the exchange that occurs between healthcare experiences and sense of place. Crooks and Andrews insist that that the animating goal of geographies of health and healthcare is to reveal the importance of place in relation to them (2009a, p. 1). Gatrell and Elliott (2009) propose that places can be understood as both "social settings or social environments" in which "we are literally surrounded, or "enviromed" by other people and features of the landscape" (p. 12). Gatrell and Elliott conclude that "[m]odern public health sees the environment as social and psychological, not merely as physical. In this sense, then, 'environment' and 'place' converge to provide a spatial context for health that transcends the individual's behavior and health outcomes" (p. 12).

The concept of access has figured prominently in the study of healthcare geographies. In the Canadian healthcare context, Asasnin and Wilson (2008) argue that research shows that there is “an increasing number of Canadians reporting accessibility problems” (p.1272). Asasnin and Wilson were specifically concerned with immigrant populations and their study revealed that the geographic, socio-cultural (“culturally appropriate” access), and economic (the “direct costs of receiving healthcare”) categories of accessibility were most important to their immigrant participants (p. 1276-1278). Asasnin and Wilson specifically explain that geographic access refers to the “physical location of a healthcare service and a person’s ability to receive care at that location” (p. 1276). In their study of the rhetoric of healthcare crisis, Wilson and Rosenberg (2002) explain that issues of geographic accessibility have been a consistent preoccupation of human geographers (p. 224). The research findings will show that the concept of geographic access has significant bearing on healthcare experiences and sense of place in this study.

Wilson and Rosenberg propose that accessibility “takes on special meaning” for health geographers in the Canadian context because, as the fifth principle in the 1984 *Canada Health Act*, provinces and territories must ensure accessibility in order to qualify for federal funding (2002, p. 224). Wilson and Rosenberg argue that there is certainly a “growing perception that a crisis exists in the Canadian healthcare system and that it manifests itself in the declining ability of Canadians to get healthcare services locally and on a timely basis” (2002, p.233). They caution, however, that a critical difference exists between the perception of crisis and behavior which human geographers are responsible

for exposing (2002, p. 233). According to Hanlon (2009) potential and realized are the two basic forms of access:

Potential access refers to the degree to which a population *might* make use of existing health services (e.g. supply and location) and the populations who might use them (e.g. population size and demographic composition, exposure risk factors). Realized access, on the other hand, is concerned solely with characterizing how a population *actually* makes use of health services available at a specified time period (p. 45).

Crooks and Andrews (2009a) suggest that there are many different ways of conceptualizing access and they advance an alternative approach to the one described by Hanlon (p. 14). Crooks and Andrews argue that the concerns of health geographers surpass geographic access and propose that access “can be further conceived of in relation to culture, economic status and resources, [and] language” (p. 14). They go on to describe the following barriers to accessibility identified by Bowen (2001): “(1) availability of services; (2) one’s ability to pay for care; (3) needs-based barriers (e.g. language, awareness, physical accessibility); and (4) inequitable treatment” (2009a, p. 14). This approach provides a useful conceptual backdrop for the present study because, among other contributions, it shows how language figures into accessibility as a “needs-based” barrier.

There has been some focus in Canadian health geography on the aging of rural communities and the relationship this has to both place and healthcare accessibility (Hanlon & Halseth, 2005; Skinner & Rosenberg, 2008; Castleden et al., 2010). This is particularly important in the context of this study since Jedwab (2001) has cautioned that Anglophone communities in Quebec are ageing and this has weakened their level of rootedness (p.2). According to Hanlon and Halseth (2005), “[m]ost rural and remote

communities across Canada struggle to provide services, whether these relate to social welfare, such as healthcare and education, or personal and consumer services provided in the private market” (p. 2). Hanlon and Halseth point out, however, that a variety of social, cultural and political forces influence this reality and that “[i]n resource hinterland settings, the historic pattern of growth through the in-migration of young families has been replaced by population decline and ageing-in-place.” (p. 2). They argue that service availability is a key factor in the maintenance of small towns and rural places and that these regions have always experienced challenges in ensuring the availability of basic health services (2005, p.7-8). The reasons for these difficulties include the problems of attracting service professionals and the issue of distance (Hanlon & Halseth, 2005, p. 7-8).

Like place, geographers understand “rurality” to be socially and culturally informed (Castleden et al., 2010, p. 284). Rural health geographers have contributed significant research on the “place-specific barriers to gaining access to health and social care” and have made “more recent efforts to probe the ways in which social and emotional dimensions of lived space, and scalar relations of power, intersect in rural places to promote or deter from health and healthcare experiences” (Castleden et al., 2010, p. 284). This approach makes the link between healthcare experiences and place attachment in the rural context clear. Castledon et al. explain that “[a]n interesting phenomenon is taking place across the Canadian landscape with respect to population demographics: the country is seeing a ‘greying’ of the rural population as it ages-in-place and a migratory inflow of urbanites seeking out a rural lifestyle” (2010, p. 288-289). Castledon et al. describe the public notion of the “rural idyll” in geography as including

“tight-knit families” and “a strong sense of community,” but caution that their findings suggest something closer to a rural death (2010, p. 288). This disjuncture between the ideal rural community and the realities of rural life is taken up by Skinner et al. (2008) in their study of services for seniors in small towns. Skinner et al. (2008) argue that a dangerous gap exists between the popular idea that strong rural communities can support the health needs of seniors and the realities of senior health experiences in rural regions (p. 98-99).

2.1.5 Place Attachment

Building on the notions of place, belonging, and community, the concept of place attachment will further contribute to this research by developing an understanding of the way people feel towards place. Altman and Low’s (1992) attempt to describe the way individuals within communities envision and articulate place focuses on the ability to create or form attachments to certain places and processes that occur in the development of this type of attachment. Altman and Low (1992) define place attachment as,

A complex phenomenon that incorporates several aspects of people-place bonding. This means that place attachment has many inseparable, integral, and mutually defining features, qualities, or properties; it is not composed of separate or independent parts, components, dimensions, or factors (p.4).

Thus, attachment to place is a complex phenomenon that can be defined, to a large extent, by the processes of community development outlined above. Altman and Low (1992) build their analysis of place attachment on the premise that “place attachment is an integrating concept comprising interrelated and inseparable aspects, the origins of place attachments are varied and complex, place attachment contributes to individual, group,

and cultural self-definition and integrity”(Altman and Low, 1992, p. 4). Therefore, membership or participation in a community contributes to a sense of attachment to a given location. Place attachment is comprised of the meaningfulness invested in place and the emotional connection to place. What Altman and Low (1992) demonstrate is that place attachment impacts the way individuals, and the groups to which they claim membership, imagine themselves.

For the Anglophone communities of Quebec, place attachment is of critical importance. As minorities, their attachment to place not only contributes to their individual and cultural identity formations, but can also be viewed as a justificatory response to their minority status. Their minority status has shaped how they identify with communities and develop attachments to places, something that is critical to understanding justifications for remaining in Quebec. This concept will help in understanding Anglo-Quebecers’ ongoing presence in the province. Place attachment then exists as a justification for their lack of mobility (to other regions of the province or outside the province in order to meet daily needs like healthcare, education and amenities) if they have the resources to relocate to a new Anglophone majority community. For example, an individual with the financial resources to move to Ontario where he/she would be a member of an Anglophone community may choose to remain an Anglophone minority in Quebec because of his/her attachment to place. Studying this specific manifestation of place attachment in light of minority identity will be central to this project since it is determinative of sense of place for Anglophones in Quebec.

2.2 Official Language Minorities in the Canadian Context

Minorities can be understood as communities or populations that identify, or are perceived by others, as different from the majority population within which they live (Marston, 1998). Minority groups can be distinguished on the basis of a number of different social characteristics including ethnicity/race, age, religion, language, gender and sexuality. Since minority populations are found in many different social contexts and have specific characteristics, it is important to provide some background on official language minorities in the Canadian context. A history of Anglophone experiences specific to the province of Quebec will also provide important historical, political, and demographic context for this study. This review will discuss how certain populations are considered, treated, and conceptualized at the intersection of majority and minority populations. Since Anglophones are a significant minority population in Quebec, this section will situate them more specifically in terms of their relationship with the Francophone majority within Quebec, and the Anglophone majority outside of the province.

2.2.1 Anglophones in Quebec

Although Anglophones were a demographic minority in Quebec up until the 1960s, they had a strong presence in the socio-economic makeup. By the late twentieth century, however, political unrest and demographic decline significantly altered the presence of Anglophone populations in the province. Several authors (Kaplan, 1994; Jedwab, 2001; Rudin, 1985) argue that this cultural and political unrest has existed since

the advent of the Quiet Revolution and various political proceedings beginning in the 1960s. This period in Quebec history, coupled with the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1976 (Gilbert & Marshall, 1995) and two referenda on Quebec sovereignty in 1981 and 1995 significantly impacted Anglophones in Quebec. For many, this era represented the cementing of Anglo-Quebecers as an official minority through the consistent decline in population. Specifically, “Quebec’s English-speaking population has been declining, from 697 402 in 1961 to 678 785 in 1986. This represents a declining share of the total population of Quebec from 13.3% to 10.4%” (Gilbert and Marshall, 1995, p. 200). The Quiet Revolution, the election of the Parti Quebecois and the introduction of bills limiting the use of English throughout the province (Dickinson and Young, 2003), as well as the referenda, encouraged the desire in many Anglophones to leave the province seeking refuge within English-speaking Canada.

English and French communities within the province have coexisted for many years with the English living predominantly in urban centers. However, many authors associate the beginning of the linguistic polarization of the two groups with the Quiet Revolution when language conflicts came to the forefront of Quebec politics. Arnopoulos and Clift (1984) describe the lead-up to Quebec’s social and cultural mood during this time:

Language disputes are not new to Quebec; nevertheless, they did not become the focal point of communal tensions until recently. In the past the main differences between the two groups were social and economic rather than linguistic. English and French coexisted on the same territory with their collective vocations, privileged domains, and ideological perspectives. It was only after 1960, when the French had absorbed the values of industrial urban society, that language became the main characteristic distinguishing the two groups and the central point of conflict (p. 51).

The period beginning in the 1960s can be identified as the advent of a new cultural reality for the two linguistic groups. Many authors (Dickinson and Young, 2003, Fournier, Rosenberg and White, 1997, and Arnopoulos and Clift, 1984) agree that processes of dramatic change for the province characterized the Quiet Revolution through emerging ideas on nationalism and reform. According to Dickinson and Young (2003), the French language became a major focal point for the ideas surrounding nationalism in the province. They specifically note that,

[t]he central element in this process of broad state intervention on behalf of the interests of the collectivity was language. Defense of the French language became the centerpiece of nationalism, replacing the church and legal institutions like the Civil Code as the essential sine qua non for the survival of Francophone society (Dickinson and Young, 2003, p. 305).

The Quebec government founded the *Charter of the French Language*, commonly referred to as Bill 101 (Fournier, Rosenberg, and White, 1997). These developments not only marked the following decades with language debates and tension, but they also, “provided a new dilemma to Anglophones and other non-Francophones, whose assimilation in the Quebec people was implied” (Dickinson and Young, 2003, p. 306).

Although these political changes were threatening to the Anglophone populations of the province, it was not until the election of the *Parti Quebecois* (1976) and the passing of Bill 101 (1977) restricting the use of the English language that a clear social line was drawn for most Anglo-Quebecers. It represented a shift away from traditional ideologies promulgated by parties such as the *Liberals* and *Union Nationale* for most Francophone Quebecers (Fournier, Rosenberg, & White, 1997). This newly formed political party was understood as being “dedicated to creating a new society, one which campaigned for sovereignty, but also for good environment” (Fournier, Rosenberg, and

White, 1997, p. 9). Thus, built on promised ideologies and the introduction of new issues, the Parti Quebecois's most popular leader, Rene Levesque, won provincial office in 1976, and in 1977, Bill 101 came into effect. The Parti Quebecois' political platform, as suggested in its very name, sought independence for the province of Quebec. One author notes that, "the victory of the Parti Quebecois was of enormous symbolic significance, one which signaled a shift in the public's understanding of what Quebec had become and what their own position in it would now be" (Fournier, Rosenberg, and White, 1997, p. 9).

For the English-speaking populations of Quebec this time represented fear and uncertainty, since for many, the sovereignty of Quebec from the rest of Canada symbolized the depletion of their presence in the province altogether. Although these speculations never materialized to the extent most thought they would, the Anglophone communities were significantly impacted by the societal changes that characterize this period in Quebec history. These changes included:

An extraordinary program of state intervention in the lives of its citizens which was unprecedented in North America. This involved intervention in the economy, in education with Bill 101 which required the majority of children to attend French language schools, in culture with the elimination of English signs in stores and public places; and interventions in many other sectors of society (Fournier, Rosenberg, and White, 1997, p. 10).

The out-migration of the Anglophone population following the election of the Parti Quebecois was so significant it outnumbered in-migration to the province from the rest of Canada by nearly 80,000 residents during the first election year (Rudin, 1985). Consequently, the tensions caused by the uprising of Quebec French nationalism and the other political movements during this time meant a serious decline of Anglophone

populations throughout the province. Anglophone influence in society and the province's economy was now strictly limited as well.

For many Anglophones, changes to Quebec's society were intensified by the referenda that occurred during the following years. The first referendum for independence was held in 1980 (Fournier, Rosenberg, and White, 1997). Although the party did not win the vote for separation, it consistently maintained a stronghold of supporters throughout the late 1980s and the 1990s. The party was then re-elected in 1994 and within a year had begun another push for separation from Canada culminating in the 1995 referendum (ibid). Although this ultimately resulted in another defeat of the Quebec sovereignty, the nationalist culture in Quebec had significantly impacted the non-Francophone populations of the province. While this period was marked by economic and social development for Quebec, it was also characterized by nationalist ideologies responsible for instigating the tensions between Anglophones and Francophones that persist today. For many Anglophones, restrictions on the English language significantly altered their way of life in their province and resulted in many leaving Quebec. This period also marked a significant shift in society as the position of Anglophones was further reduced in terms of their provincial influence.

It is clear that the political, economic, and social changes of the last decades in Quebec have marked the history of Anglophones in the province. According to Jedwab (2004), "It is always difficult to predict the future, and this certainly holds true of Quebec's English-speaking community" (p.4). The decline in the Anglophone population has slowed and the twenty first century holds more hope for Anglophones in Quebec. In fact, there has been an increase in the Anglophone population since 2006 (Statistics

Canada, 2006) and Jedwab (2004) argues that deeply integrated communities characterize contemporary Quebec:

The demographic trends reviewed here point to communities that are far more mixed in their composition, characterized by a growing multiethnic and multiracial community and, in the regions outside Montreal, by increased blending of English-French backgrounds [...] Institutionally, this had meant that schools as well as health and social services, while directing services to the English-community, must also address pluralistic clienteles that reflect the dichotomy between Montreal and the rest of Quebec (Jedwab, 2004, p.20)

If Jedwab (2004) is correct, then rural areas are characterized by blended English-French communities rather than strictly divided French and English populations. According to Statistics Canada's Census study (2006), Anglophones in Quebec care about the future of their communities with 95% of participants agreeing that the future of their heritage and legacy in Quebec as a language minority is important to them. This desire among Anglophones to preserve their Quebec heritage speaks to a strong sense of place.

Understanding why some Anglophones decided in the past, and today choose, to *remain* in a minority position in the province of Quebec is crucial to this research study. Since the choice to remain requires that this Anglophone population identifies as a linguistic minority, the analysis of its choice must be more nuanced and can help in understanding how language and belonging to the English community influence their place attachment and sense of place.

2.2.2 Anglophones and Healthcare in Quebec

Healthcare plays a significant role in the lives of most individuals because it represents a form of security. Access to healthcare is a fundamental need for any given population (majority or minority). Nevertheless, Carter (2008) has identified problems for

Anglophones in accessing English language services in Quebec. The presence of social services in general and their accessibility is important to understanding the everyday experiences of Anglophones because it establishes their relationship with the governmental, administrative and institutional matrix of their particular region.

Healthcare has been specifically chosen in this study as a case example of social services to depict the everyday experiences of Quebec Anglophones for several reasons. The choice of healthcare is based primarily on the immediate problems surrounding access to these services for Anglophones in Quebec (Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002). According to a study on healthcare and Quebec's English-speaking communities,

The community [English-speaking] is ageing more quickly and has a higher level of unemployment and lower family incomes in comparison to the French-speaking majority. For example, English-speaking Quebecers are 26% more likely than the Francophone majority to have incomes below the Statistics Canada low-income cut off [...] Access to full range of health and social services in English continues to pose challenges (CHSSN, 2008, p.5)

Healthcare is fundamental to maintaining the vitality and well being of Anglophones in Quebec (Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002). Therefore, understanding the specific healthcare experiences Anglophones face in Quebec is essential since, as CHSSN (2008) notes above, health services in English pose current and immediate challenges for Anglophones. Limitations on access to health services in English may consequently influence Anglophone everyday experiences in their specific regions of the province, and in turn, shape their relationship to place.

There are formal sources mandating the availability of English healthcare services for Quebec Anglophones. Carter (2008) explains that, "the right of English-speaking persons to receive health and social services in the English language is inscribed in the

legislation governing Quebec's health and social service system" (p. 88). Section 15 of *An Act Respecting Health Services and Social Services*, provides that

English-speaking persons are entitled to receive health services and social services in the English language, in keeping with the organizational structure and human, material and financial resources of the institutions providing such services and to the extent provided by an access program referred to in section 348 (R.S.Q., chapter S-4.2).

Since the legislation includes a caveat that English-language services will be in proportion to the resources available, one could imagine that a disjuncture exists between the right provided by the law and the availability of services in practice. Experiences flowing from this disjuncture will provide a useful entry point for this study into the geographic relationship between Quebec Anglophones and place.

According to Carter (2008) healthcare and social service institutions came under government control throughout the 1960s and 1970s in order to move them into the public domain. In 1986, Bill 142 was passed and it ensured access to healthcare services in English for language minorities in Quebec (Martin, 1992). Specifically, Martin (1992) explains:

Bill 142 amended Quebec's Health and Social Services Act to give Anglophones the right to receive health and social services in English, subject to the organization and resources of agencies that deliver the services as defined in regional plans for English-language services (Martin, 1992, p. 1236).

Access to healthcare services in English was offered in the years following the passing of Bill 142 (Carter, 2008). However, the period between the passing of Bill 142 safeguarding access to English healthcare services and the election of the Parti-Québécois government in 1994 (until 2003) represented a radical transformation of access to English healthcare (Carter, 2008):

The amalgamation and closure of institutions [due to emerging demographics and cost pressures on the health and social services system] were key features of the reform and deemed to have serious impacts on the rights to services in English [...] the statutory revision of the access programs had been held up for several months, and services legally recognized as providing English language services were being closed, merged, transferred, or dispersed without any concrete plans to ensure access to services in English (Cater, 2008, p. 89)

Throughout the following years, the struggle with the Parti Québécois government to ensure English healthcare was a failure: “[i]n January 1999, Alliance Quebec issued a writ of mandamus against the Parti Québécois government charging that it had failed to respect the legal delay for approval of the access programs indentifying services available in English” (Carter, 2008, p.90). *The Report to the Federal Minister of Health:*

Consultative Committee for English-Speaking Minority Communities explains that:

For English-speaking communities in Quebec, access to health and social services in their own language continues to vary depending on such factors as demographic strength, economic constraints and shifting government priorities. One notable factor has been the expiry in 1999 of the Canada-Quebec agreement supporting Quebec’s initiatives in the area of linguistic accessibility (Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002, p.6).

It was not until 2003 with the defeat of the Parti Québécois government that Anglophone struggles with accessing healthcare were alleviated (Carter, 2008).

It is clear that despite the legal guarantee of access to English healthcare in Quebec, linguistic accessibility remains a highly contested area in the province’s socio-political reality. This tension between legal protection of linguistic healthcare accessibility and its practical realities is heightened by the introduction of new issues for Anglophone communities. According to several authors, (Carter, 2008, Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002, CHSSN, 2008) the rise in the aging Anglophone community in Quebec contributes significant stress to the healthcare system. *The Report to the Federal Minister of Health: Consultative Committee for English-*

Speaking Minority Communities concludes that Anglophone communities, “are vulnerable because of ageing populations and, in some cases, the out-migration of youth. Compounding the situation is the loss of caregivers – the age group that acts as a critical support and a link to the public health and social services system for the older generation” (Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002). Carter (2008) breaks down the demographic makeup of the ageing English-speaking population:

English-speaking communities are aging at a faster rate than the French-speaking majority communities in thirteen of seventeen administrative regions. The proportion of seniors aged 65 and older relative to the whole English-speaking minority community was over 20% higher than the proportion of Francophone seniors in their communities. As a consequence of aging, these communities have smaller proportions of youth, as well as adults in the age range of 40 to 59 [...] the adult group called the ‘caregiver’ generation because of its social role in caring for the aging population. This shrinking group in many English speaking communities is creating more vulnerability for seniors, as social support networks weaken (Carter, 2008, p.91).

The aging of the Anglophone communities in Quebec and the lack of an English support infrastructure for them is a major concern for the well being of the community’s future. Not having enough language support and a lack of English services in many rural regions of the province creates serious challenges to maintaining a strong Anglophone community in Quebec.

There is a critical link between language and healthcare accessibility that makes it a useful case example for this study. Language can be identified as a key factor in accessing healthcare and ensuring the successful delivery of healthcare services (Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002). Furthermore, “There is a compelling evidence that language barriers have an adverse effect on access to health services” (Bowen, 2001, p.120). If language exists as a major contributor to healthcare accessibility issues, as these authors suggest, then healthcare will necessarily impact how members of

the Anglophone minority in Quebec experiences their place in the province and their relationship to the formal institutions that are supposed to ensure their well-being.

According to a survey on the Anglophone communities in Quebec and access to healthcare, public institutions are not the primary source of English language services:

Services in English were more readily available from physicians, private nursing agencies and community-based resources than from public institutions such as Centres locaux de services communautaires (CLSCs, i.e. local community service centres) and long-term care centers, or telephone help-lines such as info-sante (Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002, p.5)

Another study conducted on the vitality and well-being of Quebec's English-speaking communities demonstrated that compared to Francophone majorities, Anglophones in Quebec receive the lowest scores with respect to "key health accessibility indicators, including: having a regular doctor, feeling satisfaction with the quality of care, using hospital services, and having access to health information, test services and medical specialists in English" (CHSSN, 2008). It is therefore evident that Anglophones in Quebec need more resources to help maintain and care for the Anglophone population, particularly with respect to ageing communities. Access to healthcare services not only impacts the general health of the Anglophone population, but also influences their everyday experiences and informs their degree of attachment to place. For these reasons, the example of healthcare will contribute to the study of how Anglophone Quebecers experience place in light of their minority status. This study will make a link between the ideas of minority identity, belonging and community, place attachment and access to healthcare services for Anglo-Quebecers by looking at three different regions. The following chapter (3) will outline the methodological approach

used in completing this research and will provide background information on the three study regions.

Chapter 3: Description of Case Study and Methodology

This research employs a comparative approach to studying the everyday experiences of place (see chapter 4) of Anglophones in three different regions of Quebec. Looking at the three distinct regions of the Gaspésie, Gatineau, and the Eastern Townships will contribute to an understanding how sense of place develops in relation to different geographic and regional contexts (locations with distinct geographical and regional characteristics). I was born and raised in the Eastern Townships as an Anglophone, so I benefit from familiarity with the Anglophone experience and some of the everyday challenges as a language minority in the non-metropolitan regions of Quebec. This has significantly contributed to the motivations animating this research project. Pre-existing contacts in the Eastern Townships and the Gaspésie areas have been specifically beneficial in identifying potential interviewees for the study. Gatineau was also chosen because it provides an interesting counterpoint to the Gaspésie and Eastern Townships due to its unique geographical location next to the City of Ottawa. This chapter will first outline the case study, providing a detailed description of each region and their respective Anglophone populations. Second, the chapter will describe the methodological approach chosen for this research, the steps for data analysis, and the limitations to the research methods.

3.1 Case Study

For this research, three distinct, non-metropolitan regions across the province of Quebec were chosen: (1) the Gaspésie in Eastern Quebec, (2) Gatineau in Western Quebec, and (3) the Eastern Townships in Southern Quebec. As mentioned, my own experience of living as a member of the Anglophone minority in the Eastern Townships and having preexisting relationships in the Gaspésie formed the foundation for this research. The Gatineau region was selected as a comparative marker for these other two regions for two main reasons: (1) it contains a significant English population, and (2) Gatineau's unique location on the Ontario border and close proximity to the City of Ottawa (a major Anglophone population) was anticipated to provide different experiences than those found in the semi-isolated Anglophone community of the Townships and the isolated Anglophone community in the Gaspésie. This case study thus supplies a unique vantage point that in turn may reveal the significant role geography plays in shaping the everyday experiences of Anglo-Quebecers across different regions of the province.

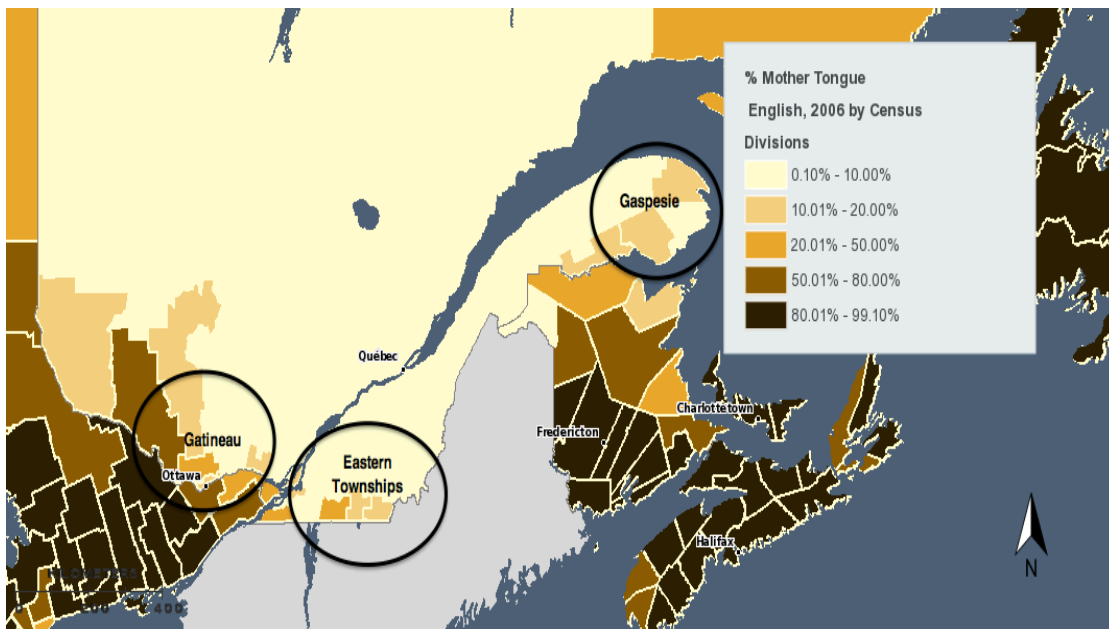
3.1.1 Description of the Three Study Regions

Historically, Anglophones had a major presence in the province of Quebec. Dickinson describes the status of Quebec Anglophones in the nineteenth century:

In the years between 1831 and 1855, English speakers formed a majority of Montreal's population and represented approximately 40% of Quebec City's inhabitants. They were also a majority in the townships bordering the United States during those years and sizeable communities existed in the Gaspé Peninsula and in the Ottawa Valley. After 1900, Anglophones tended to concentrate in the Montreal region, which is now home to almost 80% of the total number (Dickson, 2007, p.13).

Demographic changes in the Anglophone makeup of the province have significantly altered Quebec's linguistic character. The Anglophone communities present today in the Gatineau, Gaspésie and Eastern Townships regions are outlined below. Map 1 provides an overview of the ratio of English population in Quebec according to mother tongue based on data from the 2006 census (Geographic Research Inc., 2011a). It also identifies the positioning of the three study regions within the province.

Map 1 Population by English Mother Tongue in the Province of Quebec, 2006



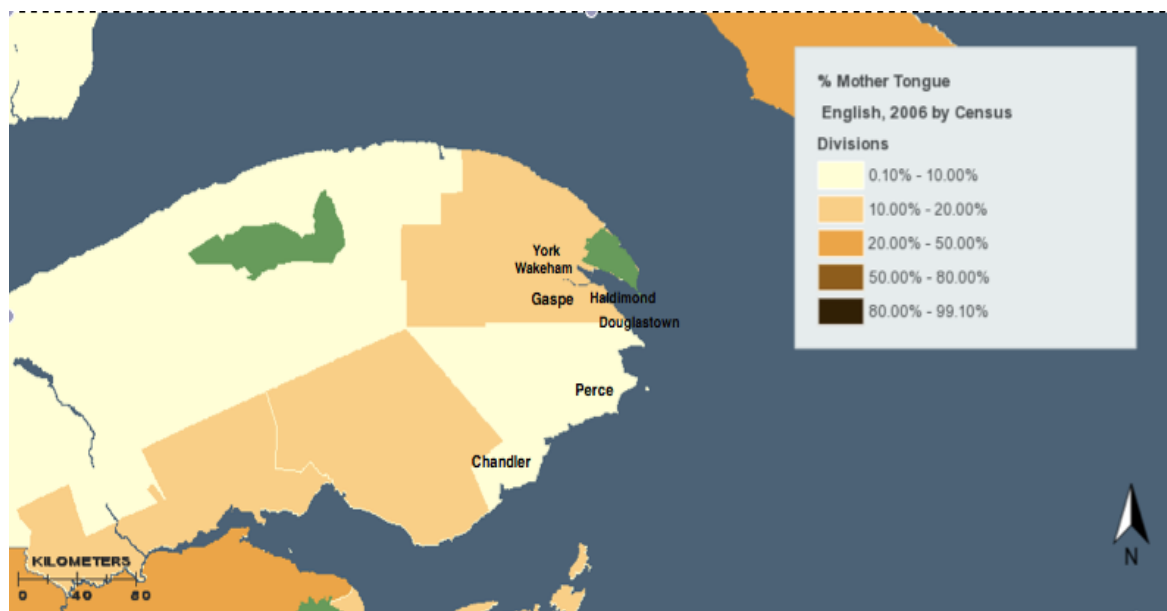
(Geographic Research Inc., 2011a)

The three study regions show varying concentration, with Gatineau having a notably significantly higher proportions of Anglophones. Anglophones are present in the Eastern Townships and the Gaspésie, but make up smaller proportions of the population as compared to the Gatineau region.

3.1.1.1 Eastern Quebec

The administrative region of the Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine, as it is formally known, is located on the eastern seaboard of the province of Quebec. The Gaspé Peninsula is bordered by the south shores of the Saint Lawrence River and expands into the Gulf of the Saint Lawrence (Committee For Anglophones Social Action, 2008). Figure 3 illustrates the positioning of the region and the distribution of Anglophones population based on the 2006 census.

Map 2 Population by English Mother Tongue in the Gaspésie Region, 2006



(Geographic Research Inc., 2011b)

Participants were recruited from towns such as Gaspé (including the neighborhoods of Wakeham, York, Douglastown, and Haldimond), Chandler, and Percé as shown on the map that are the main centres of Anglophone populations in the region.

Historically, the presence of Anglophones in the region was first noted in the mid-eighteenth century with the immigration of English settlers from Europe. Specifically, “[in] 1758 the British raided the Gaspé coast under General James Wolfe and took command of many French settlements in the region already” (Committee for Anglophones Social Action, 2008, p.2). The following decades experienced various European settlements establishing a small, but significant, Anglophone community. Accordingly, the Gaspésie region experienced a strong Anglophone presence in the first half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, this community eventually experienced a declining population by the mid-twentieth century:

The English-speaking population has been gradually losing ground for several decades. The community, which totalled 50% of the total population in the mid-1800s, reached its peak in the 1930s. By 1961 the community had decreased to approximately 30% of the total population, largely due to economic factors. Assimilation also contributed to this decline; while there were 17,000 British origin residents in the Gaspé in 1971, fewer than 14,000 identified as English-speakers (Committee for Anglophones Social Action, 2008, p.2).

Despite shifts in population size, Anglophones have a long history in the Gaspésie that forms the backdrop of their contemporary presence in the region:

English-speaking Gaspésians long history and presence in the Gaspé and have contributed to the region’s vitality for generations. They are adapting to today’s realities and wish to remain in, or return to the region. While the community generally does not demonstrate a strong attachment to Quebec, they are very attached to the Gaspé Coast (Committee for Anglophones Social Action, 2008, p.2).

Today, according to the Committee for Anglophones Social Action of the Gaspésie, “[t]he English-speaking communities of the Gaspésie are dispersed over the peninsula, which often influences conditions affecting personal, community and professional life” (2008). Both the attachment to the Gaspé Coast and the dispersal of Anglophone

communities across the peninsula form an important part of their experiences as a language minority in the region.

Diminishing Anglophone populations is also a contemporary social phenomenon. According to the 2006 census the Gaspésie region's total population is 94,336 (Statistics Canada, 2007). Of this population 8,560 residents are of English mother tongue, while a mere 320 residents have knowledge of both the English and French languages (Statistics Canada, 2007). Although the total population has experienced a general decline, the most significant decline has been concentrated in the English-speaking population.

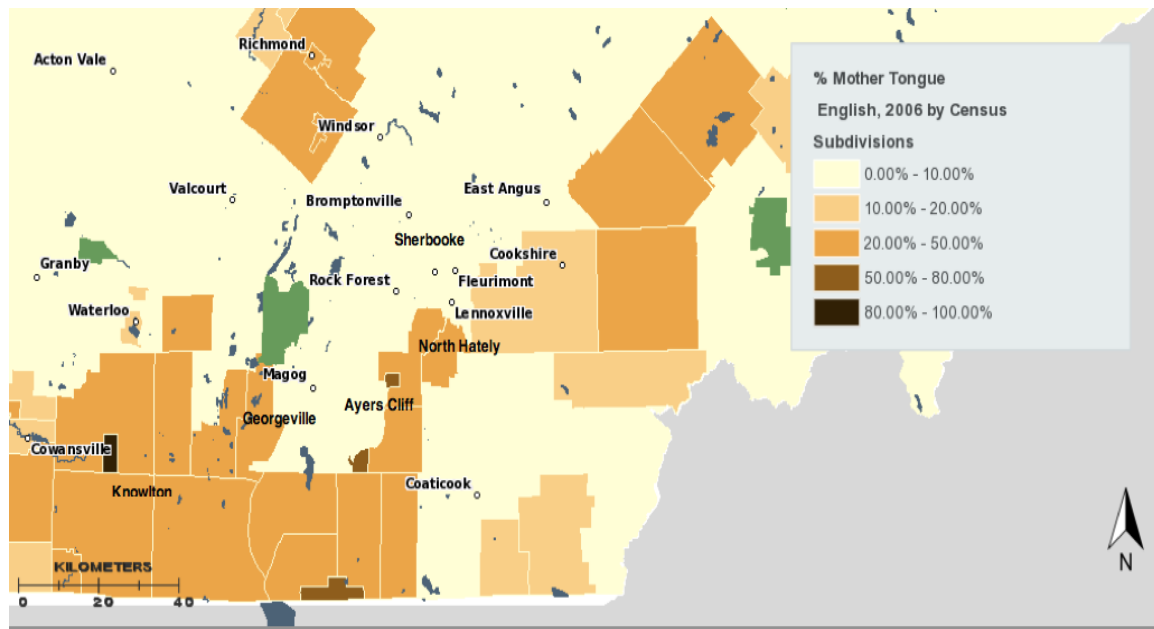
Specifically, the Anglophone community has declined from roughly 50% of the total population (over the last few decades) to a mere 10% in the last couple of years, arguably due to low birth rates, assimilation of English-speakers, and youth out-migration (Committee for Anglophones Social Action, 2008). The Anglophone communities are scattered throughout different towns and neighborhoods therein. Participants were chosen from different towns in order to create an equal representation of the Anglophones living in the Gaspésie region. The region's average age population is over the age of 46 (Statistics Canada, 2007). While the community does experience a small aging community comparable to the aging population of the Eastern Townships (discussed below), unlike the latter, the Anglophone population in the Gaspésie region is still characterized by a significant younger Anglophone demographic (with a high middle-age range in the population) (Committee for Anglophones Social Action, 2008). Community resources for this Anglophone community in the Gaspésie region are few. Some organizations like the Committee for Anglophones Social Action work to provide, for example “[h]istorical information, information on local books & music, heritage and

cultural organizations and institutions, information on local artists, feature articles, a calendar of events, maps, submissions, links and more” (Committee for Anglophones Social Action, 2008, p.4), nevertheless, recreational activities and social support, particularly relating to healthcare, are significantly lacking in this region.

3.1.1.2 Southeastern Quebec

The Eastern Townships are positioned in the southeastern region of Quebec. Situated east of Montreal and south of Quebec City, the Eastern Townships’ boundaries are typically characterized as the Richelieu River in the West, the Saint Lawrence River in the North, the Chaudière River in the East, and the American border in the south in addition to the extensive Appalachian Mountain range running through the entire region. The administrative region for the Eastern Townships is formally known as L’Estrie. Map 3, shows the positioning of the region and the distribution of the Anglophone population based on the 2006 census.

Map 3 Population by English Mother Tongue in the Eastern Townships, 2006



(Geographic Research Inc., 2011c)

Participants were recruited from the towns of Magog, North Hatley, Georgeville, Ayers Cliff, Waterloo, Knowlton, and Standstead. Sherbrooke, geographically characterized as a city, was also chosen (encompassing the neighborhoods of Lennoxville, Bromptonville, and Fleurimont).

The Eastern Townships are famous for the small Anglophone country charm throughout the region (Townshipper’s Association, 2009), which is made up of a significant English-speaking population. Anglophones had a strong presence in the historical makeup of the Eastern Townships:

The Eastern Townships were first inhabited by the Abenaki Indians, followed by a small number of United Empire Loyalists who moved to the area to flee the American Revolution. Most settlers came in the early and mid-19th century from New England and the British Isles to take advantage of the economic opportunities offered by the farming and forestry industries in the area. The English-speaking inhabitants remained a majority in the Eastern Townships until the 1870s, when a long-term exodus began to other parts of Canada. As a result, the area is now predominantly French-speaking. Important areas of economic

activity for the English-speaking population are manufacturing, educational and health and social services, agriculture and forestry, and the arts and culture (Officer of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2001, p.1)

The Anglophone population, therefore, was historically comprised of different settlement sources. The Townships Association specifies that,

[the] English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships is one of the few regions of Quebec where the first European settlers were not from France. Starting in the 1780s, successive waves of settlers included first Loyalists, then New Englanders looking for good land, and finally Irish, Scottish and English immigrants (Townships Association, 2009, p.3).

According to Rubin (1985) the Eastern Townships population was 58% English speaking in 1861. However, as the francophone population grew (as in most areas of Quebec), the Anglophones in the Eastern Townships left and gained majority status in the rest of English Canada. Accordingly, “Between 1971 and 2001, the number of English-speaking Townshippers dropped almost 30%. As the English-speaking population declined, so too did the community’s influence and visibility” (Townships Association, 2009, p.4). Today, while Anglophones in this region comprise a minority community, they remain vital part of its demographic makeup. According to the 2006 census, the region’s total population is 298,779 (Statistics Canada, 2007). Of this population, 20,715 residents have English as their mother tongue, while only 1,650 have knowledge of both the English and French languages (Statistics Canada, 2007). The Townships Association explains that despite their minority status in demographic terms, the Anglophone population has had an important impact on the region’s cultural and economic character:

The Eastern Townships English-speaking community is known for its harmonious relations with the French-speaking majority, its vigorous cultural life, and its deep roots in the region. Over the decades, it has left its mark on the landscape and architecture of the Townships. Although today it comprised only 6% of the region’s total population, the English-speaking community had contributed much

to the economy and culture of the Eastern Townships (Townshipper's Association, 2009).

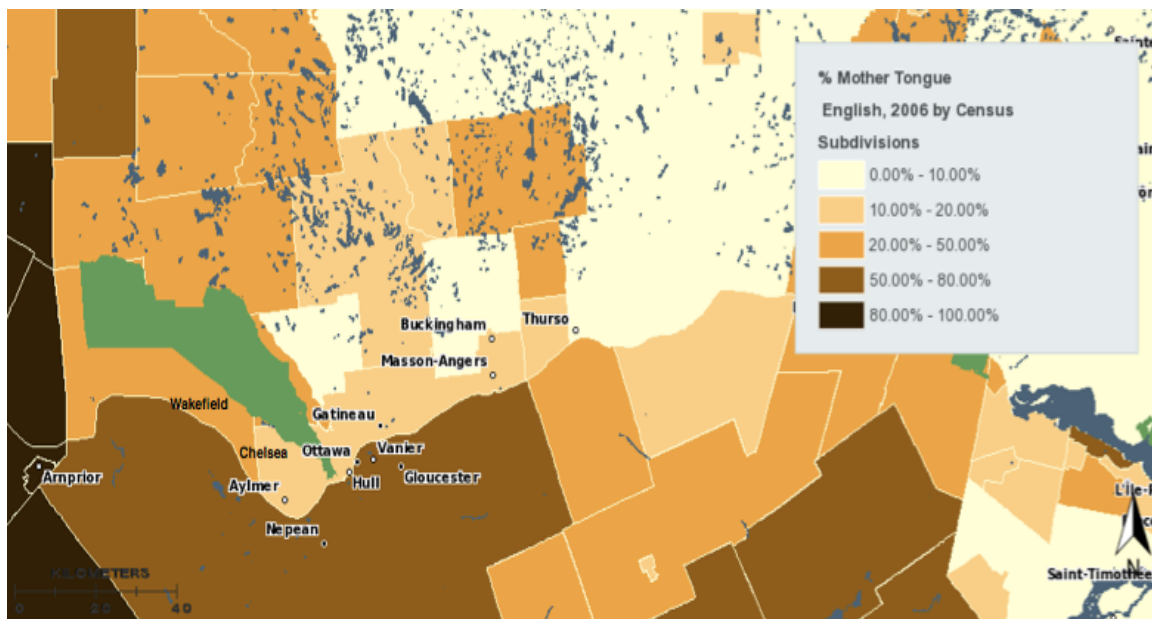
Like the dispersal on the Gaspésie Peninsula, this English-speaking population is scattered throughout the region and form pockets of Anglophone sectors, explaining the variety of towns (listed above) used to recruit participants.

A significant aging community also characterizes the Eastern Townships region. According to a 2006 Census study, the average age of Anglophones in the Eastern Townships is over 41 years (Statistic Canada, 2007). Supporting this, a study completed by Floch (2007) found, "fifty percent more English speaking people are over the age of 65, compared to French speakers" (Townshipper's Association, 2009, p.4). The aging community is compounded by the significant emigration of Anglophone youth to other parts of Canada. Moreover, community resources for Anglophones are significantly less than those available to the Francophone majority in this region. Despite this underrepresentation, the role of Anglophones in the historical makeup of the region has resulted in a robust English cultural scene: "There is also a varied and active culture life, which encompasses the theatre, visual arts, music, heritage attractions and museums, news media, sports and educational institutions, among others" (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2006, p.2). Major organizations like the Townshipper's Association and Township Heritage also have prominent roles in the English community by working to not only support the community, but also to maintain its vitality in the region.

3.1.1.3 Western Quebec

Gatineau is located in the western portions of the province of Quebec on the provincial border with Ontario. More specifically, Gatineau is positioned directly across the Ottawa River from the City of Ottawa. Gatineau and Ottawa together are officially recognized as Canada's National Capital Region and comprise a single census metropolitan area. The administrative region of Gatineau is formally known as the Outaouais. Map 4, demonstrates the positioning of the region as a whole and the distribution of the Anglophone population within it.

Map 4 Population by English Mother Tongue in the Gatineau Region, 2006



(Geographic Research Inc., 2011d)

Participants were recruited from the City of Gatineau (including Aylmer, Buckingham, Hull, and the Plateau), Wakefield and Chelsea. Prior to the amalgamation in 2002, the municipal divisions included five separate municipalities—Gatineau, Hull, Aylmer, Mason and Buckingham. In 2002 these municipalities were merged into one central

region under the name Gatineau (Ville de Gatineau, 2003). While the City of Gatineau is now comprised of the municipalities listed above, they are informally known as “neighborhoods” or sectors within the larger City of Gatineau.

The strong presence of Anglophones in Gatineau today is explained by their rich history in the region. Gilbert and Veronis (forthcoming) explain:

Gatineau est la municipalité qui comptait en 2006 la plus forte minorité anglophone hors de la région montréalaise, soit près de 40 000 personnes. Celle-ci y a des racines qui remontent à la colonisation de la région, au tournant du 19^e siècle. Agriculteurs pour la plupart, ces anglophones étaient aussi des marchands, plus tard des industriels. Comme ailleurs au Québec, la place tenue par cette élite économique a décliné depuis les années 1960. Elle se fait aujourd’hui discrète, hors des quelques institutions dont elle dispose. Les anglophones de Gatineau se concentrent aujourd’hui dans certains secteurs de la ville, celui d’Aylmer en particulier (p. forthcoming).

The Anglophone presence in Gatineau, therefore, experienced a population decline similar to the two previous regions. The authors also explain that Anglophones have historical roots in Gatineau:

L’industrie du bois qui a été le fer de lance du développement de la région au 19^e siècle a été longtemps dirigée exclusivement par des Britanniques, qui ont ainsi participé activement à l’édification d’Aylmer et de Buckingham, respectivement à l’ouest et à l’est de l’actuelle ville de Gatineau (Gaffield, 1994). Plusieurs villages de la basse vallée de la Gatineau et du Pontiac ont été colonisés par des anglophones.

Gilbert and Veronis clarify that this Anglophone presence, now established for multiple generations, flourished further through the integration of an influx of Ontario residents in the 1960s:

De villégiateurs, ceux-ci sont devenus résidents de Chelsea, une municipalité indépendante qui borde la ville de Gatineau au nord. Enfin, plus récemment, de jeunes familles anglophones d’Ottawa, de Montréal ou d’ailleurs au Canada s’établissent dans les nouveaux espaces résidentiels de Gatineau, pour profiter des coûts plus faibles du logement ainsi que de certains programmes sociaux

québécois populaires, tels celui des garderies à 7\$ par jour (Gilbert and Veronis, forthcoming).

Gilbert and Veronis propose that the diversity of the Anglophone minority in Gatineau has an effect on their belonging and identity (forthcoming). These authors particularly emphasize the influx of Ontarians into the region from Ottawa in the last fifty years and this border fluidity functions as a critical feature of the Anglophone community in the region. It is clear that the sources of the Anglophone populations of Gatineau are diverse and their history in the region is robust.

Today, pockets of English-speaking residents help make up all the sectors of Gatineau listed above. According to the 2006 census, the Outaouais total population was 341,096 while Gatineau's total population was 242,124 (Statistics Canada, 2007). Of these populations, 47,610 residents of the Outaouais region were English by mother tongue, and 25,365 residents from Gatineau were English by mother tongue. For both the city of Gatineau and the Outaouais region, knowledge of both the English and French language was 3,815 for the Outaouais, and 2,670 for Gatineau (Statistics Canada, 2007). The Anglophone communities are scattered throughout these sectors; however, certain districts such as Chelsea and Aylmer are predominately Anglophone (Regional Association of West Quebecers, 2008). Choosing participants from each sector will help provide a more diversified perspective of the everyday experiences for Anglophones living in this region of Quebec. Furthermore, the average age in this region is 39.6 years, which represents a significantly younger age range compared to the aging communities in the Eastern Townships and the Gaspésie (Statistics Canada, 2007).

Community resources in this region are formed partly by prominent organizations working to maintain and support the Anglophone community. These organizations

include numerous health groups such as the English Network Resources in Community Health (ENRICH) and the Outaouais Health and Social Services Network (OHSSN), as well as the Regional Association of West Quebecers and Theatre Wakefield.

Nevertheless, Gilbert and Veronis (forthcoming) conclude that the Anglophone community has a weak institutional presence because Anglophones are underrepresented in municipal politics and other positions of power.

The three regions described above will constitute the case studies for this research. While they are different in population size and territory, they provide significant comparative value for the study of the influence geographic location has on sense of place for Anglophones. For example, the Gaspésie is isolated and the Eastern Townships are semi-isolated from major or larger Anglophone communities, whereas Gatineau is situated next to an Anglophone majority population. Differences in geographical positioning provide an ideal opportunity to compare and contrast the Anglophone experience of belonging to place in different geographical contexts. The presence of English-speaking communities in these regions set against the backdrop of these differences and similarities will provide diversity in the findings on experiences of Anglophones living throughout Quebec, especially outside large urban centers since this constitutes the common research focus.

3.2 Methodological Approach

This study employed primarily qualitative research methods to examine questions of identity, belonging, and sense of place among Anglophones in these three Quebec regions. Pertinent information was collected using semi-structured interviews with

members of Anglophone communities in each region. A series of criteria were chosen to determine who can claim membership as a Quebec Anglophone for the purposes of the study: holding permanent residency in the province of Quebec; generally considering themselves as part of the Anglo-minority of the province; claiming English as their mother tongue; and finally having lived in the assigned study area for at least one continuous year.

3.2.1 Field Work

To recruit participants, a “snowball” sampling method was employed. Snowball-style sampling involves the selection of participants with characteristics that meet the criteria of the study and then having them suggest names and contact information of others who meet the eligible criteria (Valentine, 2005). After a potential respondent was contacted about the study, he/she was asked whether he/she knew any friends, family or neighbors who fell under the assigned criteria and would be interested in participating in the study. The participants were given a letter (see Appendix A for a sample of the recruitment letter) that explained the objectives of the research and were asked to give it to any acquaintances they knew. This recruitment process was coupled with the posting of advertisements (see Appendix B for a sample of the advertisement used) around local commercial and public areas such as libraries, groceries stores, and places of employment.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted between June 2010 and August 2010 in each of the three regions. Before the interview process began, a consent form was presented to the participants (see Appendix C for a sample of the consent form) which

restated the purpose of the study, and among other things, explained that participants names would be kept confidential and that acronyms would be used instead of participants' names. The interviews were conducted with the aid of an interview guide (see Appendix D for the interview guide). Questions were open-ended to give participants an opportunity to share in-depth experiences. The questions were broken down into *three* principal themes: (1) sense of place; (2) community involvement; and (3) access to healthcare services. For the first theme, sense of place, the questions involved issues of place, the meaning participants associated with a particular place, why they chose to live in this place, and what attachment they held to it. The second theme involved questions relating to community involvement, and meeting the basic needs of community members. The last theme, healthcare services, relied on questions concerning access to healthcare services, differences in access between French and English services, and if there were barriers in accessing healthcare in their region. The aims of the interviews were to discuss everyday experiences within the regions in order to compare experiences across the three case studies. Ten interviews were conducted to enable a comparative study. The interviewees were allowed to choose a suitable location for them, with most being conducted in local cafés or at the participants' place of residence. The interviews lasted approximately 45 to 60 minutes, were recorded with permission, and supported by notes.

3.3 Study Sample

The following table summarizes the characteristics of the participants. It is important to note that these figures have no statistical significance and were not used for

the purpose of quantitative analysis. The purpose of this data is to describe the sample and its diversity in terms of gender, age, education and language backgrounds.

Table 1 Summary of Participants Characteristics

	Gaspésie	Eastern Townships	Gatineau
Participants by Gender			
Male	3	5	2
Female	7	5	8
Participants by Age			
18 to 38	3	3	4
39 to 58	4	3	2
59 and over	3	4	4
Participants' Level of Education			
None	0	0	0
Secondary	2	1	0
Post-Secondary	5	2	1
University Degree	3	3	4
Master's Degree or Higher	0	4	5
Participants' Language Background			
English Only	2	3	3
English with Basic Knowledge of French	3	4	5
Bilingual English/French	5	3	2
Other Languages	0	0	0

In general, there were significantly more female than male participants, especially in the Gatineau study region. All age groups were relatively well represented throughout the

three regions, helping to demonstrate the diversity in everyday experiences in accessing services and issues of mobility between the younger and older demographics. Participants with higher levels of education are more represented, especially in Gatineau and the Eastern Townships. While this might affect how some perceive their minority position as Anglophones in Quebec, it did not seem to raise many issues. There were fewer participants from Gaspésie with higher levels of education, which created a more diverse sample in terms of educational background. It should be noted that issues of awareness of services and variations in employment opportunities that potentially flow from these differences in educational representations could have important bearing on participant feelings toward place. The language background of the participants seemed to vary according to region. Table 1 shows that knowledge of the French language was higher among the Gaspésie participants, while there were more participants in the other two study regions who possessed only a basic knowledge.

3.4 Data Analysis

Once the interview process was completed, the recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim and then coded. The data were analyzed for relevant factors that influence everyday experiences of place for Anglophones in each of the three regions. The analysis involved a flexible style of coding. Not all codes were predetermined before the interview process, but rather chosen throughout in order to identify pertinent themes from the data (Cloke et al., 2004). Key themes used for the coding process included (1) place attachment (with significant attention to ideas of home, heritage, family, and rootedness), (2) healthcare/accessing healthcare, (3) community involvement,

and (4) services and amenities. This was done by closely noting the comments and discussions that seemed most important to participants. These included discussions concerning experiences based on geographical location, accessing services and the way participants felt about and interacted with their community. Highlighting of key terms and words (for example, “home” and “reinforcing minority status”) present in the transcriptions was also used as a tool to explain how Anglophones felt towards their communities and places of residence. Once the coding process was completed, major themes were extracted from the results. The following pertinent themes were established to structure the analysis section of the study: *influences of geographical location, access to services and minority status, and rootedness in a community.*

3.5 Limitations and Challenges Faced

Challenges faced while conducting this research included recruiting participants. Although preexisting contacts in the Eastern Townships and some in the Gaspésie region allowed for a base of initial contacts, having no preexisting contacts in the Gatineau region made it very difficult to implement the snowball sampling method until the first initial participants were found. Despite these limitations, a sample was formed that includes a variety of male/female, elderly/young, and educated participants (as demonstrated in the tables above) that allowed for a relatively varied representation of the population.

3.6 Positionality

My experience as a member of this minority group and my knowledge of the everyday challenges Anglophones face in Quebec has helped in acknowledging and eliminating generalizations. As an Anglophone Quebecer myself, I have kept my mind open to new ideas and answers to some of the questions regarding the relevant issues in an effort to maintain a balanced and objective interpretation of the present data. Being in a position similar to the participants in this research helped in developing a trusting relationship with each participant. Knowledge of my background helped most participants open up more with me in articulating their everyday experiences. However, my background was not a positive factor in all my interactions with participants. In some cases, participants would assume I understood what was being implied or discussed because of my position instead of explaining themselves in full detail as they might have done with someone who did not have a similar background. In order to avoid this problem, I tried to ask more directed alternative questions in order to get the participant to fully explain him or herself and avoid presumptions concerning my knowledge. The following chapter (4) will review the research findings gathered from these participant interviews.

Chapter 4: Everyday Experiences of Place for Quebec Anglophones

After conducting 30 interviews on the individual experiences of place participants from the Gaspésie, Gatineau and the Eastern Townships, it became evident that the dynamics of their everyday experiences as members of the Anglophone minority are influenced by their proximity or isolation from an Anglophone majority. This chapter will highlight the regional differences apparent in the experiences of this official language minority group across the Quebec province by comparing the research findings from each region. The chapter will describe the everyday experiences of the participants in each region according to the following two themes: (1) features of the English communities in each region and participant engagement in them, and (2) participants' access and ability to meet everyday needs.

As noted in Chapter 2, several authors define community as the sharing of an identity and see community as involving feelings of belonging together (Gregory et al., 2009; Valentine, 2001; Selznick, 1992; Carter and Jones, 1989). This chapter will trace participant responses on their feelings toward this English community and the place they see it occupying in their region. Basic needs, in the context of this research, are understood as including formal government-provided social services (for example, healthcare) and education, as well as employment, housing, services like grocery stores, banks, gas stations, and amenities (for example, clothing stores and theatres). While basic amenities would not normally qualify as basic needs, as part of their culture they have bearing on an individual's sense of place, and the research findings will show that participants find access to them important. The findings on the Anglophone experience in

each region will highlight the importance of geographical location by showing how it shapes experiences of community involvement and basic need fulfillment for Anglophones. The aim of this chapter is to describe the research findings within these two major themes that emerged in participant responses. This will provide an overview of the everyday realities of the Anglophone minority in the Gaspésie, Gatineau and the Eastern Townships before evaluating what these experiences mean for Anglophone sense of place in the following chapters.

For the purposes of this research, geographical location is comprised of both physical and social location. Physical location refers to the “fixed objective co-ordinates on the Earth’s surface” (Cresswell, 2004, p.7). Therefore, references to the physical location of a region in the context of this research signify physical locations or spaces relative to other coordinates. By contrast, as Agnew (1987) explains, social location or ‘locale’ involves the social interactions between people and the places they inhabit (Cresswell, 2004). Social location describes the social patterns of individuals occupying the physical space in question; as Cresswell (2004) explains, “[by] ‘ locale’ Agnew means the material setting for social relations – the actual shape of place within which people conduct their lives as individuals, as men or women, as white or black, straight or gay” (p.7). It is important to distinguish between these two concepts because physical location is determinative of one’s social location. The research results suggest that the impact of physical location on the participants’ experiences of social location is critical to their Anglo-Quebecer experience. The research findings support the idea that both the physical and social locations contemplated by these authors are important to the Anglophone minority experience. Social location for the participants in the three study

regions—their experiences shaped by the characteristics of their respective regions—is, at least in part, determined by a key feature of their physical location: the degree of proximity or isolation to a major Anglophone population.

4.1 Everyday Experiences of Anglophones in the Gaspésie

The Gaspésie region is characterized by isolation from larger external Anglophone populations. The distance and time required to travel outside the region prevents the kind of mobility described by participants from the Eastern Townships and the Gatineau. The Gaspésie's physical location is approximately five hours from what is considered a large metropolitan centre (Quebec City or Rimouski) and approximately twelve hours from Montreal, which represents a significantly larger Anglophone community. This type of isolation creates a daily dynamic for the local Anglophones that is significantly different from the other two study regions. The participants from the Gaspésie do not have the option of easy mobility to alternative Anglophone communities to access services and amenities on a daily, or even weekly, basis. Their physical location, therefore, determines a social location that is based predominantly on daily activity within their immediate English community, the French majority and their direct region. Physical location, therefore, significantly informs the Gaspésie participants' social realities as they are forced to look inward to satisfy their needs. For the Anglophone participants in the Gaspésie region, living in a small isolated Anglophone community is nevertheless a positive feature of their everyday experiences. The following paragraphs outline the experiences of Gaspésie participants in relation to the

geographic character of the region in which they live, participation in the English community in their region and their experiences in meeting basic needs.

4.1.1. The English Community in the Gaspésie

The research findings suggest that geographical location plays a role in shaping the character of the community that exists, specifically, whether it is close-knit or more disaggregated. As such, the location of a community also seems to impact the involvement of its members as well as how individual members perceive or understand their community as a whole. When asked if the participants felt that their region was predominantly English or French, just over half of the participants considered their region to be mostly bilingual. One participant explained how the region was more English when they were growing up, but that most younger generations now leave for school or employment opportunities as a result of the lack of English support in the region [Gasp. No.1]. The remaining participants felt the region is mostly French, but nevertheless includes strong and vibrant English populations.

All of the participants in this region agreed that the reason for choosing this place to live on a long-term basis was largely a result of their rootedness in the communities and their social connections. Of those few participants that left and returned to the region, all agreed that it was largely because of friends, family, and the desire to live close to them. One participant who only recently moved back to the region after living in several different areas of Quebec, describes the importance of different types of support in the region:

Going to the grocery store [...] and always seeing friendly faces, people you know, friends, even childhood friends, and family. I do not worry living here because I know I am always supported. I did not get that feeling in other places in Quebec both in terms of community support and language support. I think that the thing with Gaspé is that it is so far away from other places, at least the bigger cities like Quebec City, Montreal, and even Rimouski (at least 5 hours of driving) so it makes the people here rely on one other and be close in a way [Gasp. No.8].

This participant identifies community support as the most important feature of the region.

She insists that the region's very isolation is the cause of the healthy Anglophone community since people are forced to look inward for support.

Most of the Gaspésie participants feel they can both claim membership to and rely upon the strong, close-knit community described by the above participant, for support. Participants rely heavily on community support and because of their relative isolation there appears to be a higher level of community involvement in comparison to the other two study areas. Participants discussed being involved in various local activities such as church groups, attending church suppers, fundraisers or engaging in the activities of Anglophone organizations. This type of community engagement is consistent among the different age groups represented by the participants. One respondent describes the level of integration among members of the Anglophone community in the Gaspésie:

I rely a lot on the community [...] It is more of a social event and socializing with friends and family because everyone knows everyone so it is really nice that there is so much going on to take part in and to attend. There is also a huge organization for the Anglophone youth in the region to get involved and it is very successful here. My children are a part of it and they do a lot of activities to promote the English community. It is just great because there are so many people involved or who at least come to events and things like that.

This participant describes a strong English community in the Gaspésie, which supports its Anglophone members. This participant also emphasizes the broad demographic engaged in the English community:

And it is not just the older people who you think would be at those types of things. There is a definite younger generation who partake too. I just think it is so great. I don't know if it is like this everywhere but I find it is a general population around here [Gasp. No.3].

The relative isolation in which this community is situated has resulted in residents relying heavily on events in their immediate community to stay socially active in the region. The English community in the Gaspésie functions as a replacement for the lack of formal English language support that would be available if they lived among an Anglophone majority population. The isolation of this region from major Anglophone populations, therefore, creates a unique socio-cultural experience for its Anglophone membership. The participant responses, therefore, suggest that location affects the degree of community involvement experienced by Anglophones in the region. Location also appears to be influential on the demographic groups that are active in the community as well as the extent and nature of their engagement.

4.1.2. Everyday Experiences of Place and Meeting Basic Needs

In terms of services, over half the Gaspésie participants responded that the region did not meet their basic needs. Of the participants that concluded that their needs were met within the Gaspésie region, all of them stated that they had access to everything they *needed* to function, but not access to everything they desired. Among those participants that found their needs unsatisfied, there was general consensus that the social services that are available are mostly French. This is the result of a lack of choice in the services and amenities available. A younger female participant who has lived in the region most of her life explains:

Well in terms of meeting basic needs [...] we are okay in that regard. We have the hospital, police station, grocery stores, gas station, restaurants, but in terms of things we need or want no. Clothing stores, book stores, [and] any real interesting stores other than grocery stores are lacking. There is none of that here. It is really annoying because the next closest place for entertainment and things along those lines are hours and hours away and hard to access in English because this part of Quebec is very French. I would say the next closest somewhat English place to access things along these lines may be Quebec City, which is 10 hours away, or Montreal, which is 14 hours. We pretty much only have our basic essentials here [Gasp. No.7].

The lack of options in available amenities, particularly English options, negatively influences experience according to the participants. Limited English-language services and amenities forces Anglophone members to seek support from community run organizations or help centers. The absence of English options is compounded by their physical isolation and results in members of the community either accessing services in French or not at all. This can be problematic for many Anglophones as one participant explains:

Basic needs are met here in one sense [because] we have the healthcare and the hospitals. In another sense, not really, because all these things are in French [Gasp. No.3].

This participant makes a key distinction between the ability to satisfy basic needs in a region and the ability to satisfy them in English. The participant explains why French services are so much more predominant and the impact it has on English-speakers:

Although there is a vibrant English community, and a lot of English, [...] there is still a massive Francophone population and [...] all the [provincial] government services like nurses, doctors, and social services hire Francophones. So, in that sense, it is hard to access things in English here. And while there is the support like we talked about before like social events, and there is even a community program to help those Anglophones access some services, you still have to do so mostly in French and get help in understanding. [Gasp. No.3].

According to this participant, language plays a defining role in the development of negative perceptions of access and the availability of services. This is a departure from the positive influence physical location has on community involvement.

4.2 Everyday Experiences in Gatineau

The Anglophone participants from Gatineau described markedly different experiences based on the region's immediate proximity to Ottawa, a large and predominantly Anglophone city. The responses of Gatineau participants reveal that they have access to all the services and amenities they need in the City of Ottawa, and more importantly, in the English language. The region's physical location beside Ottawa's Anglophone majority population and the shared provincial border with this city seems to have also impacted the sense of community belonging held by the Gatineau participants. Contrary to Anglo-Gaspésians, according to the participant experiences, Gatineau Anglophones depend more heavily on the support of the English-speaking community in Ottawa than the Anglophones in Gatineau. The following sections describe the outcomes of the participant discussions on issues regarding their sense of place, participation in the Gatineau Anglophone community, and fulfillment of basic needs and access to health services.

4.2.1. The English Community in Gatineau

In terms of language in the community, the research findings suggest different perceptions of the Gatineau region's linguistic character. Less than half of the Gatineau

participants consider their neighborhood predominantly more English than French. Other participants explained that there is an equal balance of the two languages, while the remaining participants consider the region to be predominantly French. The participants, who considered the region bilingual or mostly French, did note that they believe this region has the largest Anglophone population in all of Quebec.

Most Gatineau participants felt there was a significant weakening of community in the region. Participants from this region described significantly different experiences from those articulated by Gaspésie participants because of the region's immediate proximity to Ottawa and many of these differences are a result of the proximity to Ottawa. Contrary to the Gaspésie participants, almost all of the participants in Gatineau said they depend more on the English-speaking community in Ottawa, an external source of support, than their direct community. A younger female participant who has lived in the region her entire life describes her relationship to the Anglophone community in Ottawa:

I love Ottawa because I spend a lot of time there naturally because I have pretty much my entire social life there and recreational time. I also work in Ottawa and so does my husband. Although I would not consider it home like I do here, it is my community in a way, where I access all the services and basic needs I have. So I would say I am more involved in Ottawa than here [Gatineau] for sure, but it is just so easy when you have everything there. It is a bigger city so there is more variety and choice [...] in English of course [Gati. No.10].

This participant's description of Ottawa is not only positive but emphasizes the convenience the city provides for Anglo-residents in Gatineau. While participants maintained that they have a sense of attachment to the Gatineau region, it is not based on their community involvement. Participant engagement in the Ottawa Anglophone

communities—the look outward for community support— results in a weakening and even absence of Anglophone community in the Gatineau region.

Participants agreed that a lack of community support and English social services reinforces their minority status. One woman who has lived in the region since marrying her spouse explains her experience with the community:

I live in a town [Hull] of roughly 6000 residents [and] certainly some aspects are lacking. There are no local pharmacy, doctor, or dentist offices in English. Many extracurricular activities are not available at all or not in English. For example, there is a music school but no dance school. However, I'm located only 12 minutes from downtown Ottawa. Therefore, many missing services or community activities are easily available so it is not a barrier living here when we have Ottawa. It is not like we have to go hours away so I am glad we have the support there but can still live on the Quebec side [Gati. No.5].

Another participant who is the president of a leading Anglophone healthcare community organization in the region comments:

[...] The anglophones here actually have all the same problems that the rest of the Anglophones do throughout Quebec. That is what people don't realize. They have all the same barriers. The being denied services in English and all that and although most of them go to Ottawa they do not have it free like they should. Most offices in Ottawa will provide services and then when they try to get reimbursed they cannot because Quebec offers these services so they will not pay for it [or reimburse the full amount] unless they access these in Quebec. It is a struggle here for Anglophones like it is everywhere else for sure. So I definitely do not think they have it easier than the others. [Gati. No.3]

The positive experiences of proximity to the Ottawa community expressed by many participants' carries with it certain drawbacks according to this participant's response.

This response suggests that, in addition to the weakening of the Anglophone community in Gatineau, there is no uniform Anglophone experience in the region. In fact, there are a diversity of relationships to, and experiences of, the large Anglophone community in Ottawa.

Participants agreed that age is a factor in the level of involvement in the community. According to the findings, unlike in the Gaspésie, Gatineau appears to experience a definite disjuncture between age groups with respect to community involvement. Participant responses suggest that there is a higher level of aging Anglophones involved in the Gatineau community. While almost all the older participants in the Gatineau region discussed their involvement in both the Gatineau and Ottawa communities, a younger respondent describes a higher degree of involvement in the Ottawa community:

No I am not involved at all, and I kind of hate to admit that because I always feel like its something negative because I do not and I guess I should, but with work and school and my social life I just do not see when people find the time to do things. I do go to activities and that but it is always in Ottawa not usually here in Gatineau. [Gati. No. 1]

Other participant responses are consistent with this reaction, which suggests that age is an influential factor in community engagement in the Gatineau region. The age factor should, nevertheless, be placed in the context of the much weaker community participation overall in Gatineau than that experienced by participants in the Gaspésie region. The Gatineau participants emphasize their specific engagement with the Anglophone community in Ottawa as a replacement for the Anglophone community in Gatineau.

4.2.2. Everyday Experiences of Place and Meeting Basic Needs

Having easy access to an Anglophone majority in Ottawa has resulted in, what the Gatineau participants identify as, a loss of demand for services and support in Gatineau among English-speaking residents. Half the participants felt that their basic needs were

met, while the other half did not think the region supported the Anglophone community. Most participants felt that the proximity to Ottawa helps to alleviate whatever problems arise from needs not being fulfilled by the region's services and support systems. The lack of public transit to travel between neighborhoods and the lack of English services in the region were some of the barriers to meeting basic needs for the participants.

Participant responses in this region suggest that the Ottawa community functions as a primary, or at the very least, a supplementary source of services and resources for Anglophones compounding the outward community reliance of Gatineau participants.

The research findings on meeting basic needs present some of the same issues the Gaspésie participants experienced because of a lack of resources despite the region's proximity to a larger Anglophone community. The differences between the two regions lie not in the obstacles to satisfying basic needs, but in the source of these obstacles. While the Gaspésie participants locate barriers in the region's isolation, for the Gatineau participants, access problems rest in the region's very proximity to a major Anglophone population. One participant explains that some basic needs and services are not available in his town:

Employment, healthcare, education, retail, the list goes on. It is pretty sad here [Chelsea], but people are just afraid of development and growth, which I believe is a natural part of a community [Gati. No.6].

While this participant identifies significant challenges to need fulfillment, other participants see certain basic needs met and Ottawa filling the gaps. For example, one participant responded that:

For the most part, I would say my basic needs are met. There are groceries stores and gas stations, but in terms of basic needs with healthcare not so much. Employment opportunities are minimal also in the Gatineau region in general. Usually Ottawa makes up for that though. [Gati. No. 4]

Ottawa functions, therefore, as an alternative source of resources necessary for need fulfillment. Another participant comments on how they envision Ottawa as part of their own region in the context of need fulfillment:

The very basic needs are met, yes. But with Ottawa being so close and having a car to get around it's not a problem for me. I don't worry or think about not having my needs met directly here in Chelsea because I know I can drive down in to Gatineau or where I usually go in to Ottawa. [Gati. No. 5]

The challenges to satisfying basic needs because of inadequate resources in the Gatineau region being supplemented by easy access to Ottawa is a pattern that can be seen in these participant responses and is reflected in the remaining Gatineau findings as well.

Ottawa being next door, in a way, does make it [Wakefield] an ideal home because I can live in a community I love and not have to worry that I am hours away from the things I need, I am just a drive away across the river. So, overall, I do not think this immediate community [Wakefield] meets all basic needs. Housing and food yes, [but] healthcare and job opportunities no [Gati. No.3].

This participant sees proximity to Ottawa as a geographic feature that allows Wakefield to be an ideal home space. In this way Ottawa supplements the resources in the Quebec regions that participants feel do not meet *all* of the needs of its English residents. Indeed, one participant sees 'outsourcing' to Ottawa and the Gatineau centre as beneficial for the smaller towns and municipalities so he would rather travel to access services:

We do not have the bigger stores and my bank does not have a branch here [Wakefield] [...] It is also not easy to find a gas station here because they have all closed due to financial pressures. Other than that it is a good community. We survive here [Wakefield]. We usually need to travel to access basic needs, but I am okay with that; it helps keep the community green. Gatineau does have gas stations and grocery stores, and some more of the bigger stores and banks. What they do not have, Ottawa does, so it is not really a concern [Gati. No2].

This participant sees the necessity of reliance on close-by urban centres as a positive feature of their region because it allows them to maintain the integrity of their rural Quebec communities like Wakefield.

Nevertheless, some participants see the proximity to Ottawa as leading to insufficient demand for English services in the immediate Gatineau region. They see the diminished demand for services as a consequence of the movement of Anglophones across the provincial border to access services in Ottawa. For example, one respondent points to a gap in the availability of English services and the perception of a lack of English language services. She speaks of an increasing trend among Anglophones to look outside of Gatineau for these services and eschews this reliance:

Now that does not mean that there are not English services here, they are just too lazy to put the effort in to access them here. It is just so much easier to drive to Ottawa because they can. You see with the Anglophone community here most of them do not know how it works. They do not realize that if you tried to access things here in Gatineau instead of going to Ottawa that they would show the municipality that there is that demand for it. And then, funding would be divided up for these things [Gati. No.3].

According to this participant, the look to Ottawa as a source of need fulfillment harms the Gatineau region by showing the municipal government that they don't need more sufficient English services. This participant also speaks of a lack of political engagement by English Gatineau residents:

But none of them try getting involved and none of them try getting involved in the politics. They could get involved, they could try for Mayor and be so much more active here. They would get what they wanted, but they do not try. That is what I mean by the sense of entitlement they assume. It is really all about perception. They think they are entitled to it "point final" when that just is not the case in Quebec anymore [Gati. No.3].

This comment suggests that there is apathy among English-speakers in Gatineau with respect to the status of English language services. This comment is important because it

points to the importance of perception and the gap that can exist between what is offered and what individuals believe is available. The participant concludes that,

[T]here are a lot of services here for Anglophones if they wanted them. There is a lot of English health support if they wanted it. But most of them spend their money and time in Ottawa, so what do they expect? Things will not change here unless the community as a whole starts putting in the effort, which honestly, I do not think will ever happen unless Ontario cuts back on their tolerance of them going over [Gati. No.3].

This lack of services in English results in members of the Anglophone community in Gatineau perceiving not having their basic needs met in their immediate community. The above participant suggests that the lack of demand for English services in Gatineau weakens the institutional support of Gatineau Anglophones. This creates a cycle in which Ottawa functions as a replacement for the ever weakening support system in the region: the more Gatineau Anglophones look toward Ottawa for support, the weaker the system becomes in the region.

The proximity to Ottawa and the more metropolitan character of the National Capital region to which Gatineau claims membership means that mobility is less of an issue for Anglophones in Gatineau than in other Quebec regions. It is clear that this kind of easy mobility would make the Anglophone experience less challenging for Gatineau participants than those in the Gaspésie since so many of the issues stem from physical location. However, participant responses show that mobility remains a critical issue for aging members of the Anglophone community who cannot access services on the Ontario side of the provincial border. The lack of demand for English services in Gatineau created by the mobility of younger and more able-bodied residents heightens the lack of access for the aging community. For instance, one older male participant, who has lived in the region for many years, explains:

But there are less and less English services and things going on in English here now than when I was raising my children. But I think that is [...] a trend I guess for the younger ones to grow up and move away. That is what all my children did and my sister's children did as well. My son just moved back here with his family to be closer to me, but they spend a lot of time in Ottawa for their entertainment. I cannot get around as much or as easily as I used to because I am too old to drive now with my eye sight. I definitely find there is less going on in the community for English-speakers [Gati. No.9].

This response reveals a disjuncture between younger generations who can rely on the ease of moving freely across the provincial border and the limitations felt by aging participants. Mobility operates on different levels in this context: in broad terms with respect to the movement of Anglophones across the border into Ottawa in fulfillment of their needs, and more specifically, in terms of physical capacity. Ironically, as access to services becomes increasingly difficult for individuals with decreasing physical mobility, it becomes even more important to safeguard the availability of services for this group. Consequently, decreasing *physical mobility* is compounded for the aging Anglophone population in Gatineau because *geographical mobility* constitutes an additional barrier to services. The importance of mobility for Anglophones must account for these generational disparities.

4.3 Everyday Experience in the Eastern Townships

Participant responses show, that Anglophones in the Eastern Townships face the contradictions of being located in a semi-isolated region. The patterns of experience in the Eastern Townships that can be traced in the research findings tend to resemble those in the Gaspésie region rather than Gatineau. The Eastern Townships are relatively isolated from other major Anglophone populations. It is approximately two hours

Southeast of Montreal, and twenty minutes from the U.S border to the south. While Anglophones in this region have access to the Anglophone populations in both Montreal and the U.S, it is strictly an informal type of access and raises significant issues of mobility among the aging community. The following section outlines the discussions with the participants with respect to their participation in the English community and their everyday ability to satisfy their basic needs in the Eastern Townships.

4.3.1. The English Community in the Eastern Townships

Similarly, to the Gaspésie findings, the Township participants in all age groups expressed high levels of community involvement. Although involvement was higher among older participants in the study, there was still a significant amount of involvement by younger participants. When asked about their involvement in the community, almost all of the older participants agreed they were very active in the Anglophone communities throughout the region. Participants described activities typically ranging from religious and educational activities to fundraisers. One female participant in her twenties describes the relationship between the English community and younger Anglophones as different from the involvement of the older generations:

I would definitely say I am involved. Not as much as my parents, but I would say I am [involved] a lot for someone my age. A lot of my friends are involved and volunteer [...] There are a lot of opportunities in this region for students of younger generations to get involved. Most of the time it is to create awareness about issues or problems so I think it is for a good cause. The Anglophones in this region definitely seem very involved in promoting not just the English community. There are a lot of programs through the university that are English and create awareness about worldwide issues so it is really fun and easy to get involved [East. No.4].

This participant identifies an Anglophone student culture that contributes to higher community engagement among younger Anglophones. Accordingly, this participant response and other research findings from this region suggest that community engagement is less dependent on age.

With respect to the status of language in the region, participants originally from the Townships agreed that English has a strong presence through vibrant Anglophone communities in the region although certain areas, Sherbrooke and Granby for example, are mostly French. By contrast, the four participants who are not originally from here responded that the region is bilingual with certain towns being either predominantly English or French. One participant specifically describes the strength of the English community in the Eastern Townships:

The region has a significant vibrant English community, [and] not just here in Knowlton, throughout the entire region too. There are always community events, historical events, church outings and so forth. I have lived here most of my life now and I have never run out of things to do or ways to be a part of the English community [...] I think it really helps having a English University in the region; [it] helps maintain the English community. [East. No.5]

This participant describes a robust English community that is spread throughout the entire Eastern Townships region. This comment also suggests that the English community has a lot to offer its members socially and is able to maintain its self because of the presence of the English University community. The importance of this English University and its student community was discussed above as a factor encouraging the involvement of younger Anglophones in the English community.

The responses of participants in the Eastern Townships can be placed on the same scale as those in both Gatineau and the Gaspésie. While the Township participants experience mobility that is largely absent in the Gaspésie, their mobility still remains

more restricted than that experienced by Gatineau participants. What distinguishes mobility for the Townships participants from those of the other two regions is the significance of movement within the region itself as opposed to outward mobility. For example, if there is a lack of access to certain English services in their immediate community, Anglophones likely have access in a neighboring area. For example, one participant explains:

Being in such a small town [...] there are usually not many English social events or outings [...] run here. My wife and I usually go into Magog for church dinners, or shows. Sometimes we go to Knowlton because there is a lot more English out there and usually so many great activities in English to do. [Since] there are, I would think, more English in that neighborhood of the Townships, people generally speak English to you more than here in Fitch Bay in the stores. [This is] probably because all those little boutiques are locally owned by English residents and families, whereas, Sherbrooke is much more commercial [East. No.2].

Nevertheless, similarities are also present in the emergence from isolation of vibrant and close-knit Anglophone communities. That being said, the proximity of the Eastern Townships to the Montreal CMA results in a decrease in community involvement (especially among younger generations who have easier access or mobility to this larger Anglophone population), something that resembles the Gatineau-Ottawa dynamic recounted by the Gatineau participants. If the Gaspésie and Gatineau regions are located on opposite ends of a proximity and isolation continuum, the Eastern Townships occupies a complex intermediate position.

4.3.3. Everyday Experiences and Meeting Basic Needs

The issues of proximity and isolation that were critical in the previous two study regions are not as central for the Townships participants. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the Townships are comprised of smaller discrete Anglophone communities. The

participants describe movement between and among these communities in their daily lives. This is different from the Gatineau responses in which emphasis was placed on the relationship between their particular town and Ottawa as an urban centre. As a result, community membership in the Townships is not static and mobility within the region is important for these participants. The close-knit communities and large Anglophone populations in this region seem to balance out access to services so that deficiencies in one area are supplemented by access in others.

For the most part, the Township participants expressed satisfaction with the supply and quality of services in both English and French in the region. While some participants felt that language could function as a barrier when accessing services, they were still able to communicate enough to fulfill their needs in the region. Most participants living outside of the Sherbrooke area agreed that traveling to Sherbrooke to access services was necessary because the small surrounding towns did not provide the services needed on a daily basis. These participants express issues with location *within* the region—travel within the Eastern Townships from one town to another—rather than *outside* the region to an external source of English support (for e.g. the movement of Gatineau residents to Ottawa). For example, one man who has lived in the area for a significant part of his life reflected:

The community of Fitch Bay, as you know, is very small. [There is] only a little corner store and if you blink you can miss it. So meeting basic needs right here in town is a definite no, but Magog, Sherbrooke and Standstead are only a little drive away. Those towns are larger, have more services, and for the most part are bilingual. The important things like hospitals and healthcare are mostly bilingual [in Sherbrooke] so, in general, the region meets our basic needs [...] Some of them [towns] are very small and mostly just countryside, so we are lucky we have those towns or communities that are a little more developed within the region [East. No.2].

Therefore, mobility between the small communities making up the Townships is vital to Anglophones in the region. Their membership to particular communities is fluid because they also rely on the services and support of neighboring communities. Consequently, their identity as a ‘Townshipper’ has as much importance as their identity with respect to the specific town or city in which they live.

Participant responses suggest that access for the English-speakers of the Eastern Townships to the majority Anglophone populations in both Montreal and the U.S. remains largely informal (socio-cultural or recreational use). For the purposes of this research, formal access is understood as access to government provided social services. Social relationships, cultural linkages and recreational activities constitute informal access. The findings suggest that these informal types of access can be just as significant to the experiences of Anglo-minorities for the Township participants. This is particularly important in terms of their access to the U.S. because the Townshipers are Canadian citizens and do not have access to government social services across the American border. Participant responses also identify the services in Montreal as supplementary and not a primary source of support. For example, one participant describes:

I usually go to Montreal to see friends, to go shopping, see shows, concerts, and those types of activities. Other than that, most of my social life is right here in the Townships. I do like having Montreal so close though because when there are other things you want to do it is only really an hour or two away [East. No.1].

The research findings point to an integration in the larger Anglophone populations bordering the Townships as culturally driven and motivated by access to amenities more than formal government services. The reasons for this less formal access vary.

There is also very little offered in English for social activities which is discouraging at times. Most things here that I am aware of are very French, [for example], they usually never play English movies at the cinemas, festivals, and

nightlife. It is not like Montreal where there is usually an English crowd wherever you go [...] So overall I would have to say [that] no this region [Eastern Townships] does not meet all my basic needs [East. No.4].

Nevertheless, with respect to Montreal, participant responses show that barriers exist for some Anglophones in terms of mobility. While some participants viewed the access to a larger Anglophone majority in Montreal positively, others emphasized the difficulties of accessing this community. This division in the responses traces the mobility capacities of the participants. For example, one participant in her twenties discusses how easy it is to travel across the border or to Montreal for particular amenities [East. No. 8], while an aging participant emphasized the difficulties that accompany decreased mobility as he/she can no longer operate a vehicle [East. No.10].

Access to the northeastern U.S. carries with it geo-political issues due to the presence of an international border. While some Township participants interact with larger Anglophone communities south of the border, it remains strictly for cultural, personal or recreational purposes (for example, church groups, theatres, shopping, or visiting friends). One of the older participants from the region explains their connection with the Anglophone majority in the U.S.:

Although I am connected to the community here I do cross the border for some things. I like to go to church events or reading groups; things like that mostly, but I do not access any services there. It is more just to see friendly faces and friends. I find there are more activities in English there and it is not a far drive down into Derby; shorter than going anywhere else really even within the region of the Townships sometimes [East. No.10].

Complications of accessing services in another country prevent further reliance or integration beyond the less formal community support. Since this access remains firmly

outside the zone of formally recognized social resources, it never reaches the same level of intensity experienced by participants in the Gaspésie region.

Since participant responses showed that travel within the region is an important feature of their daily lives, particularly in accessing services, participants in the Eastern Townships identified mobility as a significant concern. Participants who experience problems with mobility as a consequence of age are consistent with the findings in both the Gaspésie and Gatineau regions. Younger participants generally did not raise any issues with mobility within the region, and tended to describe their use of the Montreal CMA more than the older participants. In this way, age impacts experiences of mobility and access in the region, like it was the case in Gaspésie and Gatineau. For example, one respondent explains some of the difficulties of living in the small rural area of Georgeville despite its proximity to the urban centre of Sherbrooke:

Although I love it here, there are not a lot of amenities without having to drive into Magog or Sherbrooke. I do not like to drive too much anymore since my husband passed away; he used to do all the driving. So I usually wait until my neighbor is going into town to do her groceries and I will tag along. It is definitely not like it used to be because I have to rely on other people to get around now, and like I said, it makes it harder to live out here in Georgeville away from the more city-like towns [East. No.9].

This participant demonstrates the challenges that the physical design of the region poses in light of diminishing mobility. Ultimately, for this participant, there is a sense of resignation expressed with respect to her future in the region:

As much as I hate to say it, I think I am going to have to face the realities of moving soon so [that] I am closer to those things I need because it will only be getting harder for me as I get older [East. No.9].

It is clear from participant responses that mobility and the individual characteristics of each participant that impact their levels of mobility, are important themes. These themes

were present in the responses from the other study regions, but the consequences manifest differently.

4.4 Summary: Everyday Experiences for Anglophones in the Gaspésie, Gatineau and the Eastern Townships

Participant responses in all three study regions underscore the impact of physical location on the English community and their experiences satisfying basic needs. The participants from the Gaspésie region emphasized the isolation from Anglophone majority populations and the difficulties that they face because of this geographic reality. Participant experiences in satisfying daily needs were strained and responses suggest that the region's isolation from an Anglophone majority leaves these participants without an alternative source of relief. The responses reveal, however, that the robust Anglophone community encouraged by isolation offsets these negative experiences. A major theme in the participant responses from this region was the strength of their attachment to the region and the importance of their social network. Overall, the research findings for the Gaspésie suggest that the isolation of the region, despite serious challenges, forces participants to look inward for support, resulting in a strong community and social networks.

The interview results in Gatineau describe very different Anglophone experiences. The proximity to Ottawa alleviates many of the challenges of being a member of a linguistic minority in Quebec. A significant trend of outward reliance on services, amenities, social networks, and English community can be identified in the participant responses from the Gatineau region. Participants perceive this reliance on

Ottawa positively. The tendency to look outward for support, however, is not without significant drawbacks. Participant responses show that this reliance is accompanied by a weakening of the English community in Gatineau and the dangers of decreased accessibility to local resources resulting from a lack of local demand. Mobility can also be identified as a major theme in the Gatineau research findings. Mobility is seen as a limitation on the accessibility of services in Ottawa.

In the Eastern Townships, inter-community reliance based on the regional makeup of the region emerges as a significant trend. The research findings show a very strong attachment to the region among the participants and strong community engagement. While participants in this region do not experience the same heavy engagement in external communities as primary sources of support like the Gatineau participants, there is an emphasis on informal cultural involvement in the Montreal Northeastern U.S. communities. Mobility *within* the Eastern Townships is also a major concern for participants in this study region because of its geographic makeup and the importance of inter-community support.

In conclusion, participant narratives in the three study regions of Quebec reveal how markedly distinct linguistic minority experiences can be throughout the province. While there are a number of similarities, significant differences in participant responses based on the geographical features of their region can be identified. Participant reflections on the type of English community that exists in their region and their engagement in it, as well as their ability to access services and amenities in fulfilling their basic needs vary depending on the features of the region's physical location. Mobility emerged in the research findings as a key concern in all three regions, and ultimately, the

research suggests that geographic location shapes language minority experiences. They reveal how important physical location is to the social location in each region. The social and cultural interactions of members of the English minority are determined—at least in part—by the physical features of their region. The following two chapters will evaluate what these experiences mean for the sense of place held by the English-speaking minorities of Quebec. Chapter 5 will use the case example of healthcare access to explore the implications of meeting basic needs on sense of place. Chapter 6, by contrast, will show how place attachment produces a robust sense of place among Anglophones in spite of the challenges of minority status explored in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Healthcare and Minority Status

The research findings show that place and location shape experiences of healthcare in important ways for the Anglophone communities in the Gaspésie, Gatineau and Eastern Townships regions. The focus of this chapter is on the relationship between the geographic character of a region and experiences of access to healthcare.

Geographical location can influence minority status by reinforcing language challenges and the difficulties of accessing services required to meet basic needs in English. Crooks and Andrews (2009) argue that among the barriers experienced by individuals rendering healthcare inaccessible are the availability of services and what is referred to as “needs-based barriers” (p. 14). Among the examples they provide of needs-based barriers are “language, awareness, [and] physical accessibility” (p. 14). This chapter will highlight how participants’ language minority status in each of the three regions significantly influences their experiences of healthcare access as an example of a “needs-based barrier”. In so doing, I propose that geographical location is a critical factor in determining this relationship. This matrix informs sense of place and will emerge by tracing the challenging access experiences of participants in the three study regions. This chapter will explore how participants perceive language limitations or underrepresentation in their regional healthcare systems. To this end, the chapter will organize the commentaries of participants on the subject of healthcare in these regions in response to the following inquiries: (1) how experiences with healthcare services are determined by language and how language functions as a barrier to healthcare access, (2) how geographic location contributes to the differences and similarities in experiences of

adequate healthcare access between the regions and (3) how community support can improve or hinder healthcare experiences for Anglophone minorities in each region. This comparative approach to the regions through the lens of language minority status will ultimately demonstrate how experiences of access to—and representation within—formal healthcare institutions and the informal healthcare community inform sense of place for participants.

Gaps between the healthcare systems in the three study regions and the needs of their Anglophone members influence the sense of belonging experienced by Anglophone minorities. These gaps speak to a failure of the health structures in the respective regions. Irrespective of the reality of the health service availabilities in the Gaspésie, Gatineau and Eastern Township regions, if Anglophone minorities believe there is a lack of support, as participant responses certainly suggest, then there is a disjuncture between the local health communities, healthcare services provided, and their Anglophone members that should be carefully reconsidered. In their conclusion on accessibility to healthcare in Canada, Wilson and Rosenberg (2002) propose that the perceived Canadian healthcare crisis “reminds us that there are differences between perceptions and behavior, and that health geographers and indeed geographers, in general, have an important role to play in exposing those differences in contributing to public policy” (p. 233). The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to account for Anglo-minority experiences of healthcare access, not to provide a comprehensive picture of the health services available in the three regions. This chapter is a study of how members of these minority Anglophone communities experience healthcare in their region, and more importantly, an exploration of the consequences of these experiences on their sense of place. Skinner et al. (2008)

argue that deep-rooted public belief in the strength of the rural community as a curative response to the inadequacies of rural healthcare services for seniors is a major threat to this demographics' well being (p. 99). This chapter will show how participant responses imply that the informal community sources of healthcare support are not always successful in the three study regions.

5.1 Language and Healthcare Access

The implications of healthcare access are critical to the welfare of a community. Indeed, the federal Official Language Community Development Bureau specifically concluded that healthcare is key to “maintaining the vitality and wellbeing of Anglophones in Quebec” (2002). The research findings emphasize variations in experiences of healthcare access according to the specific geographic region of the participants and individuals' ability to access adequate healthcare services in their mother tongue as one of the most significant factors. In fact, language limitations emerge as the most consistent element in the experiences of healthcare access across all three study regions regardless of differences in location, mobility, and perceptions of healthcare. Bowen (2001) argues that language barriers harm healthcare accessibility. The research findings suggest that both participant perceptions of a lack of English healthcare services and the role of language as a key factor in “needs-based” barriers to healthcare availability contribute to the reinforcement of participant identity as members of a language minority in Quebec. In this way, a negative cycle of experience occurs in which language barriers impair healthcare accessibility and diminished accessibility in turn places participants' membership to an official language minority in sharp relief.

The findings from the Gaspésie region show that isolation heightens language challenges for participants in their everyday experiences of healthcare in spite of the close-knit community and strong reliance on community support. All of the participants agreed that they would prefer to have English rather than French healthcare services because of the complexities of healthcare issues and medical language irrespective of their bilingual capacities. While some agreed it was not a problem on a day-to-day scale, other participants identified it as a daily struggle. Participants did not express dissatisfaction with the quality of English language services when available. Most agreed that quality did not depend on language, but that Francophone residents in the region seem to be favored because more services exist to meet their needs. Participant responses suggest that a lack of English healthcare options creates barriers for some Anglophones in this community and makes this region a less than ideal place to live. For instance, one middle-aged woman who has always been a resident of the region characterizes her healthcare experiences with feelings of struggle and resignation:

I would prefer to be served in English because, for one, it's my first language and my French is really not too good. So sometimes I'm scared I won't understand what is going on, you know. It is a struggle, not just having some English healthcare options for us, but I guess we just get by with what we have, I don't see that ever changing, and so what other option do you have. [Gasp. No. 5]

For this participant, access to French healthcare produces fear because of potential gaps in understanding. The participant articulates, however, acquiescence to the status of English service availability in the region. The inability to imagine improvement points to a deep-seated dissatisfaction with the level of representation of the English population in healthcare institutions. This perception of the lack of English healthcare programs and

support influences the levels of attachment to the region expressed by participants and for some reinforces their identity as an official language minority.

General dissatisfaction with the availability of English-language healthcare is also found in the responses of the Gatineau and Eastern Townships participants, but it appears to be mitigated by their reliance on alternative sources of access. The type of resignation found in the Gaspésie is not as prominent in the other regions because Gatineau participants rely heavily on services in Ottawa and Township participants depend on services in neighboring communities. As a result, participant responses in these regions describe experiences of fulfillment with respect to English-language healthcare access. For instance, one middle-aged male participant who has lived in the region his entire life comments:

Yes, I actually think that the staff at the Magog hospital is more bilingual than the Sherbrooke one but both are very good and people are very nice [...] But most of the time when we communicate it's bilingual. We always try to speak French or if there are words I don't know in French I will say in English or vice versa, and generally the staff tries to speak English back or at least there is an effort to. [East. No. 5]

A young women who has only lived in the region for a few years also suggests:

There has always been someone in the hospital maybe not the specific nurses that are assigned to the case, but someone has always come in who is English and spoken with us, the family, and I think of maybe more hospital nurses and not so much emergency room nurses. But there is always someone that I can recall that spoke very good English. So no, I don't think it's an issue because my family is very English and I am one of the few in the family that can speak almost perfect French and they have always gotten by, it was never a problem, and so yes the services are predominantly French but there is always someone who can speak English or who is bilingual. [East. No. 7]

Most Township participants feel they are generally able to access healthcare services in English and feel that they are therefore represented in their health community.

Although Gatineau participants describe a lack of English language services available within the existing healthcare infrastructure in their region, they emphasize the easy healthcare access in Ottawa. One woman who has been a longtime resident describes how language encourages her to look for healthcare support outside of her immediate community:

When I first moved back to Canada I worked in Ontario and got an OHIP card. I intended to change it over to Quebec when I moved back to Wakefield, but the hospital here has a bad reputation. They send you to Hull to a hospital with an equally bad or worse reputation. The family doctor I had here always made me feel like I was wasting her time even though I literally saw her for 10 minutes per year; and they usually refuse to speak English to you. Even though you're speaking English they just continue on in French like they assume you know or understand them. That really pissed me off because at least in other parts of Quebec there is some respect of language. So I refuse to go anywhere here. I usually go to Ottawa clinics for health advice, where I know I will be serviced in English. [Gati. No. 5]

It is clear from this participant's comments that the perception of underrepresentation of English residents in their regional healthcare sector contributes to the overarching trend of crossing the provincial border for access in Ottawa. In his study of healthcare access and utilization, Hanlon (2009) suggests that

[t]he presumption that everyone seeks care within their county or municipality of residence is also problematic. In fact, the likelihood of so-called spillover or spatial by-passing is influenced by personal factors (e.g. age and socioeconomic status), ecological factors (e.g. geographic size and shape of jurisdiction), and the particular way in which populations and health resources are distributed within and between adjacent jurisdictions (p. 45).

This approach to the ways in which people seek healthcare is useful because it stresses the influence of personal factors like language and the distribution of health resources within geographic space. Language then—the very source of their minority status—combines with the distribution of English-language health resources to force this

spillover into Ottawa for Gatineau participants. According to these participants, this “spillover” in turn creates a lack of demand for services in the immediate community, and produces a cycle of inaccessibility. In their study of Gatineau’s Anglo-minority Gilbert and Veronis (forthcoming) identify frustration among their participants, concluding:

Ils répliquent en se déplaçant vers Ottawa, dont ils cherchent à profiter des services par de multiples stratégies. Si la santé constitue un des principaux enjeux soulevés, ils évoquent aussi d’autres secteurs de la vie collective où le déplacement vers Ottawa permet de contrer le sens d’aliénation ressenti localement (p. 24).

What participant responses show is turning away from Gatineau to assuage what Gilbert and Veronis identify as local alienation in their own study. This distinguishes it from the experiences of Township participants who also seek outward support. In the Eastern Townships, participants did not express a sense of dissatisfaction with their immediate community that needed to be filled by an external source of healthcare support. Rather, responses show that the Eastern Townships are imagined as a whole—as one overarching healthcare community—that is able to meet their language needs in some form. The smaller regions making up the Townships are, therefore, interdependent because the individuals living in each rely on the resources of their neighboring municipalities.

5.1.1 English-language Access and Healthcare Staff

While participants in all three regions articulated failures or challenges in the English language support provided by their regional healthcare system, a clear distinction emerged between care provided by doctors and other medical staff in the participant responses of the Gaspésie and the Eastern Townships. The general research results on

healthcare in this region show that half the participants seek advice from family doctors or local clinics when they need advice about their health. The remaining half of the participants typically relies on the emergency centre or CLSC (Centre Local de Services Communautaires). While most participants think having a family doctor is important, a few participants did not identify any difference since the same doctors and staff work in the CLSC and emergency centre. This shows that there is an important reliance on medical institutions and healthcare staff figure prominently in the administrative realm of service provision in these institutions. In the Gaspésie, most participants also agreed that, in general, doctors could communicate with them in English, although communication in English was an obstacle with the rest of the medical staff. Interactions with other healthcare workers appear to have a negative impact on healthcare experience. For example, one young man from the Gaspésie region comments on the different actors in the healthcare system:

I can get along in French somewhat, but it depends again on the situation you have to explain because talking about health and issues can get hard in French. But most doctors are bilingual or can at least communicate pretty good with you; it's really everyone before that. All the support staff and nurses, etc. are usually really French and at the end of the day that is who you deal with the most, not the doctors, so yah it's a problem for sure. [Gasp. No. 9]

This comments shows the importance of support staff and medical professionals like nurses to an individual's experience of their healthcare. An older male participant from the region also described the predominance of French staff in hospitals and the subsequent administrative challenges:

I had to fill out paper work and it was French so that's frustrating. I think that if they had English forms or paper work I would have filled it out in no time and gone right in, but I had to get help because I could not understand half of it. And finally the doctor that saw me was perfectly English but then I had to have a plastic surgeon come in to look at it and he wouldn't speak a word of English to

me, and I had no clue what he was saying or what he was going to do so I mean I was scared to some extent, I know he is a doctor and he is going to do whatever is needed, but I guess what I mean is that I couldn't understand what was going on so it kind of put my back up against the wall to an extent. But we usually are lucky to have doctors that can at least speak English even if the rest of the staff or employees cannot. [Gasp. No. 2]

Participants also discussed how normal it is for them to communicate in English in the hospitals and receive only French responses from staff. Participants suggested that they now anticipate this type of interaction when they seek health services in hospitals. These responses show perceptions of a lack of support from the broader medical community. While it is significant that participants did not identify doctors as the source of their language barrier as primary healthcare providers, it is important to consider the realities of the broader healthcare institutions. As the above quote demonstrates, other healthcare actors including nurses and hospital or clinical administrative staff, play a critical role in how patients experience the institution. In a consideration of primary healthcare utilization Hanlon (2009) proposes that

[c]onsideration of the broader roles and activities of PHC [primary healthcare] leads us to think about the wider range of practitioners, other than physicians, who are engaged in the delivery of PHC. While the precise mix of practitioners varies both nationally and regionally, these might include fields such as community and public health nursing, pharmacy, dentistry, social work, occupational therapy and other allied professions (p. 44).

Hanlon's view of healthcare systems helps to explain the distinctions that emerged in participant responses. Healthcare experiences, particularly of accessibility, are shaped not only by doctor-patient relationships, but also by engagement with a broad spectrum of professionals and administrative actors in healthcare systems. Participants in the Eastern Townships also identified this distinction suggesting that there is a significant lack of English communication in the interstices between patient and doctor. For example, one

young woman who has lived in the region intermittently explains that she would prefer English healthcare because of her limited French abilities. She comments:

Although I understand it sometimes with medical stuff it's so complicated in my first language as it is that French is hard to understand. So I think it's pretty important that I get information in English. I find that most of the medical staff or communication between you and the doctor seems to be the most problematic with trying to communicate. Because most of the medical community between you and the doctor are typical more French. Whereas I think any doctor I've ever seen can generally speak English to me, which for me anyways to be understood or to have communication in English is the most important with the doctor and not those other people. [East. No. 8]

This supports Hanlon's argument that there is a range of professionals who impact experience. The above participant account suggests that language barriers are not specific to primary healthcare professionals, but that the biggest language obstacle within the Eastern Townships healthcare system rests in its broader institutional makeup.

5.1.2 Healthcare Accessibility and Aging

Significant concerns of access to English healthcare services among aging participants were evident in responses from all three study regions. Jedwab (2001) claims that demographic changes in Quebec's social landscape have resulted in an aging Anglophone community. Skinner et al. (2008) explain that,

[t]he increasing demand for services associated with Canada's aging population exacerbates the longstanding problems surrounding the availability and accessibility of services for rural seniors. Rural service provisioning has been described as the double burden of caring for increasingly vulnerable rural seniors in increasingly vulnerable rural places (p. 84).

This double burden is made that much more onerous in these three rural study regions because of the presence of English minority populations. The health status of Anglophone seniors in the three study regions is accordingly precarious and deserves

critical attention. The concerns expressed by participants are twofold: in all three regions aging participants are concerned that they will have to leave the region because of a lack of adequate access, and in Gatineau and the Eastern Townships, these participants are concerned with reduced mobility. One older woman who is legally deaf and has always been a resident of the Gaspésie describes some of her particular struggles of accessing English healthcare in the region:

I'm very concerned since I'm hearing impaired as you know and some are hard to understand when speaking improper English language because I only communicate with reading lips, so it's so hard for me. So I take the long waits at my doctor's office because I wouldn't be able to go anywhere else unless they spoke perfect English. My doctor is used to communicating with me now so I just don't know what I will do if he retires or something. I will probably have to move to an English region for sure because at my age my health alone is a concern and with my disability and language disability as well it would be impossible for me to remain in this region without my doctor. [Gasp. No. 4]

The healthcare vulnerabilities of senior populations and rural regions identified by Skinner et al. (2008) are made that much more precarious by the challenges associated with language minority status in these regions.

5.2 Location and Healthcare

The research findings emphasize the importance of location in relation to other large Anglophone communities in shaping everyday healthcare experiences (as discussed in Chapter 4). Asanin and Wilson (2008) explain that “[g]eographic access refers to the physical location of a healthcare service and a person’s ability to receive care at that location” (p. 1276). Geographic access proves critical in the research findings since the specific character of participants’ geographic context was stressed in their responses in all

three regions. The research findings show that the geographic location of a region—its relative isolation or proximity to an Anglophone majority—is critical to experiences of healthcare access.

The Gaspésie’s complete isolation from another Anglophone majority results in the virtual absence of alternative healthcare access options for Anglophones in the region. While the research findings show that most participants do seek healthcare services in their community, the services remain limited and language, as illustrated above, is a key barrier. One young mother with two small children who has always been a resident of the region, comments:

I feel that English services are very limited in my community for certain things, but in the healthcare system there seems to be no help anywhere for English people. It is still dominated by the French, as most workers other than the doctors don’t speak English to you making hard to access theses services. So I really don’t know what people do who can’t speak a word of French, “*where do they go or who do they get help from in accessing services?*” [Emphasis added]. I’m lucky my boyfriend is French because I’m starting to pick up on it some more, and I always have him to come with me in case I need a translator. [Gasp. No. 1]

This participant points specifically to language as the primary barrier to healthcare services and identifies it specifically in geographic terms: “there is no help anywhere for English people.” The participant’s inability to answer the question of *where* non-French speakers seek healthcare support emphasizes the lack of alternative English healthcare sources that accompanies their isolation. Participant responses suggest that basic healthcare needs are met in the region to the extent that services are available in *French*.

One participant explained that:

[b]asic needs are met here in one sense, in that we have the healthcare and the hospitals and all this and whatever. But, in another sense [basic needs are] not really [met] because all these things are in French [Gasp. No.3].

Thus, participants who struggle to communicate in French find themselves in a situation where they are either forced to use the available healthcare options in French or simply not seek healthcare services. Perceptions that there is a virtual absence of English-language healthcare support combined with the region's isolation to relegate English-speakers to the underrepresented demographic in their healthcare infrastructure. Based on their research on aging and rural healthcare, Skinner et al. (2008) conclude that "[here was clear evidence of an association between quality of life and health status in rural Canada" (p. 92). This link between quality of life and health status in rural regions is important because it helps to explain the importance of healthcare experiences *in place*. Quality of life is impacted by an individual's health status—their position in relation to the healthcare system—in rural regions like the Gaspésie. Consequently, regardless of whether the barrier is real or perceived, a disjuncture exists between the availability of healthcare access in the region and its Anglophone community. This very disjuncture reveals their health status and, as Skinner et al. (2008) suggest, influences their quality of life. The quality of life experiences in a particular place will necessarily have an impact on sense of place. In this case, consequently, health status contributes to the sense of place developed by Anglophones as members of a language minority.

This contrasts with the Gatineau region whose geographical location in proximity to a large Anglophone population results in more positive experiences of healthcare access among participants. For instance, most participants who do not already have family doctors in the Quebec region reported that they access healthcare in Ontario. Gatineau participants identify Ottawa, as an alternative source of healthcare access, which assuages what they feel, is a lack of need-fulfillment in their immediate region. For

example, one middle-aged female participant who grew up in the region and has always maintained residency in Gatineau articulates a preference for accessing healthcare in Ottawa rather than her immediate community in Gatineau:

I go to my doctor in Ottawa or the Civic hospital. I can normally get an appointment with my doctor on the same day so it's not a big deal for me. If I cannot or if it is an Emergency, I go to the Civic hospital because the wait times are more than half as short as Quebec emergency wait times. I would much rather just go straight to Ottawa and know I will be dealt with in English. [Gati. No. 5]

This participant identifies language as the primary justification for her use of healthcare services in Ontario and speaks not only of the convenience but also of the quality of services Ottawa provides as compared to Gatineau. The convenience of English healthcare services within an adjacent geographic region, although outside of the immediate community and province, differentiates the minority Anglophone experience of healthcare for Gatineau participants from that of Gaspésie participants. As discussed above, Hanlon's (2009) suggestion that a constellation of factors combine to cause "spillover" in healthcare access, whereby individuals utilize services outside their immediate regions, is a helpful way of conceptualizing healthcare experience for the Gatineau participants. What the participants see as easy availability in Ottawa and their feelings of Anglophone underrepresentation in the Gatineau system encourage experiences of the spillover healthcare access Hanlon describes.

Moreover, healthcare access experiences in Ottawa are not exclusively positive for participants. English speaking residents in Gatineau who cross the provincial border for healthcare encounter problems due to political restrictions as well as conflicts with provincial and jurisdictional boundaries. Quebec residents have to pay for healthcare in Ontario because most clinics do not accept their health card from the "*Régie de*

l'assurance maladie du Quebec.” The commentary of one female participant who has lived in the region for several years and identifies the success of access in Ottawa illustrates the issue:

I know a lot of my friends who do the same as me, go to Ottawa clinics, are starting to get refused there now because of lot of them are starting to not accept the Quebec healthcare card. Also what is happening on top of this, is you pay up front and the Quebec government will reimburse you for the amount you paid, but now they're not anymore because they claim the services I access there are available in my region so they stopped reimbursing us. It's horrible, they're not offered in our region so I don't know how they can make this claim and if they are they are certainly not offered in English. [Gati. No. 4]

Consequently, the provincial border becomes a major administrative and financial deterrent for some participants seeking healthcare in Ottawa. While the services are available in theory, in practice the provincial border is a significant barrier, especially for those experiencing socio-economic disadvantages. These personal accounts reveal perceptions of a lack of institutional support from both the Gatineau and Ottawa communities. In their research on Gatineau Anglophone experience with the Ottawa-Gatineau border and services, Gilbert and Veronis (forthcoming) write,

Si bien qu'elle et les autres participants de son atelier s'y sentent un peu comme des étrangers, des sans-papier. Non seulement minoritaires à Gatineau, ils se découvrent aussi minoritaires à Ottawa. Ces Anglo-Gatinois ne sont véritablement citoyens à part entière aux yeux ni de l'une ni de l'autre majorité – bien que les conditions de citoyenneté soient différentes de part et d'autre de la frontière (forthcoming).

The compromised sense of belonging to either community that these authors locate in the Gatineau Anglophone experience are confirmed in the healthcare experiences of Gatineau participants in this study as well. Ultimately, the combination of language barriers in their immediate community and increasing financial barriers to healthcare access in Ontario leaves them without a stronghold of support on either side of the provincial border.

Participant experiences on both sides of the provincial border reinforce their Anglophone minority status by producing feelings of underrepresentation in both provinces.

In contrast to the first two study regions, location in relation to an Anglophone majority does not figure as prominently in the healthcare experiences described by participants of the Eastern Townships. Eyles and Williams (2008) contend that “[m]issing from current studies in the examination of health effects of local environments is the subjective meaning and importance that individual’s give to where they reside, i.e. their sense of place. We contend that sense of place is an important link in the pathway that translates population health determinants to health outcomes” (p. 1). Eyles and Williams propose that the meaning invested in place forms part of the transformation of factors influencing health into actual health. This research suggests that the way in which Township participants *conceptualize* or imagine their region also impacts their views of accessibility. Most participants reported that they are able to fulfill their basic healthcare needs *within* the region itself. For example, one older man who has lived in the Eastern Townships almost his entire life comments:

Sherbrooke has the big hospitals and that so I would say it is most equipped for big emergencies or very sick people. I know there are tons of assisted living, or old-age homes for elderly throughout the region, some dentists and maybe small clinics [...] But there are so many Anglophone clinics around here, and typically where the French ones are most people help you and try to communicate somehow between the French and the English, I’ve lived here my entire life and never had a problem accessing healthcare. [East. No. 10]

This participant recognizes that a variety of healthcare institutions are available in the region. The region falls in an intermediate zone on the isolation and proximity continuum represented by the Gaspésie and Gatineau regions. When it comes to healthcare experiences, the emphasis that participants place on the complementary role the various

small communities of the Eastern Townships play in relation to each other is important in explaining the generally more positive experiences they describe in comparison the other study regions. In the context of this place-health link, the particular sense of place held by Township participants helps, therefore, to explain their more positive healthcare experiences.

Chapter 4 showcases the importance that mobility has in experiences of access to services for participants in all three study regions. For Gaspésie participants, *isolation* creates issues of mobility because participant responses show that a robust fulfillment of healthcare needs in English is not available in their immediate region. Moreover, residents would have to travel long distances to access more specialized services, which poses significant challenges for those with limited mobility. For example, one female participant in her sixties describes her dependence on neighbours for mobility because of her health condition and wonders “what I would do if I needed to leave to go somewhere for a specific procedure or something like that, I probably wouldn’t be able to go” [Gasp. No.2]. Mobility in Gatineau and the Eastern Townships also emerged as a major factor in the healthcare experiences of participants because, as evidenced above, there is considerable reliance on alternative sources of healthcare access. While the mobility experienced by these two sets of participants differs (one moves outward for support and the other moves within its own regional boundaries), the negative consequences on healthcare experiences for participants with limited or reduced mobility are virtually the same. In their discussion of one author’s influential call for consideration of place in the study of health geographies, Crooks and Andrews (2009) note that “Kearns argued that the experience of medicine or care more broadly cannot be overtly detached from the

place in which it is given and received, whether this be between different types of settings such as hospitals, community clinics or homecare, or within those specific categories themselves.” (p. 30). These authors emphasize how critical the context of place is to healthcare. This research suggests, however, that the features of physical location are themselves important to healthcare experience. In fact, the interaction between the physical features of location and people’s experiences of healthcare is one contributor to place creation. The variations in the research findings on healthcare support this by showing that regional settings are equally important to healthcare experience. The necessity of mobility can be identified as a feature of a region’s geographic location that shapes experiences of healthcare access for participants.

The research results on accessing healthcare services in the Gaspésie, Gatineau and Eastern Townships suggest that geographic location plays a critical role in shaping everyday experiences of adequate healthcare access both in and outside the regions. Geographic location limits what participants can or cannot access, resulting in significant barriers for some members of these communities. Thus, geographical location plays a major role in shaping Anglophone minority access to adequate healthcare in different regions of Quebec. DeMiglio and Williams (2008) argue that

[s]ense of place can also be influenced by the type of relationship that people form with place and its attributes. More specifically, the type or degree of sense of place is often shaped by what the place has to offer. These place characteristics or variables are construed as having the capability to influence a person’s well-being (p. 24).

Unfortunately, these barriers characteristic of their geographic location can have serious consequences for the health and general well-being of Anglophone minorities. As the

(federal) Official Language Community Development Bureau (2002) has acknowledged, health is a major determinant of the strength of Quebec's Anglophone communities.

5.3 Healthcare and Community Support Networks

This section will trace whether the quality of available support networks impacts the everyday healthcare experiences of participants in positive or negative ways. Crooks and Andrews (2009) suggest that “[w]hile considering ‘geographic access’ to care (i.e. one’s proximity to a location such as a clinic) is clearly overtly geographic, health geographers’ interest in access extends far beyond this” (p.20). This research contends that healthcare community support networks should also be a concern because their strength or weakness impacts a groups’ healthcare experiences. Healthcare support networks or services in a community (community groups, for example) can be described as services targeted at healthcare that are non-medical and make up a wider and less formal healthcare community. For example, support groups, therapy services, prevention and awareness programs are all examples of support networks a community might have available for its members. There has been debate on whether strong community support in a rural setting can compensate for failures in a region’s formal support infrastructure:

The results suggest, however, that assumptions about community, rurality, and services for seniors are predicated on positive perceptions of community in small towns, not to mention a belief that families, friends, and neighbours can mediate the reality of the lack of formal services in rural areas. This contradiction resonates with concern for the ability of rural communities and their informal sectors to cope, especially given the shift in public policy towards in-home and community care, which risks further entrenching service deprivation in rural areas [...] In closing, we warn of the very real danger that belief in community will continue to justify health policies and programs, further prejudicing the situation of rural seniors and their caregivers (Skinner et al., 2008, p. 99).

Skinner et al.'s concern that an uncritical belief in community support as the gap-filler in rural communities, can arguably be expanded to the rural healthcare experiences the Anglo-minority participants of this study. The findings show that the informal support infrastructure that Skinner et al. caution against, does not successfully mitigate the challenges faced with formal healthcare access in two of the three study regions.

Participant responses from the Gaspésie region describe a relatively close-knit community. The research findings suggest that while strong support networks exist with respect to socio-cultural activities and the life of the Anglophone community generally, participants feel there is a lack of equivalent community healthcare support. A senior woman notes that, “[t]here seems to be no help within the community for accessing healthcare” and that if she ever needed information she would rely on her friends [Gasp. No. 9]. The participant further explains that the lack of healthcare support is surprising considering their otherwise strong English community. She notes,

I know there used to be a cancer support group going on in town but it never kept going so I don't know if people here just don't need the help or support or if people just go to the hospital and done with it. But there really isn't much to inform people here of what there is in the region. But I would assume because there is only one hospital what would people need to be informed about really, it's not like the bigger cities where there is more hospitals and that so people can shop around for which one they need, here it's only one we got, so there is no choice. [Gasp. No. 9]

While participant responses show that there is generally a close-knit Anglophone community with a strong level of local involvement and cultural support, there seems to be weak community support when it comes to healthcare issues. This participant not only stresses the importance of community support to her experience of the healthcare system, but community support as the source of health awareness. In their discussion of “needs-

based barriers” Crooks and Andrews (2009) identify awareness as an impediment to healthcare accessibility. For this participant then, the lack of awareness provided by the community can function as an additional barrier impacting healthcare experience. These findings point toward a weakening of what is otherwise a vital social network in the region, a trend that confirms Skinner et al.’s (2008) concern that relying on a myth of community support will have harmful effects.

The findings suggest that awareness of community healthcare services is an issue in Gatineau. Most Gatineau participants suggest there is no or little community support for accessing healthcare. However, as one participant articulated, services do exist but the challenge rests with awareness. One young mother who has lived in both Ontario and Gatineau for several years and runs a healthcare organization within the Gatineau community insisted that all of the healthcare resources needed are present in the community. She explained that her organization works with the healthcare community and that the types of resources available include, “hospitals, clinics, support groups, you name it, and my organization works and connecting or linking people back into the community and helping them find the services they need” [Gati. No.3]. This participant cautioned however that the public perception of resources is misleading:

I know for a fact there is too much assumption in this region, everyone assumes there is no English services here for them and run to Ottawa but there is, and they might not be well pronounced because there is little demand for them in the region because of the close links to Ottawa for most, but there is some here, and it’s sad, it’s sad that the Anglophones of this community don’t even know what’s right under their noses. And we work really hard to help those people out and access the services they need, but people know what’s in the region and know that there are places like my organization that help Anglophones access the services they need right here. [Gati. No. 3]

According to this participant, there are more implemented support organizations designed to help Anglophones in the Gatineau region access healthcare than there is in any other part of Quebec. The disjuncture between this participant's insistence that community healthcare support exists for Anglophones in Gatineau and the other participant responses that they experience a lack of community support in healthcare access is very revealing of their experiences of place. If this type of support is in fact available, it effectively supports the Crooks and Andrews' (2009) theory that that insufficient awareness is a key barrier to need fulfillment. This lack of awareness results in needs going unsatisfied and shapes healthcare experiences in the region. Moreover, since a weakening of the Anglophone community in this region has already been identified above, this gap in available support and awareness is pivotal because it reproduces this weakening of community on a different scale. If the lack of awareness does indeed exist, it reveals a fissure between community resources and its members.

In contrast to both the Gaspésie and Gatineau, Eastern Township participants tended to have more positive views of the availability of healthcare support networks in their region. For example, one senior woman who has retired in this region comments:

I believe there is a lot of support here, I know of many support groups which are targeted around health issues, like depression and there is a big one for cancer, and all the cancer walks and charity events that go on in this region, uh and there are CLSC in the small English towns like Lennoxville which are employed with Anglophones and they provide a lot of services or information to help those who need the help when it comes to English. I personally always go there and they steer me in the right direction of what I need to get or where to go when it comes to accessing the right healthcare. [East. No. 2]

This participant response points to strong community healthcare support for Anglophone minorities in the Townships. Anglophones in this region, therefore, benefit from

experiences both of community strengthening that the robust perception of a healthcare network provides *and* the potential for alternative sources of health support if needed. Most participants in the Eastern Townships described the links they have in their direct communities and the implemented support groups for health concerns. It should be noted, however, that personal characteristics like age, gender and sexuality can have a significant impact on awareness of community support services. These responses suggest very different trends in experiences of community healthcare support compared to the previous two study regions. The differences in these experiences support Skinner et al.'s premise that place context affects healthcare experience. Skinner et al. focus on the role rural communities play in senior healthcare. It is clear from the research findings that differences in community also impact healthcare experience. In the Eastern Townships, participant responses suggest that their robust community *can* indeed alleviate some challenges presented by formal access. When juxtaposed with the other research findings, it is clear that the features of the community itself (its strength, size and resources) will play a key role in its ability to compensate for formal inaccessibility.

5.4 Summary: The Role of Healthcare access in Anglophones Everyday Experiences Across Quebec

Participant narratives of daily healthcare experiences, particularly their failures or successes in accessing healthcare in each region, demonstrate the importance of healthcare accessibility to the development of a sense of place. While the findings show that accessing healthcare in English for participants from these three communities reinforces their minority status, the diversity in experiences *between* the regions

demonstrates the influence place has in experiences of healthcare access. Crooks and Andrews (2009) describe Kearns' useful conceptualization of place:

Kearns noted how places are far more complexly constructed social phenomena that hold particular significance for people, how a person's background and experience may shape their experience of places and how places affect people's opportunities and activities. Indeed, experiences of places are thought to be obtained through *situatedness* (or being socially in place), and result in feelings about the place (or a sense-of-place) (p.30).

This can help us frame the healthcare experiences of participants from the three regions within a broader framework of sense of place. The findings have shown that the particularities of geographic location can impact Anglophone minority experiences.

Hanlon's (2009) theory of spill-overs in patterns of healthcare access because of a variety of personal and socio-geographic factors shows how place impacts healthcare experience and healthcare experiences simultaneously impacts sense of place. How resources are distributed in geographic space and the needs of individuals inhabiting them have some role to play in sense of place. The impact of geographic location on participants' healthcare experiences then shapes their feelings toward the places they inhabit. Their healthcare experiences *shape* place.

While there are some important similarities that span the three regions, for example the impact of language barriers, age and mobility on healthcare access, the differences in experiences can be traced in many cases to the particular characteristics of geographical location. Gaspésie participants have less positive experiences because their isolation affects the quantity of English-language healthcare services available to them. Critical differences are revealed when these experiences are juxtaposed to those of residents in Gatineau whose proximity to an Anglophone majority, although not exclusively positive, contributes to easy access to English healthcare services. Responses

in both regions point to a lack of healthcare support networks or awareness of existing community support. The Eastern Townships responses show patterns of experience distinct from those of the Gaspésie and Gatineau participants because of their location in between on the continuum of isolation and proximity. Participants in the Eastern Townships express the most satisfaction with healthcare services in their region and seem to be the most aware of healthcare support in the community. This does not mean that their healthcare experiences can be generalized as positive since a more nuanced approach is needed. However, the patterns of healthcare experience emerge as more positive in comparison to the first two study regions.

The research findings on community healthcare support substantiate the idea that the threat to rural seniors Skinner et al. (2008) identify not only extends to rural language minorities, but also is that much more alarming for English seniors in the study regions. This demographic is affected by both the inability of community support to cope with and alleviate barriers to institutional healthcare access for seniors *and* language minorities. In this way, the research findings have broadened the scope of Skinner et al.'s theoretical concerns and point to the need for more focus in healthcare access studies on the intersection between aging communities and language minorities. The following chapter (Chapter 6) will examine the ways in which feelings of home and sense of belonging compensate for—or bolster—the impact of participants' healthcare experiences on their sense of place in the three study regions.

Chapter 6: The Anglophone Minority and Place Attachment

Participants in all three study regions identified place attachment as a key justification for remaining in Quebec. This chapter will propose that various conceptual elements make up this attachment, which participant responses have emphasized in spite of the barriers explored in the previous chapters. Attachment is comprised, for example, of home, heritage, community rootedness and belonging. As noted in Chapter 2, Altman and Low (1992) define place attachment as a process that “incorporates several aspects of people-place bonding” (p. 4). Place attachment is therefore made up of “many inseparable, integral, and mutually defining features, qualities, or properties” rather than “separate or independent parts, components, dimensions, or factors” (Altman & Low, 1992, p.4). This approach to place attachment recognizes the complexity of its features and the multifaceted forces contributing to it. Indeed, the research findings stress that the concepts making up attachment to place are not mutually exclusive for participants, but instead tightly interconnected in their regional imagination. These elements combine to create a sense of attachment that works to neutralize, or at the very least, compensate for the less positive experiences of Anglophone minority status. Altman and Low (1992) claim that “the origins of place attachments are varied” and place attachment “contributes to individual, group, and cultural self-definition and integrity” (p.4). This is important to the study of place attachment in the context of Quebec’s English minority because, if Altman and Low are correct, place attachment impacts the integrity of a cultural community. Gregory et al. define community as “[a] group of people who share a common culture, values and/or interests, based on social identity and/or territory, and

who have some means of recognizing, and (inter) acting upon, these commonalities” (Gregory et al., 2009, p.103). Many authors have emphasized healthcare access as a key indicator of the vitality and well being of the English-speaking community (Carter, 2008; CHSSN, 2008; Official Language Community Development Bureau, 2002). This chapter submits that place attachment also has significant bearing on the vitality of the English-speaking community in Quebec. In fact, the research findings show that place attachment, as it is the primary reason articulated for remaining in the province, has a justificatory function for participants. This approach will demonstrate how feelings of home and heritage, as well belonging and rootedness in the English-speaking community, interact to form the source of place attachment for participants.

The research findings show that in the context of place attachment, less importance is placed on geographic location. Up until this point in the study, geographical location has been used to refer to the degree of proximity or isolation relative to a major Anglophone population. It is clear from participant responses that this type of geographical location figures less prominently in their attachments to place as members of Quebec’s Anglophone minority. Contrary to the findings and analysis in chapters 4 and 5, where a particular region falls within the isolation and proximity continuum is not definitive of the elements making up place attachment, namely their heritage, sense of home, belonging and rootedness in the English community. Each region holds particular meaning for participants, in and of itself, as a place that is closely associated with their identities as Anglo-Quebecers. The concept of place development, explored in Chapter 2, is key to understanding this process. Cresswell explains that “[w]hen humans invest meaning in a portion of space and then become attached to it in

some way (naming is one such way) it becomes place” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 10). It is the meaning, therefore, that Anglophone minorities invest in their respective regions of the province, which creates “place” for them, and to which they become attached.

All of the above factors, present in the participant responses, imply an emotional connection with place. In their study of rural healthcare Castleden et al. (2010) discuss the role of “emotional dimensions of lived space” in experience (p. 284). This chapter will import the concept of “emotional dimensions of lived space” into the study of place attachment because it provides a useful approach to the relationship people develop with place. In effect, the emotional meaning people invest in locations through (a) identification with location through heritage and home, and (b) belonging and rootedness in community, transforms these spaces into *place*. As in the previous sections, this chapter will take a comparative approach to the research findings to highlight the differences between, and similarities among the constructs making up place attachment.

6.1 Home, Heritage and Place Attachment

The concepts of home and heritage emerged in the research findings as key elements in the attachment to place articulated in participant responses. Home and heritage are not easily separated in the research findings. Many participants explain their sense of home in the region through references to heritage. For the purposes of this research, heritage is understood as family histories in place. Cresswell (2004) submits that “making of places at all scales is seen as the production of a certain kind of homeliness” such that home becomes “an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness” (p. 24). This approach to the notion of home

formulates it as a type of attachment people claim to place. In her study of place and home, Manzo (2003) explains that scholarship on relationships to place have been buttressed by the “mythology of home” (p. 56). She asserts that although “[h]ome’ is a spatial metaphor for relationships to a variety of places as well as a way of being in the world,” research has tended to focus on the literal meaning of home as an actual residence (2003, p. 56). Manzo (2003) argues for a more meaningful understanding of home as “a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon” and insists “an examination of a full range of places, feelings and experiences is essential for an adequate understanding of people-place relationships” (p. 56-57). Manzo’s call for careful and nuanced approaches to the production of home as a ‘spatial metaphor’ helps situate the processes described by participants in their responses.

The production of home for participants is closely tied to their heritage or family histories. As noted in Chapter 2, Statistics Canada’s Census study (2006) demonstrates that Anglophones place importance on the maintenance of their heritage and legacy as members of a language minority in Quebec (p.2). This commitment is clear in the connections participants drew between past and future. Within the study of heritage, some theorists advance a “present-centredness” approach in which heritage serves a *current* purpose (Graham, 2008, p. 2). In his discussion of the meaning of heritage Graham (2002) elaborates:

[H]eritage is often used as a form of collective memory, a social construct shaped by the political, economic and social concerns of the present. This study of heritage does not involve a direct engagement with the study of the past. Instead, the contents, interpretations and representations of the heritage resource are selected according to the demands of the present and, in turn, bequeathed to an imagined future (Ashworth, Graham and Turnbridge, 2007). It follows, therefore, that heritage is less about tangible material artefacts or other intangible forms of the

past than about meanings placed upon them and the representations which are created from them (p. 2).

This approach to heritage provides a useful way to organize the patterns that arose in the research findings. The articulation by participants of an attachment to heritage and the desire to claim belonging to their genealogical history in a particular region as the primary reasons for staying shows how they invest meaning in a particular region. What Graham (2000) calls their “heritage resource” is used to produce a sense of belonging to the region; they transform their relationship to place through their emotional investment in heritage. It will be shown below that this is, in fact, even more important for some Gatineau participants who must negotiate their relationship to place in more immediate terms because they live in a type of border zone (Gilbert & Veronis, forthcoming). In her study of heritage and multiculturalism in Canada, Leung (2008) interprets Graham’s approach to heritage as proposing that there are “many ‘heritages’ in that people have individual narratives, attachments and interpretations of the past” (p. 163). This suggests that everyone has different relationships to heritage, something that explains the differences between the research findings in each region.

Most of the other Gaspésie participants also described experiences based on a long history in the region. The majority were either born and raised or had lived in the region for longer than ten years. As a result, most claimed a robust sense of place. Participant responses suggest that heritage is an important contributor to feelings of place *as home*. The participants who described the Gaspésie region as their “home” drew attention to the fact that many generations of their families have lived in the region. Most of those who mentioned this genealogical history identified it as one of the primary reasons for their desire to stay in the region or their reluctance to leave. Their production

of place as a home space is, consequently, based on their family history in their specific geographic location. This reveals an important link between home and heritage in participants' expressions of place attachment. For instance, one middle-aged male participant who has always been a resident of the region explains that the Gaspésie is the place he identifies as home irrespective of how far away he is living or travelling. He explains:

It [Gaspésie] is where my family is, it is where my mother and father grew up, and where they raised us like I am raising my kids [...] You want [your children] to have the same upbringing as you right? Not in the city, [but] out here in the country. It is a beautiful place to live and it is really all my family has known for generations so, in a way, you do not want to be the one to end the cycle. [Gasp. No. 10]

The feeling of home created by his genealogical and family connections to this location encourage him to remain in the region in spite of the daily reminders of minority status. The participant notes that for the above reasons the Gaspésie is “truly home” and familiar to him. He comments that home “is also more than just the word or just the phrase of saying home; it holds some meaning” [Gasp. No.10]. It is clear from this participant's response that he has invested meaning into the Gaspésie region as a home space because it is both familiar to him and closely connected to his family. Indeed, he imagines himself as part of a genealogical trajectory that is deeply rooted in the region.

Gaspésie participants also emphasized the importance of physical location to their identity. Like their family histories, participants identified with the physical features of their region as part of the transformation of space into places of home. In the context of home and migration, Ralph and Staeheli (2011) conclude that “[t]hose relationships and processes that construct home are also involved in creating identities and feelings of belonging. In this way, dimensions of home seep into one another, and maintaining

analytical distinctions between them is difficult” (p. 521). This connection between home and identity is important because it bears out in the research findings. Several Gaspésie participants see their home as completing or allowing them to fulfill their identities.

When describing the region, participants placed emphasis on both the physical features of the region, such as beaches and mountains, as well as their social relationships as factors in their sense of attachment. For example, one woman who grew up in the region, left to go to school elsewhere, and then recently returned to raise a family in the area, describes the Gaspésie region and the impact place has on her:

I don't find it a barrier at all living here [Gaspésie]. [Even though] it is a small region [and] far away from everything, I love it here. The physical landscape with the beaches, mountains, country space, is something that I find defines me. I used to live in Montreal while I was attending school and I just could not wait to move back here and start a family. I want my kids to be raised the way I was. That includes a small region, close community, and having such luxuries kids in the cities do not have like the landscape. I find I can be myself here. I can do the things I love. I think this place plays a big part in shaping who I am and what it is I love to do. I never felt that way in Montreal [Gasp. No. 5].

This description of the Gaspésie focuses on the physical features of the landscape and emphasizes the trajectory of the participant's relationship with the region. The continuity of her ties to the region has led to it being, what she identifies as, an important element of her identity. When describing a sense of attachment to the region, participants mentioned how living in the region allowed them to fulfill their identity. One participant, in fact, discussed how the other places she lived were barriers to the fulfillment of her identity and the pursuit of the things she loved. She compared the lifestyles in Montreal and Gaspé,

In Gaspé it's a different lifestyle that you probably cannot live anywhere else, it's a very outdoorsy lifestyle, always on the beaches, in the water swimming, boating, whatever. That is something you just can't do in Montreal naturally, so if you like doing those types of things and you cannot, well how would you be

happy. Like for me I really thought Montreal was fun at first and during school [...] but [then] I met my husband and [had] the kids. Now I am over doing those things and if I would have stayed in Montreal it would definitely be a barrier for me or us [in] doing the things we love or being who we want to be. So I feel totally happy here in Gaspé because I can be and do what I am. [Gasp. No.5].

The responses of these participants suggest a robust sense of attachment to the Gaspésie region. These participants see their identities bound up in the Gaspésie.

The same idea of home and heritage emerged in the participant responses in the Eastern Townships. More than half of the Eastern Townships participants (the “Township participants”) grew up in the region. Of those participants who originate from the Eastern Townships, all agreed that heritage and their family roots play a significant role in their feelings of attachment to the region. This heritage is, in large part, the reason they chose to settle and remain in the area. These same participants also noted that their attachment to the area is grounded in support systems or social connections throughout the region. Closeness to family and friends was discussed in conjunction with a sense of belonging to the physical region itself. For example, one participant who has lived in the region his entire life explains largely in positive terms the effects of family, friends and the physical landscape of the region:

I feel more attached to the region because for generations my family worked this land, and established themselves here. I feel at home here. I spent a lot of time growing up at our family cottage in Georgeville right on the lake. It is such a beautiful place and it was like our home away from home if you will. The summer time came and we all packed up and headed out to the lake. We all had some great times there. But now that all my siblings are married and settled down it acts as a summer retreat for all of our children. But, yes, other than the house in Sherbrooke I grew up in and the house I built my family in, the cottages were a significant place for me as well. [East. No.10]

In fact, only one participant who grew up there considers the region a barrier. These participants did not seek out this region to live in, but were either born and raised in the

Townships and decided to settle there permanently or returned to settle in the region primarily for the sake of family and friends after having left temporarily. An older participant who has been a life-long resident of the region reflects on her rootedness as transforming the Eastern Townships into her home:

I have roots in Fitch Bay from growing up here, and as well throughout the Townships so yes, Erinn, it [heritage in the region] did play a role for sure. Most of those roots or connections are old, you know, [they] go way back to when we were kids and teenagers. [East. No.3].

This participant identifies her connections to the region as originating when she was a child. She sees these connections as making up her heritage in the region. She also explains why she returned to the Eastern Townships after living in Montreal:

And now we have been here for 35 years so all those people we met since we have been back are now dear friends. It is really our home now and we built this house ourselves so it all means a lot to us to be back here where we truly consider a place home. Living in Montreal was easier sometimes, I will have to admit, because there is a lot more English around. But, you know, sometimes those things don't seem as important because we are really much more happier here in the Townships and in this house; we feel at home here [East. No. 3].

It is clear from this participant's comments that family history and community connections play a critical role in defining her relationship with the region. In her image of home social connections combine with the importance she invests in her physical residence. This demonstrates that Manzo's (2003) contention that home as a spatial metaphor involves more than just one's residence is correct. It is in the combination of multiple interrelated factors like heritage, social connections *and* the family residence that home is created. It is also clear that social and cultural connections within the region for the participant offset some of the barriers she experiences as a member of a linguistic minority. These participant responses demonstrate that home is made up of a sense of

community and family membership in this region, as well as the presence of family history.

There was a weaker sense of attachment among the participants who were not raised in the Townships but moved to the region from other parts of Quebec or Ontario. While most of these participants discussed a strong sense of attachment to the places where they grew up, most agreed they harbor different feeling towards the Townships. These participants expressed more of a sense of familiarity with the region—a place they work, socialize, have friends and live—but do not necessarily claim the same *type* of membership to the region as other participants. One participant explains:

I'm originally from Gaspé and while I was living there all my best friends moved here to Lennoxville to go to the Cegep [...] Although I wasn't going to Cegep, I just wanted to look for work so I decided to come. I have been here for almost 10 years now. I would not necessarily call it home, because home to me will always be Gaspé. I always refer to that region [Gaspé] as more home, whereas the Townships is more the place I live. I love it here [and] I have been here for a long time now like I said, but it is not home. I do not have that grounded feeling. Memories, smells, and all those feelings I guess that come back to you when you travel home. I have tons of friends here, I work here, my life is here in the Townships now, but I do not think I would ever consider it home like I do in Gaspé. [East. No.8]

While these participants did not express a robust sense of attachment like the six participants raised in the Townships who felt strongly connected and attached to the Townships, they all agreed to having some sense of belonging. The four participants who settled in the Townships from other areas of Quebec and Ontario did not mention the English community as often as the other participants and some even described a certain level of connection within the francophone community of the region. Of these participants, three moved temporarily to the Townships for education and then stayed because of employment opportunities or were motivated to move to the region for

employment. Almost none of the participants that were raised in the Eastern Townships region expressed a sense of attachment to any other region. These participants identified other places as familiar and enjoyable but no other region compared to the Townships, what they considered ultimately as their home. Contrary to this, the participants who did not grow up in the Townships identified the region as a temporary home. This idea of the temporary home or the replacement home shows that home is, indeed, a social construct created through investment of meaning (Manzo, 2003; Cresswell, 2004). The participants endow a particular location with meaning and it becomes a home space for them. For instance, one male participant who grew up in the Gaspésie region and moved to the Townships over ten years ago compares the regions:

It is crazy how similar it is to back home [Gaspé]. Although here [in the Townships] you have more things, services [and] activities I guess you would call them, in terms of the community, The way I go about my life I guess is so similar, and for me that's why I love it here [in the Townships], reminds me of back home [in Gaspé]. [East. No 6]

This demonstrates the similarities between the two regions. For this participant, the Townships function as a replacement home space for the Gaspésie region. For most of the participants, the familiarity of people, places and the small town communities that make up the Townships produce feelings of home and security in the region. These response patterns are similar to the ones in the Gaspésie interviews. When asked about what their ideal home look like, almost all the participants agreed that the Townships is an ideal place to live, but some participants suggested that small changes would improve the quality of life in the region. The most common changes related to language and were specifically identified by the six participants who were raised in the region.

All of the participants expressed a sense of attachment to the Gatineau region in some form or another. Although just fewer than half the participants grew up in regions other than Gatineau, they still felt strong connections to the region. Among the justifications for their sense of attachment, participants emphasized social connections (friend and family networks). The small Anglophone communities that make up the Gatineau region were identified by many of the participants who do not originate from the region as one of its most appealing features. For the remaining participants who were raised in the Gatineau region, most felt a strong attachment because of their heritage in the region through generations of family residency. Employment opportunities were a deciding factor for settlement in Gatineau for both those participants who had and those who had not grown up in the region.

Most of those participants who did have a long history in the region spoke of how ideal the geographical location of the region is because of its proximity to Ottawa. For example, one participant describes why she chose to buy a house and remain on the Quebec side of the provincial border:

I really think other than the lack of services and all that in English it [Gatineau] is a great place to live. Honestly, I work and carry out just about all my social life in Ottawa; I even shop and do groceries there. But in Ottawa, you do not have the nice country landscape you have here in Gatineau, or the outskirts of Gatineau. I'm located in Aylmer; I just bought a house there. I would have never of been able to afford a house in Ottawa, and would have never gotten this much green space around it. It is nice to be able to remain in Quebec because I do consider myself of Quebecer, but living so close to Ottawa helps me stay or live sorry as an Anglophone given all the politics surrounding language in Quebec. [Gati. No.7]

While most of those participants originating from the region stressed the importance of the region's proximity to Ottawa, those who grew up in different regions of Quebec or

Ontario did not mention this proximity as often in their responses and focused more on the Gatineau region.

Although they experience it differently, Gatineau participants also stressed the importance of their region as a home space through references to their heritage and social connections. Most participants articulated home and heritage as the anchors keeping them in the area regardless of their proximity to a larger Anglophone population. As discussed above, many Gatineau participants spend a significant amount of time crossing the border to access services, work, and engage in social activities. Nevertheless, the research findings show that many participants choose to remain residents in Gatineau because of their family history in the region. In fact, many participants suggested that movement between Gatineau and Ottawa is part of this family history. For instance, one young woman who spends almost all her time in Ottawa accessing services and participating in social activities describes the importance of remaining a resident in the Gatineau region:

It's where I grew up so I have a lot of memories here and it's all I have really known, and with regard to Aylmer specifically, we decided to buy a house in Aylmer because to us the region is the region. It's all the same and we fell in love with a house there that was in our budget so it worked out well. I mean now that I am living there it is—in terms of what it means to me—a place where we are starting out. We just got married, and I hope to have kids too, so right now Aylmer is all the same to me but maybe later on throughout life I will have more special feelings to it [Gati. No.10].

To this participant, maintaining residence in the Gatineau region is important to her because it is a locus of memories and it is familiar to her. Her comment on the relationship between Aylmer and the broader Gatineau region is similar to the responses in the Eastern Townships that show participant attachment to the region as a whole. For this participant, Aylmer represents the Gatineau region as a home space even though it is not the same municipality in which she grew up. This participant also sees a weak

division between Gatineau and Ottawa because she does not “really see a border to begin with” [Gati. No.10]. She explains:

I spend all my time in Ottawa, yes, but I have done this since I was little so it is how I was raised to spend my life and my family is on this side. I grew up as a Quebecer. I suppose this is a little different than others living in different regions, but this is how my mother lived so this is how I’m going to live I guess. They made it work so why can’t I is really the way I see it. Of course, I get asked all the time from my Ontario friends or co-workers why [I don’t] just move to Ottawa. Well it is not that simple. I know I spend all my time there anyways and it would be the logical thing to do, but setting aside the low housing costs, I wouldn’t feel like me. It would just be weird. This is what I am used to [and] I consider myself a Quebecer. I would like to raise my children how I lived, how my mother did, my grandmother, and so on [Gati. No. 10].

This participant’s comment that she doesn’t “really see a border to begin with” is important because it suggests that the two locations form one cohesive social location in her regional imagination. For this participant, rootedness defines her identity in socio-political terms. Leaving Gatineau for Ottawa, while perhaps more convenient on a daily basis, would have serious implications on her sense of belonging to the province of Quebec as a whole. Growing up as a Quebecer and maintaining her status as a member of the province proves critical to her. This participant highly values her identity as a “Quebecer” and a permanent move to Ontario would undermine its authenticity as well as her socio-political commitment to her province. This reveals how one’s sense of belonging manifests on different social and cultural scales, and is derived in many ways from family histories. Family history and the concept of home still figure prominently in Gatineau responses, but they experience them differently than participants in the Gaspésie and Eastern Townships.

6.2 Rootedness in the English Community

While geographical location has significant bearing on the everyday experiences of Anglophone minorities in the three study regions, it seems to have little influence on sense of belonging to and rootedness in the English community. Gregory et al. (2009) explain that community is created through shared cultures or values and interests (p. 103). In her study of community, Valentine (2001) stresses how community members share some sense of identity and caring for each other. Selznick (1992) argues that communities are comprised of various factors including historicity, identity and participation (p. 361). The findings show, however, that family heritage and what Cresswell (2004) identified as ‘homeliness’ tends to shape the relationship members of the Anglophone minority has with its regional English community. Carter and Jones (1989) argue, for example, that community involves a sense of “belonging together” (p. 169) and the link between home, family histories and social networks in participant responses suggest that their idea of home involves a sense of belonging to the English community. In their study of home and migration, Ralph and Staeheli (2011) propose, that while belonging is “a subjective feeling held by individuals, it is also socially defined” (p. 523). According to the authors,

The subjective side of belonging is in many respects synonymous with aspects of home’s dimensions of place and identity [...] However, there is an explicitly social element of belonging that conditions home and identity. This social element speaks not so much to the feeling of identification and familiarity as it does to experiences of inclusion and, very often, of exclusion. (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011, p. 523).

Belonging and rootedness in the English community are implicated in the production of feelings of home (discussed above) and identity formation. The “social element” of

belonging is predicated on whether individuals can claim inclusion within the English community.

In Gaspésie, an Anglophone sense of belonging to the region is heightened by the presence of a close-knit community. Links to the community help members of the Anglophone minority strengthen feelings of home and reinforce their social connections. For instance, one middle-aged female participant who grew up in Gaspé, left and then returned to the region, describes her connections to the community:

I grew up here and so did my husband and both of our families are here in this region. I never wanted to leave in the first place, but I wanted to get a university degree so I decided to leave just for that. I am glad I did because it made me want to be here even more and I got to experience living somewhere else for a while too. I am glad we came back because being around family and people you love and are close to is very important to me and I want my kids to know their grandparents [...] and be a part of a community like my husband and I are here in Gaspé. [Gasp. No. 6]

The sense of rootedness and belonging experienced by this participant rests principally on her integration within a community. This is supported by the idea that “[h]ome is an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness” (Cresswell, 2004, p. 24). Accordingly, there is an inherent link between place and home. Leaving the region and then returning stresses the importance of the community in the Gaspésie region. The community thereby functions as a dimension of the region that makes it appealing as a place of residence. Community membership allows Anglophone minorities to reinforce their heritage links within the region and enjoy the support offered by their community. There also appears to be an issue of establishing connections between community and children so that they experience the same kind of integration in the region.

Similar to the Gaspésie, the Anglophone minority in the Eastern Townships expresses a relationship between their sense of rootedness and their closeness within a community. This community integration not only reinforces their sense of belonging to the region, but also develops the meaning of the region for them. It buttresses the feelings of home and togetherness that most members seek out. One young female participant who recently moved back to the region comments:

I have met so many people having gone to school here and a lot of my friends have decided to stay in the area. Although I left and recently came back I am very happy with that decision because now that I have stayed those social connections are that much closer now. It is nice to be able to live in a place where my family and friends are but continue the tradition of being in the area, raising children here like I was raised and my mother was raised. It makes this region more special to me because this is what I consider home: [the] familiarity, the people, [my] family here. The best part of this place is that no matter where you go or what you do you always get the “Oh you’re the daughter of so and so” [reaction]. I love that feeling [East. No.8].

For this participant community makes the region more meaningful for her; she ultimately associates the region with community membership. The tradition of family living in the region is important for her and creates a lasting community to which she can always claim membership. In other words, the region is associated with feelings of home and familiarity. Social connections that extend beyond generational boundaries but extend into the future in the maintenance of community belonging are also critical to producing rootedness within the region.

Anglophone minorities in Gatineau report similar feelings of rootedness and sense of belonging to the region with respect to community membership. Although Anglophone residents of Gatineau report many differences from the other study regions in terms of everyday experiences and the type of community shaped by them, they do have similar outlooks on rootedness. Therefore, the type of community is not determinative of feelings

of belonging to that community. One older female participant who has been a lifelong resident discusses her rootedness in the community:

My parents grew up here, they met in this region, bought a house, raised my sisters and I here and it is just second nature to follow in the same footsteps. I know I mentioned earlier [that] I am not involved in the community at all here and I spend most of my time in Ottawa but it is still important to live here for me [Gati. No.2].

This participant sees her roots in the region as an important reason for remaining in Quebec. She also explains that this choice is critical because she wants her children to be a part of this family history:

I want to raise my kids here and I want them to have the same things I had growing up and I don't think it would be like that in Ottawa. Here they will have the opportunity to learn both languages and make those decisions for themselves when they are older like I had the choice. It is hard to live in Quebec for sure, but I think in this region we are so lucky because we can overcome those barriers by going into Ottawa and still remain in this region where my family is. I can raise my kids like I grew up [Gati. No.2].

It is clear that the close-knit Anglo-community that exists in the Gaspésie region does not similarly manifest in Gatineau. Nevertheless, while most participants in Gatineau feel part of a looser community and experience a lack involvement, they still have express feelings of home and rootedness in the region. This sense of rootedness is based more on family history in the region than on community integration. Therefore, a sense of belonging to the region for Gatineau Anglophones does not necessarily stem from membership to a certain type of community unlike members of the Gaspésie and Eastern Townships regions. Community membership is more disaggregated in Gatineau, likely because of proximity to a larger Anglophone community. The rootedness contingent on community membership in the Gaspésie is absent in Gatineau. This does not mean that

Anglophone minorities in this region lack a sense of belonging or rootedness; instead they manifest it primarily in relation to family heritage and history.

6.3 Sense of Place, Regional Opportunities and Access to Services

The types of services residents have access to and the opportunities available to them in their direct community can contribute their place attachment. One would assume that a lack of service accessibility and employment opportunities would weaken feelings of rootedness, while easy access, availability, and representation would accordingly strengthen it. Bourhis (2008) argues that if one does not feel represented or involved in one's direct community then they are more likely to feel decreased attachment to the region or neighborhood. As discussed in the last chapter, DeMiglio and Williams (2008) contend that a sense of place can be informed by the "type of relationship that people form with place and its attributes" (p.24). For these authors, "the type or degree of sense of place is often shaped by what the place has to offer" (DeMiglio and Williams, 2008, p. 24). While what the region offers its Anglophone residents influences how participants view the region, most do not articulate it as factoring into their rootedness or even their sense of belonging. This reveals something important about sense of place for Anglo-minorities in Quebec because participants articulate a robust relationship to place separate from their everyday experiences of minority status.

In general, the Gaspésie participants seem to effectively cope with everyday barriers like limited English employment opportunities. For instance, one younger female participant who grew up in the region and remains despite the hardships of finding local employment because of limited French language skills reflects:

Well all my family, parents, and siblings are here so it was nice to be able to stay with them, but it is just hard sometimes. Getting a good job influenced because I am not that good in French. But I would not want to move somewhere else because I would be all alone and you would have to start over meeting people. I love being around friends and family so I think for me, personally [...] it is worth it to stay here, not being able to get a good job, and struggle with language because I am with all my friends and family. That makes me more happy than anything else really so I can overlook things most of the time [Gasp. No.1].

Nevertheless, they choose not to leave because for them the importance of rootedness in the community and the history of their family in the region override their difficulties as members of a linguistic minority.

Similar patterns emerge from participant responses in the Eastern Townships. Of the participants interviewed, just over half mentioned leaving the region because of the lack of English employment opportunities. The remaining participants—already in established careers and approaching retirement—agreed they would not leave for any reason. While some of these participants suggested they might move around within the Eastern Townships region, none of the participants agreed that there would be a single determining factor forcing them to leave. The participants who did not grow up in the Townships responded that they would leave only to go back to their home if good opportunities arose, but that in the meantime, they are content in the Townships. The participants originally from the region emphasized that their social connections would be a strong deterrent should the opportunity to leave arise. The participants who did not grow up in this region felt that although they had established strong social connections in the region, it would not be determinative of whether they would be willing to move or not. One older male participant who has been a permanent resident of the region explains,

The Townships are my ideal place to live but maybe with less French. I mean it is nice and makes things interesting [...] at times with the French and all, but it would be nice to have full 100% access to all things in English like the

Francophone residents in this area do. But I love this place, it's a hard question you know because thinking on the scale of the entire world I am sure there are wonderful places to live but the roots and the connection to my family history in this region is irreplaceable for me. I don't think I would have that connection to another place because my family heritage is just not there, it's definitely for me anyways the most important element, even so that I can withstand to live in the area with a lack of English services and work around this like my parents and their parents did. [East. No. 10]

As with participants in the other study regions, family history in the Eastern Townships is identified as the most appealing feature of the region. In fact, this participant comments that the preeminence of French adds character to the region. Furthermore, he notes that living in another city or community would not produce the same sense of rootedness because of the absence of heritage. In these responses the participants are explicit about how much their rootedness outweighs the barriers explored in the last chapter.

Consequently, the language challenges that accompany participants' minority status become a secondary consideration—something they reconcile—because of the strength of their family connections with the community where their family has lived before them.

As explained in Chapter 4, proximity to a larger Anglophone population in many ways provides a mechanism for Anglophone minorities to manage the implications of their minority status. Despite the weakening of the Anglophone Gatineau community explored in that chapter, proximity remains influential in the decision of many Anglophone participants to actually remain in Gatineau. Heritage counters the assumption that living in Ottawa would be easier for participants since many describe its convenience and importance in their lives. One male participant who has always lived in Gatineau, but spends a significant amount of time in Ottawa comments,

I have a huge attachment to this region but really only because of my heritage to the region. My kids were born here, went to elementary school here and I really like how diverse Quebec is, and like I've said several times already, it's really

something about the small communities making up this region and the Anglophones living here among the French. I just really like the vibe here and I'm glad this is the place I decided to raise my children because it will make them stand out when they grow up; being raised as an Anglophone in Quebec and how fluid the two provinces are. Even though we live in Quebec, on the Quebec side, we really spend most of our time in Ontario, socializing, working, consuming really, but it's nice to have the option to stay here in this region where I grew up and where my parents grew up and still live as an Anglophone without many problems or barriers in doing so. [Gati. No. 4]

This participant juxtaposes Gatineau and Ottawa as locations providing different types of resources. On the one hand, Gatineau represents the small community make-up of Quebec, a distinct cultural identity and heritage to which the participant claims membership. On the other hand, Ottawa represents a locus of consumption, social connection and employment. It is also important to note the participant's perception of the provincial border in this region; the border facilitates the ability to remain in the Gatineau region despite the problems that accompany Anglophone minority status. At the same time, rootedness functions to keep participants who are members of this minority community in the Gatineau region despite the overwhelming presence the Ottawa community has in their lives.

When asked if they would consider moving to a different location, only three Gatineau participants said they would not consider moving for any reason. Among the rest of the participants, most agreed they would leave if healthcare became a major issue in their lives or if they were presented with employment opportunities outside the region. Nevertheless, all of the participants agreed that they felt at home in the Gatineau region and felt that it is an ideal location in Quebec because of the easy access to additional English services in nearby Ottawa when needed.

6.4 Summary: The Role of Rootedness in a Community in Anglophones Everyday Experiences Across Quebec

Participants in each region rely on place attachment as the primary justification for remaining in the region. The idea of “home”—a feeling common to participants in all three regions—produces place attachment for participants in spite of the everyday experiences often characterized by challenges and barriers to service accessibility. These barriers reinforce minority status in the region for these Anglophones, but their sense of place is determined by overriding place attachment. As seen earlier, Cresswell’s (2004) concept of home as comprised of feelings of attachment and rootedness can help explain these research findings. Anglophones in these regions imagine home-spaces as places to which they have significant heritage and emotional attachment. Feelings of home and family histories weigh more heavily than access to services and amenities in participant decisions to remain in Quebec. For instance, the isolation that most Anglophones experience in the Gaspésie is diminished by the heritage connections most have with the region. The idea that generations of family members have lived in the same place and worked through the same struggles as a language minority appears to be more important to them in the decision to remain in Quebec than having access to English healthcare. Furthermore, the Anglophones living in the Eastern Townships and the Gatineau regions express similar feelings of “home.” They are willing to withstand constant reminders of their minority status in exchange for the benefits and advantages of connections to a home place, a sense of generational belonging, and rootedness in the English community of the region. Therefore, Blunt’s (2005) idea of home (attachment to place shaped by

everyday experiences) and affection or nostalgia for a place are important features of place attachment for the English minority in Quebec.

Furthermore, the meaning of place is defined for all three regions by feelings of home or the idea of a particular geographical and social place representing a “home space.” The relationship between home and place operates on multiple scales: home, community, place, region and province. The town, region, and province are all accompanied by concepts of home. Minority status then becomes part and parcel of their “home space” and represents familiarity, security and a sense of belonging for most participants in all three regions. They claim membership and belonging on different levels. For example, an Anglophone from Sherbrooke is potentially at once a *Sherbrooke resident*, a *Townshipper* and a *Quebecer*. These claims to membership or belonging can be broken down further into smaller and smaller communities. Cresswell’s theory that place develops when individuals invest meaning in a portion of space and become attached to it has been the guiding principle in this research (Cresswell, 2004, p. 10). The findings on place attachment show that this process is important for the English minority. While fulfilling daily needs often presents challenges for the participants in this study, the meaning they attribute to their region as their home, the site of their family histories and the future of their family creates a robust place attachment that ultimately defines their sense of place. Thus one could trace the connection between place and identity whereby individuals define themselves according to the spaces they inhabit and, in effect, create *places*. Altman and Low’s (1992) assertion that place attachment is comprised of multiple components has been borne out in these research findings. Moreover, their suggestion that place attachment “contributes to individual, group, and cultural self-

definition and integrity” has proven critical to the findings on sense of place for the English minority (p.4). Participant responses have shown how the English minority’s cultural integrity is based on their place attachment on a broad scale and how place attachment shapes individual self-definition. Ultimately, participants claim membership to the larger English minority and define themselves against it.

Chapter 7:

Conclusion: Sense of Place for Quebec Anglophones

The aim of this research was to uncover how differences in geographic context shape sense of place for Anglophone minority populations in Quebec. Anglophones living in the Gaspésie, Gatineau and Eastern Townships have provided valuable insights to the study of how linguistic minority status functions in relation to the meaning of place through factors including location, access to social services and amenities, place attachment as well as community involvement and participation. The research findings reveal that while the meaning of place is complex and differs in certain ways among Anglophone minority populations across these regions of Quebec, place attachment and sense of belonging are ultimately significant to Anglophone identity formation. By drawing on the concepts of place, place attachment, community, home, and mobility this research has demonstrated how Anglophone experiences in the Gaspésie, Eastern Townships and Gatineau regions are at once markedly different and similar. The research findings from each region are far from homogeneous, instead revealing major differences in Anglophone experiences across Quebec, and pointing to the complexities of everyday experience as a language minority in the province. Participant responses show that experiences are dependent on geographic location in different ways, and contribute significantly to an Anglophone sense of place and belonging to the English minority. Taking into account the factors of location, access to services, community, home and heritage, the research shows that Anglophone minority identity is shaped by the same

factors in each study region, but that these factors take shape differently in each. The particular geographic features of a region combine with these factors to produce divergent results in the three separate geographic locations in Quebec. What remains consistent in all three regions is the importance of these five factors that emerged, neither their actual materialization nor the consequences they pose for the English-speaking populations experiencing them.

This concluding chapter will first highlight the methodological contributions to research on place and official language minorities within the discipline of Geography. This will be followed by a discussion of the project's theoretical contributions to the study of Anglophone minorities in Quebec. In particular, this chapter will consider the role of place in shaping a sense of place and belonging to the English community for this official language minority group. The chapter will conclude with a look at potential research questions for future study of Quebec Anglophone experience.

7.1 Methodological Contributions

Discussing personal accounts of everyday experiences contributes to a more in-depth personal dialogue of Anglophone minorities living in different regions of the province. Direct conversations with residents of these regions allowed the study to accumulate a source of first-hand accounts, concerns and issues articulated by individuals who claim membership to the English language minority in Quebec. These research findings build on and complement the current research on Quebec Anglophone populations that has either focused on the Montreal CMA (Raddice, 2000) or has been largely limited to quantitative analysis (e.g., Jedwab 2001, 2004, Cater 2008). As a result,

my research findings provide an alternative source of qualitative data that is revealing of the actual lived experiences of Anglophones in various regions of Québec. The personal accounts and stories told by participants in this study contribute to a greater understanding of everyday life and a sense of belonging to place for official language minorities throughout the province of Quebec.

Reliance on concepts such as sense of place and place attachment to build a greater understanding of the realities of the English minority in the province highlights the importance of Anglophone identities in these regions. In light of the political and social realities of the province with respect to language, a sense of place and attachment manifest despite significant challenges articulated by participants in their everyday experiences. Therefore, applying key concepts like sense of place, place attachment, community, home service accessibility and location in this geographical context demonstrates how important they are to the development of a sense of belonging for official language minorities to the province of Quebec. The use of a comparative approach in the research has provided a diverse and more nuanced view of how Anglophones in different geographical locations experience everyday life as members of a linguistic minority. Placing their experiences in the specific context of the geographic realities of their region has shed insight on the causes of their challenges and the justifications for the consistency of their attachment to these places. It has also proven that Anglophone sense of place is far from homogeneous in Quebec, but that the justifications for remaining in a minority position are consistent.

7.2 Theoretical Contributions

This research has answered how differences in place and geographic context shape sense of place and belonging for Anglophones in Quebec. This raises the issue of what the meaning of place is for Quebec's English-speakers. Theoretical research has shown that meanings of place can be complex and diverse (McDowell, 1997; Entrikin, 1997; Staeheli, 2003; Creswell, 2004). For Anglophones in these three regions of Quebec place has proven to signify much more than a physical location where the participants live. The research suggests that attachment to place manifests through feelings of home, heritage, and rootedness or engagement in the English community and that these are critical factors defining place for Anglophones in these three regions. Moreover, these positive views of place overshadow the everyday struggles with, and constant reminders of, their minority status. The research concludes that, while the challenges that characterize the experiences of healthcare access for English-speakers of Quebec, place attachment emerges in findings as more determinative of Anglophone sense of place. Many authors, like Creswell (2004, p.10), have argued that space is transformed into place when individuals invest meaning in it. The research has shown that place creation for Anglophones is shaped by their healthcare experiences, their home, heritage, and their relationships to the English community. Attachment to place developed through ideas of home, heritage and community balance out the less positive experiences of healthcare in the creation of a sense of place for the English minority.

7.2.1 Geographical Location

This research has evidenced the impact geographical location has on one's sense of place in a region. The findings show, specifically, that isolation and proximity from an Anglophone majority has an effect on the experiences of participants, particularly with respect to healthcare accessibility. The research has shown, in fact, that isolation does not guarantee weaker feelings of minority identity and status. Proximity to an Anglophone majority also reinforces minority status and weakens the English community because Anglophone residents look outward for service and community support. Alternatively, the research demonstrates that Anglophones in isolated or semi-isolated regions like the Gaspésie and Eastern Townships turn inward for support. This internal reliance strengthens their English community and encourages engagement, which result in different feelings of minority status.

7.2.2 Accessing Services

The research has shown that the effects of having access to social services in English, primarily English-language healthcare access, seem to significantly impact sense of place for Anglophone residents in each study region. The perception of a lack of English-language support reinforces feelings of minority status because their needs are neither recognized nor privileged. This weakens to some degree (different degrees in each region) the relationship to place for most participants living in these regions. The research findings suggest that access to English-language services like healthcare is contingent in many ways on physical location. Each region experiences the availability of

services, or the lack thereof, in different ways because of its geographic character. The geographical features of a region subsequently inform sense of place for these Anglophones in conjunction with other factors like place attachment. Minority status for Anglophones is reinforced in each region according to the region's capacity to respond to the social needs of its English residents. This process occurs in different ways and to different degrees in each region. Accordingly, the intersection between physical location and social location shapes the relationship Anglophones have to regional places. That is to say, the availability of services and their accessibility for English-speakers is specific to both physical location and the socio-cultural realities in that location. Gatineau, for example, has access to services in English, but not necessarily in the Gatineau region. This increases minority status for Gatineau Anglophones because of the constant outward search to satisfy their social needs. In the Gaspésie region, on the other hand, accessing services in English reinforces minority status because there is a constant struggle to fulfill social needs in English. In the Eastern Townships, access to services did not emerge as clearly as a significant indicator of minority status because of the inter-community reliance that characterizes the experiences of English-speakers in the region. This results in positive outcomes including increased reliance on community support, which in turn produces a close-knit English community that is less visible in Gatineau. The research findings, therefore, make it clear that geographic location plays a key role in how Anglophones experience access to services and how this in turn impacts their minority identities.

7.2.3 Age and Mobility

Age and mobility emerge in the research findings as interconnected factors that appear to significantly inform the everyday experiences of Anglophones although they were not specifically anticipated in the research objectives. It must be specified that the relationship between age and mobility is a pattern that can be traced in the research findings specific to access to services and community engagement. These two factors did not appear to be as determinative in the findings on home and heritage where there was more consistency across the three study regions. Age and mobility interact significantly with the proximity or isolation characterizing each region. The absence of age and mobility in the findings on home and heritage is consistent with the conclusion in Chapter 6 that isolation and proximity do not influence attachment to place. For example, in both Gatineau and the Eastern Townships, reduced mobility within the aging Anglophone demographic meant the decreased accessibility of services available in neighboring regions (Ottawa for the Gatineau region and adjacent municipalities in the Townships). Moreover, these factors also extend to integration in the English communities in these neighboring regions. These findings ultimately suggest that Anglophones with reduced mobility experience a heightened minority status, which further informs their Anglophone sense of place. The significance of age also arose in the generational disparities in levels of engagement of participants in the English community. These levels of participation are divergent in the different regions. While there is more continuity across age demographics in the Gaspésie, generational gaps are felt more strongly in the Gatineau and Eastern Township regions because of the increased opportunities for mobility outside of these regions.

7.2.4 Home, Heritage and Rootedness in the English Community

The research findings suggest that home, heritage and belonging or rootedness in the English community significantly shapes sense of place in a particular region.

Creswell (2004) argues that home is an important example of place to which people have significant attachments. According to Carter and Jones (1989), community attachment is a bond that ultimately determines how one feels towards a given place. While there are many factors at play that are beyond the purview of this research project, home, heritage and community rootedness do weigh heavily in explaining why Anglophones choose to remain as minorities in these regions rather than residing in places where they could claim membership to majority populations. Therefore, a robust sense of place is created in the interrelation between location, home, heritage and the English community. The research findings support this theoretical approach to the relationship between the English minority and place. The findings reveal that these concepts are significant factors, not only in the choice of Anglophones to remain in minority positions in Quebec, but also in explaining why participants have a strong sense of sense of place in their specific regions. Valentine (2001) argues that a strong sense of community helps to contribute to identity formation and the establishment of a sense of belonging for individuals. Anglophones in the Gaspésie, Gatineau and the Eastern Townships all seem to find a source of identity in the past that they are committed to continuing into the future. Community exists, consequently, both in the English network in their region but also in family histories and heritage to which they claim membership or belonging in all three regions.

7.3 Sense of Place for the Anglophone Minority

The research findings suggest that a sense of place for Anglophones and their identity as members of a linguistic minority are meaningfully connected to social location, that is to say, the social interactions and processes occurring within a geographic space. It is in the combination of these two locations—physical and social—that place is created. This research has tried to demonstrate from participant responses that the realities of social location are shaped by characteristics of physical location. The production of place through this relationship between social and physical relation becomes most evident in the research findings through two important categories of experience in the study region: English-language healthcare access and place attachment.

In spite of the deep-seated challenges that characterize the everyday experiences of English-speakers in Quebec, the research findings suggest that Anglophone residents see themselves at once as minorities and as Quebecers. This research has shown that language barriers preventing adequate fulfillment of basic needs, like the perceived inaccessibility of English-language healthcare, are not the sole factors defining sense of place for Anglophones. Sense of place is also informed by a complex set of factors that comprise robust place attachment for English-speakers. The research findings have proven that Anglophones claim membership to Quebec and express meaningful forms of attachment to places throughout the province in spite of what can almost be described as linguistic marginalization. These Anglophones are doing what past generations did by staying in the region and maintaining their links to heritage and their language minority community.

7.4 Future Considerations and a Look Forward

Although this research provides insight into several issues affecting Anglophones in Quebec, including how sense of place varies between different regions, it is not a comprehensive account of all the influences that might shape or impact Anglophone identities. This research contributes significantly to explaining the influences on an Anglo-minority sense of place in Quebec, but it does not consider other factors that interact with minority identity and sense of place. For instance, future researchers in this subject matter might want to consider other socio-cultural elements that might play a role in the overall results of this research. These factors might include issues of sexuality, religion, gender, economic status, family, knowledge of language, and education backgrounds. Furthermore, similar research could be conducted (especially through a comparative approach) using similar concepts of place, home, mobility, and issues of healthcare within other regions of Canada. It would be interesting to do a cross comparative study between French and English official language minorities across the country to contrast everyday experiences to determine how experiences differ by language and on a larger geographical scale. The level of participation in French communities by Anglophones could, moreover, introduce another revealing element into the study of Quebec's English minority. Future studies may want to consider the levels of integration between the French and English communities in different regions since Jedwab (2004) has argued that Quebec is characterized by highly mixed linguistic demographics. This research could also provide a starting point for the study of other minority language communities in Quebec.

More research could also be conducted on the issues of healthcare among official language minorities and the importance of policy for the province of Quebec. While my research studied the perceptions of healthcare and healthcare accessibility, more research could be completed to evaluate the quantity and quality of services independently and in relation to Anglophone perceptions. The scholarship reviewed shows that healthcare accessibility is a major concern at stake in rural areas of the country so a more comprehensive study of healthcare delivery and experiences in rural Quebec would be an important contribution. This would help situate Anglophone perceptions in context and provide more concrete results on existing awareness gaps. It would also contribute to an understanding of the processes engaged in place production for Anglophones, since as DeMiglio and Williams (2008) argue, an individual's relationship to place is influenced by what that place offers (p. 24). In their introduction to health geographies Gatrell and Elliott (2009) explain "while places may change over time in observable, measurable ways, it is important to note, too, that our *experience* of, or *beliefs* about, them may change too" (2009, p. 11). This study has focused on the sense of place held by participants at the time of their interviews and questions did not encourage participants to consider how their sense of place has changed with time.

In her study of place and home Lynne C. Manzo cautions that relationships to place are not static since "just as place identity is fluid, our attachments to places are also quite dynamic" (2003, p. 52). In light of this suggestion that place attachments are constantly changing and shifting, the trajectory of relationships between members of Anglophone minorities and their regions, their sense of belonging, and place would provide useful insight into Anglophone minority experiences. Moreover, it would

significantly contribute to an understanding of experiences among official language minorities in Quebec and Canada as whole. While studying this context and Anglophone perceptions individually make significant contributions to the field of minority studies in Quebec, a combined research analysis could provide critical insight into Anglophone experience in the province and, more importantly, expose the problem areas that need corrective policy initiatives in response.

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Appendices

Appendix A Recruitment Letter

Erinn Moore
Department of Geography
University of Ottawa

_____, 2010

Dear _____,

This research project led by a Master's student in the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa is an investigation into the *everyday experiences of Anglophones living in Quebec and sense of belonging*. This research is investigating the social geography of the region and how different features such as residential history, having access to healthcare in English; community involvement has shapes the everyday experiences of distinct populations within the region. As part of the MA thesis research project, the group that will be focused on are Anglophones living in three regions: Gaspé, Gatineau and the Eastern Townships.

If you consider yourself an Anglophone living in Quebec, I would like to invite you to participate in a one on one discussion to share your experiences with living in Quebec. The discussion will take place at a suitable place and location upon your agreeing to participate in this meeting. During the meeting, which will take place in English, I will pose a number of questions to be discussed this will roughly last approximately 60 minutes. You are not obliged to answer the questions and can withdraw at any time.

I would greatly appreciate your involvement in this project. We would also be happy to hear from you to provide more information, or to address questions or concerns.

Please RSVP to Erinn Moore, Research Coordinator, if you are interested in participating in this research project.

Sincerely,
Erinn Moore
MA Candidate, Human Geography
University of Ottawa (Canada)

Are you an Anglophone in Québec, living in the Gaspésie Region?

I would like to speak with you about your experiences
Living in the region.

We will be discussing:

- Your experience as an Anglophone
- Your everyday experiences in your neighborhood/province
- Healthcare services
- Sense of place and community experiences

- Who:** MA Thesis research project, a graduate student with the Department of Geography, University of Ottawa.
- What:** Individual Interviews.
- When:** June to August (exact date to be determined)
- Where:** Gaspésie (location to be determined)
- RSVP:** Erinn Moore, Research Coordinator

Looking Forward to Meeting With You and Discussing Your Experiences!

Are you an Anglophone in Québec, living in the Gatineau Region?

I would like to speak with you about your experiences
Living in the region.

We will be discussing:

- Your experience as an Anglophone
- Your everyday experiences in your neighborhood/province
- Healthcare services
- Sense of place and community experiences

Who: MA Thesis research project, a graduate student with the Department of Geography, University of Ottawa.
What: Individual Interviews.
When: July and August (exact date to be determined)
Where: Gatineau/Ottawa (location to be determined)
RSVP: Erinn Moore, Research Coordinator

Looking Forward to Meeting With You and Discussing Your Experiences!

Are you an Anglophone in Québec, living in the Eastern Townships?

I would like to speak with you about your experiences
Living in the Townships.

We will be discussing:

- Your experience as an Anglophone
- Your everyday experiences in your neighborhood/province
- Healthcare services
- Sense of place and community experiences

- Who:** MA Thesis research project, a graduate student with the Department of Geography, University of Ottawa.
- What:** Individual Interviews.
- When:** June to August (exact date to be determined)
- Where:** Eastern Townships (location to be determined)
- RSVP:** Erinn Moore, Research Coordinator

Looking Forward to Meeting With You and Discussing Your Experiences!

Appendix C

Consent Form

Informed Consent Form **“Mais Je Suis Anglophone...”: Geographies of Place and Belonging in English-Quebec”**

I, _____, have been invited to participate in “Mais Je Suis Anglophone...”: Geographies of Place and Belonging in English-Quebec”, as an interview respondent. I acknowledge the invitation by Ms. Erinn Moore, associated with this project within the Department of Geography at the University of Ottawa.

The interview should last approximately 60 minutes. The researcher does not anticipate a need for subsequent interviews with me.

I understand that the interview is a part of a MA Thesis research project, a study that is looking at the ways the Anglophones living in Quebec and their sense of place and attachment compared to other regions in Quebec. I am aware that this is part of a MA Thesis research. In this interview, I will be discussing issues regarding my experiences *as an Anglophone in Quebec* with the interviewer. I understand that my participation will result in a deeper understanding of the ways everyday experiences affect sense of place and belonging and better planning for linguistic minority populations within the region under study.

I consent to participate in this interview, which will elaborate on my experiences in Quebec, especially how language affects my daily activities and my ideas about the region and how I belong in it. I agree to the discussion being tape recorded, supplemented by note-taking. I may decline to answer any questions and may withdraw my participation in the study at any time without consequences. If I wish to withdraw from the interview any information gathered up to the time of my withdrawal may be used in the research project (check which one applies to you): Yes, any information gathered up to the point of my withdrawal may be used _____ or No, any information gathered up to the point of my withdrawal may not be used _____. I understand that my participation will be kept confidential. Anonymity of participants will be maintained at all times with the use of pseudonyms, including in any publications that result from this study. The notes resulting from this discussion will be retained by the investigator for the sole purpose of research in this study. They will retain these notes in their personal research office until 2015, at which time the notes, recordings and transcriptions will be destroyed.

I consent to the researchers making digital reproductions of any mementos that I share during the course of the interview. However, these reproductions are for the researchers' use only. They will retain these electronic files in their personal research office until 2015, at which time they will be destroyed. If the researchers wish to use any of these

electronic files in publications or presentations that result from this study, the researchers will separately solicit consent. I also acknowledge that there is possibility of the contributions to this research might result in publications of a MA thesis and/or academic journals. However my identity will remain confidential at all times.

This research team consists of the principle investigator whose coordinates are listed below. Erinn Moore, a M.A. student, have been identified as research coordinator:

I understand that this project has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Committee. I am aware that I can address any concerns about the project to the professor supervising this research project:

I consider myself informed and agree to participate. There are two copies of this consent form, one for the researcher, and one that I can keep.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D

Interview Guide

Introduction:

- What age are you currently? [18 to 38], [39 to 58] or [59 and over]
- What is your level of education? [None], [secondary], [post-secondary], [university degree] or [higher]
- What is your language background? [English only], [English with basic knowledge of French], [Bilingual in both English and French] or [other language]
- Where do you currently live?

Theme One – Sense of Place:

- Why did you choose this place to live? What does this place mean to you?
 - Have you always lived in the same place? Neighbourhood? City?
 - Where friends, family or another social connection an influence in this decision to staying in this place?
- Do you feel a sense of attachment to the neighbourhood or city where you live? If so why or how?
 - Do you feel any attachment to any other place? Neighbourhood? City? If so why or how?
- Would there be any reason for moving to a different region or neighbourhood?
- Do you feel “at home” where you are currently living?
 - Do you currently live where you want to be living?
 - Do you feel “at home” in any other neighbourhoods or regions?
 - What would be your ‘ideal’ home? And why?

Theme Two – Community:

- Is your community predominantly English or French or other?
- Are you involved in the neighbourhood or city where you currently live?
 - If yes: How are you involved?
 - If no: Why are you not involved?
 - Factors or barriers as to why not? Is language a barrier?
- Do you think that your neighbourhood or city meets all your basic needs?
 - Do you have access to everything you need here?

Theme Three – Healthcare:

- What do you usually do if you are sick or need advice about your health?
 - Places you may go? (For example emergency, family doctor, internet, etc)
- What is your opinion about having a regular medical doctor or a family doctor?
- How do you feel about receiving health advice in English or French?
 - How do you deal with these concerns?
- How concerned are you with having the option to be serviced in English or French?
 - How do you deal with these concerns?

- How do you feel about English services compared to those of French services in your community?
- How do you think these services compare between neighbourhood-to-neighbourhood or city-to-city?
- Do you feel like Francophones have better healthcare options? Or Anglophone and/or Francophones have better options in different cities like Montreal for example?
- How would you feel about moving to a new location because of access to healthcare in your preferred language of choice?
- If you have had the opportunity to use healthcare outside of your town or community, how do you think these services compare between neighbourhood-to-neighbourhood, or city-to-city?

Conclusion:

- Are there any questions you would like to add at this point?
- Any last comments or words you would like to share?