

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE MAGDALEN ISLANDS' ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Stéphanie ARSENEAU BUSSIÈRES et Hélène CHEVRIER

Socio-economic profile of the Magdalen Islands English-speaking community

Stéphanie ARSENEAU BUSSIÈRES and Hélène CHEVRIER

Centre de recherche sur les milieux insulaires et maritimes (CERMIM)
37, chemin Central, C.P. 2280, Havre-aux-Maisons
Îles-de-la-Madeleine QC Canada G4T 5P4
E-mail: cermim@uqar.qc.ca

Report presented to Industry Canada (Contract no. 5018631)
March 2007

ISBN 978-2-9810207-3-4 (printed)
ISBN 978-2-9810207-5-8 (PDF)
Legal deposit – Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 2008
(French edition : ISBN 978-2-9810207-0-3 (printed), ISBN 978-2-9810207-4-1 (PDF),
Centre de recherche sur les milieux insulaires et maritimes, Îles-de-la-Madeleine)

This document should be cited as follows:

Arseneau Bussières S. and Chevrier H. (2008). *Socio-economic profile of the Magdalen Islands English-speaking community*. Centre de recherche sur les milieux insulaires et maritimes (CERMIM), Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Report presented to Industry Canada, vi + 83 p.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our most sincere thanks go especially to all those people who agreed to participate in this study, by offering their time but mostly by sharing their knowledge and viewpoints. These individuals, whose anonymity we agreed to respect, generously contributed to the creation of this *Socio-economic Profile of the Magdalen Islands' English-Speaking Community* and we extend to them our warmest thanks.

We also wish to express our appreciation to all the organizations that took part directly or indirectly in the drafting of the descriptive section, by contributing either documents and official reports or factual information. Thus, we thank CEDEC, CAMI, the Municipality of Grosse-Ile, the Future Committee, Grosse-Ile High School, the Cape Dauphin Fishermen's Cooperative, the Point of Service of the CLSC de la Pointe de l'Est, the CLD des Îles, the SADC des Îles, the Comité ZIP and the Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine.

FOREWORD

The Magdalen Islands archipelago, with its characteristic fishhook-shape, is located right in the middle of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, 215 km from the Gaspé Coast and 105 km north of Prince Edward Island. Appendix A provides a map of the Magdalen Islands for consultation. The Islands are aligned on a south-west north-east axis (62° W – 47° 30' N). They cover a land area of 203 km² and are home to 13,077 people, which represents a population density of approximately 64.3 people/km².

The archipelago's geographical location affords it a unique character, both in terms of physical isolation and vitality, culture and heritage. Despite a relatively small landmass comprised of a dozen islands and islets, of which seven are inhabited and six are linked to each other by road, the population is scattered in small communities all across the Magdalen Islands' landscape. Two linguistic communities have shared the archipelago right from its early settlement: the French- and English-speaking communities. The Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community is composed of all English-speaking individuals living on the Islands, which includes Anglophones residing in predominantly French-speaking communities. In this report, when speaking of the English-speaking communities (plural), we will be referring to the two communities where English is the main language spoken, that is Grosse-Ile and Entry Island. In fact, each of them displays its own specific socio-economic characteristics.

The mandate we were assigned, i.e. drafting a portrait of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community, has forced us to consider this community according to boundaries drawn based on its specifically linguistic nature. This approach has no doubt allowed us to focus on the community's internal vitality. However, these same limits, required by the study process, do not necessarily account for the age-old and daily exchanges which have created and still create relationships between the English- and French-speaking communities and individuals of the archipelago. The English-speaking community's configuration, itself plural and complex, is rather dynamic and identities shape themselves from the various exchanges and interdependencies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
FOREWORD	ii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
METHODOLOGY.....	2

PART ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY	3
1.1.1 Economy.....	6
1.1.2 Schools.....	7
1.1.3 Churches	8
1.2 CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT	9
1.2.1 Grosse-Ile	9
1.2.2 Entry Island.....	11
1.3 INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM	12
1.3.1 Education.....	12
1.3.2 Church.....	14
1.3.3 Health	14
1.3.4. Daycare	15
1.3.5 Financial Institutions	16
1.4 DEMOGRAPHY	16
1.4.1 Population Structure by Age	18
1.4.2 Mobility	20
1.4.3 Anglophones Living Outside the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island Communities	21
1.4.4 Education.....	22
1.5 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	24
1.5.1 Fishing.....	27
1.5.2 Fishermen's Cooperative	28
1.5.3 Salt Mine.....	28
1.5.4 Tourism.....	29
1.5.5 Agriculture	31
1.5.6 Aquaculture	31
1.5.7 Sealing.....	31
1.5.8 Businesses	32
1.5.9 Income of the English-Speaking Population.....	33
1.5.10 Communications	33
1.5.11 Transportation.....	34
1.5.12 Leisure.....	36
1.5.13 Development Organizations (adapted from Gagnon)	36

PART TWO: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

2.1 COMMUNITY'S VIEWS ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT	39
2.1.1 Changes Seen During the Past Twenty Years	39
2.1.2 Undertakings, Activities or Projects Seen as Success Stories for the Local Community.....	44
2.1.3 Undertakings or Projects That Ended in Disappointment or Failed, According to the Community.....	46
2.1.4 Sectors of the Economy Considered Important and Showing Potential for the Future	49
2.2 CONTRIBUTION OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY TO THE REGIONAL ECONOMY	53
2.3 CONCERNS, DESIRED CHANGES AND ADDITIONAL NEEDS OF THE ENGLISH- SPEAKING COMMUNITY	55
2.3.1 Demographic Aspects.....	55
2.3.2 Economic Aspects	56
2.3.3 Political Aspects.....	57
2.3.4 Social Organization Aspects and Cultural Aspects.....	57
2.3.5 Ecological Aspects.....	58
2.4 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY	59

PART THREE: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS	61
3.2 ECONOMIC ASPECTS	62
3.2.1 Fishing.....	62
3.2.2 Tourism.....	62
3.2.3 Businesses and Shops	63
3.2.4 Media, Communication and Transport	63
3.2.5 Seal Hunt.....	64
3.2.6 Aquaculture	64
3.2.7 Agriculture	65
3.3 POLITICAL ASPECTS	66
3.4 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION ASPECTS AND CULTURAL ASPECTS	68
3.5 ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS	69
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS	70
CONCLUSION	74
REFERENCES.....	76

APPENDIX A: Map of the Magdalen Islands 77
APPENDIX B: Interview Outline..... 78
APPENDIX C: Compilation of the Snapshot Survey 79
APPENDIX D: Informed Consent and Undertaking of Confidentiality 81
APPENDIX E: Projects and Activities Discussed During the Grosse-Ile Socio-Economic Summit, 1999 82

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Table I:	Anglican Population of the Magdalen Islands, by Community	8
Table II:	Demographics of the Magdalen Islands' English-Speaking Community	17
Table III:	Population Having Moved During the Past Five Years, According to their Origin.....	21
Table IV:	School Attendance by Magdalen Islands' English-Speaking Populations Aged 15 to 24, 2001	23
Table V:	Highest Education Level Achieved by Individuals Aged 20 to 64 in the English- Speaking Communities of the Magdalen Islands, in 2001	23
Table VI:	Active Population Indicators in 2001	25
Table VII:	Lobster Landings by Fishing Ports in the Magdalen Islands, 2006.....	27
Table VIII:	Income of the Grosse-Ile Population.....	33
Figure I:	Evolution of the English-Speaking Populations of the Magdalen Islands	18
Figure II:	Evolution of the Population of the Magdalen Islands.....	18
Figure III:	Population Distribution by Age, 1991	19
Figure IV:	Population Distribution by Age, 2001	19
Figure V:	Place of Residence of the English-Speaking Population Older than 18 in the Other M. I. Communities.....	22
Figure VI:	Industry Sectors of the Active Population on the Magdalen Islands	25
Figure VII:	Industry Sectors of the Active Population in Grosse-Ile	26
Figure VIII:	Industry Sectors of the Active Population on Entry Island	26

INTRODUCTION

Industry Canada, within the framework of its Development of Official-Language Communities Program, has given to the Centre de recherche sur les milieux insulaires et maritimes (CERMIM) the mandate to do a socio-economic profile of the English-speaking citizens of the Magdalen Islands. The goal of this study is to highlight the socio-economic characteristics of the archipelago's Anglophones in order to gain a better understanding of the needs of this community and ensure a better balance between these needs and services provided.

In November 2006, the mandating organization asked CERMIM to submit an information report in which would appear the following elements:

- “An historical summary and geopolitical background of the English-speaking community, including a list of institutions, events and activities that partake in the community's vitality.
- A demographic overview describing today's society and highlighting the current trends in terms of migration/mobility and education levels for the whole population, but which also marks off the circumstances of each one of the two main English-speaking communities, namely Grosse-Ile and Entry Island. A comparison with the demographic evolution of the whole archipelago, as well as an accounting of the members of the English-speaking community who live among the French-speaking majority, will be required.
- A presentation of the local economy, as seen by these communities from their point of view. The economic sectors considered significant, as well as the changes perceived and desired by the communities will be documented. Sectors showing an economic growth potential for these communities, as well as the latter's relative and variable involvement will be identified. The English-speaking community's contribution to the archipelago's economic dynamics will also be dealt with.
- Finally, a series of recommendations of potentially strong enough industrial sectors which might contribute to the region's development; as well as any other recommendations deemed relevant to the goals of this study.”

This report is divided in three parts: the first one contains the results of the literature review and provides answers to the first two points required; the second part, a summary of interviews, presents the community's viewpoints with respect to its development; an analysis, an assessment and recommendations are found in the report's third part. Finally, and before the conclusion, a summary of the main findings and a few recommendations of a general nature are offered.

METHODOLOGY

As a first step, chronological reference points retracing the settlement and social and economic organization of the English-speaking community were established from various books and documents recounting local history. Consulting local newspapers (*The First Informer, Le Radar*) published over the last six years (2000-2007) allowed us to state the current geopolitical context. This literature review also let us keep abreast of the events that took place during recent years and which are testimony to the English-speaking community's vitality and/or to the difficulties it has faced. Along the same lines, the various studies led by the Community Economic Development and Employability Committee (CEDEC) were also reviewed. In addition, we have collected demographic data from the Canadian Censuses (Statistics Canada) since 1961, when available. Finally, collection of socio-demographic data was supplemented by the consultation of official reports obtained from various local organizations and through various discussions of more or less informal nature. The first part of this report provides an overview of the literature review phase.

Secondly, in order to highlight the evolutionary trends and socio-economic development as perceived and desired by the community itself, 13 individual semi-structured interviews and two group discussions were conducted with 21 of the community's main stakeholders. (See the interview outline in Appendix B.) This part of the study was conducted in accordance with ethical principles governing research with human subjects. A certification request was submitted to UQAR's ethics committee. A short survey was also administered to these participants to complete the information compiled and to assess summarily the community's vitality. (See Appendix C.) Handing over of the results of the literature review to the participants (Phase 1), before the interviews, in the form of a summary document, ensured validation and updating of the assembled information.

Selection of participants was performed with a view to bringing together people from each and every development sector and from the whole English-speaking community. From the outset, it should be made clear that the latter is comprised of two "territorial" sub-groups, the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island communities. It also includes about 120 Anglophones living among the French-speaking majority in the other islands. We have strived in our study to describe the specific character of each of the two main groups.

PART ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

The discovery of the Magdalen Islands is generally dated back to Jacques Cartier's voyages in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534 and 1535. However, the existence of the Magdalen Islands is revealed to the British Crown in 1591, by the voyage made by the *Pleasure* which had on board Thomas James from Bristol (Béland, 1987: 9). Basque, Breton and Norman fishermen had already made contact there with the Mi'kmaq, for whom *Menquit, The Floating Island*, was a fishing and hunting area during the summer season (*Ibid.*). Despite the growing interest shown by the English for this fishing region, the following century proves to be a relatively calm period, during which France attempts to colonize the archipelago by the settling of families on Havre-Aubert Island. After the conquest and the Paris Treaty in 1763, the Islands come under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland and Colonel Gridley is granted around that same year a temporary permit to harvest the resources of the new Crown territory (Béland, 1987). The walrus, also called sea horse, is then a very lucrative resource as it provides oil, ivory and meat. The Colonel will petition to obtain the authorization to be accompanied by a few Acadian families who have already mastered the art of capturing this powerful animal. A few Canadians and Irishmen are said to have also followed him. Gridley brings to the Islands his four sons, twelve families, five houses, six boats and all the equipment required by the hunt (Naud, 1993: 25). Even though it is recorded that these settlers set up their living quarters on Entry Island, their presence in Havre-Aubert and Old Harry¹, an area then well-suited to walrus hunting, is also mentioned. The Rock-Hill-Point forest supplied the fuel used in rendering the grease into oil, while the water's depth allowed ships to moor and load cargo. Grosse-Île is therefore inhabited as early as 1765 by Acadian families in the employ of Gridley. They will subsequently sell their properties to English-speaking families, the Goodwins, Rankins and Clarks, who arrived in 1828 from Nova Scotia. That year also marks the official founding of the Grosse-Ile village, with the Municipality of Grosse-Ile being incorporated in 1892.

Around the end of the eighteenth century, the American presence becomes more intense in the waters surrounding the archipelago (Larocque and Fortin, 2003). Even though these southern merchants had coveted and exploited the resources of the Magdalen Islands for several

¹ Old Harry is part of the Municipality of Grosse-Ile. It is what is called a "township" (canton) on the Islands.

decades, the first English families to settle, starting in 1790 according to Béland (1987), were more often of British origin. Moreover, they settled at the eastern end of the territory, on the island which will soon bear the name of its new owner, Admiral Isaac Coffin (today called East Point, Old Harry and Grande-Entrée). Coffin is indeed granted the *Magdelens* on April 24, 1798. He will attempt to impose a seigneurie-type system of government, profoundly disliked by the residents (Larocque and Fortin, 2003: 107). Only the people on Coffin Island will be tax- and rent-exempt (Béland, 1987: 37), as this property is retained by the Crown in order to ensure the presence of the Protestant clergy and provide them support (Clark, 2000: 13).

The first group of Anglophones arrived in 1822 at Entry Island. The first settlers are the Dicksons and McLeans from Liverpool (NS). Later on, families coming mostly from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but also from the Scottish Highlands and Cape Breton, will settle on this island located at the entrance of the archipelago (Béland, 1987: 40). In 1831, five families call it their home (Clark, 2000).

As the years go by, the population increases and by doing a patronymic study, one can confirm that these two centres of the archipelago's English-speaking community (Grosse-Ile and Entry Island) are growing in parallel; the overlap of surnames being the result of marriage rather than the moving of whole families (Béland, 1987).

The 1831 Census reveals the presence of about 20 English-speaking families on the Islands, out of a total of 195 (all languages combined), which represents about 10% (Larocque and Fortin, 2003: 107). However, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Brion Island² also becomes, like Entry Island, Grosse-Ile and Old Harry, a territory where English fishermen and farmers predominate.³

Merchants, also mostly English-speaking, prefer to be near their markets (the harbours) and even more so their customers, who are mostly Francophones. They live on the central and western islands, i.e. Havre-aux-Maisons, Cap-aux-Meules and Havre-Aubert (*Ibid.*: 109). Over the years and as a result of the numerous shipwrecks, the population increases on both sides of the linguistic and religious barrier, but the proportion of Anglophones will never exceed 12,5%.

² Brion Island is now uninhabited and became in 1988 a Québec Ecological Reserve.

³ The word "English" is here used to refer to English-speaking individuals, without no attempt to specify their origin. This convention shall apply to the rest of this study.

The harsh living conditions, famine years, and poverty, all linked to an extreme dependence on the merchants, forced many families to leave the Islands around the end of the nineteenth century. In 1881, the English-speaking population had reached its peak, accounting for 12.5% of the total number of inhabitants (Larocque and Fortin, 2003: 144). This is also the period when the lobster canning plants started to appear, as the harvest of this shellfish officially began in 1875, giving rise to an economic boom in the region (CAMI, 2006: 22). In the early 1900s, there were no less than four lobster canneries in the eastern part of the archipelago, including William Leslie & Cie. These processing plants will not only make it possible for women to start doing paid work, but will also attract Acadian and Maritime families in the eastern part of the archipelago. Indeed, the 1881 Census noted 25 new surnames in Grosse-Ile and in what will later become Grande-Entrée (Larocque and Fortin, 2003: 143).

The impossibility for residents of the Magdalen Islands to own their land and above all the obligation to pay rent very soon exasperated them. In 1889, the Magdalen Islands territory still belonged to the Coffins. When Van Bareveld, their agent of Dutch extraction, tried to evict the people living on Entry Island and Brion Island, a rallying of support materialized across all the islands despite linguistic and religious differences, and a petition was signed and forwarded to Ottawa. It had the effect of allowing in 1895 all the residents of the old Coffin estate to buy their lands (Clark, 2000: 19 and Naud, 1993: 83).

The attempt in 1889 to relocate some of the Magdalen Islands' Anglophones was not the only one. In 1967, in response to the worrying situation faced by many Québec rural communities, the Eastern Quebec Development Bureau (BAEQ) was to define at the request of the Québec government a land-use management plan, which included a section that dealt with the Grosse-Ile community. The most controversial of the recommendations was the one concerning the reorganization and centralization of services and populations, i.e. it was suggested that the whole eastern part of the archipelago be closed, including the Grosse-Ile area, accompanied by the relocation of its people in the western part of the Cap-aux-Meules Island. The indignation and anger generated ensured that this project did not go any further, but a second management plan encompassing the whole of the Magdalen Islands, this one drafted in 1972 by the Gaston St-Pierre firm, was to take up some of the BAEQ's recommendations. Under this plan, the Grosse-Ile residents were to be relocated in Grande-Entrée and their houses, left empty, be used as tourist accommodations. This second threat in less than six years had not only the effect of rallying the archipelago's entire population to their cause, but also of having the people

of Grosse-Ile realize that it was now essential to develop their own management plan. The latter was to be based this time on the principle that Grosse-Ile must remain in existence. But the announcement by the ministère des Affaires municipales that the St-Pierre plan had no official status had the unfortunate effect of stopping the work being done by the planning and development committees, who were then dissolved. The alternate plan was never put into writing (Richards, 1982: 205).

1.1.1 Economy

Unquestionably, **fishing** has always been the main economic sector for the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island communities. However the English, from Scotland and Ireland, living on Entry Island Brion Island and Grosse-Ile, are among the first residents of the Magdalen Islands to earn their living by **farming**. Each family grows its own garden plot to put food by in anticipation of the long winter months (CAMI, 2006: 21). In 1870, when both Francophones and Anglophones do admit to the benefits of self-sufficiency, only a few farmers can get by without the income obtained from fishing. These include William Dingwell (Brion Island) and Nancy Dickson (Entry Island) who market their farm products to the American fishermen (Larocque and Fortin, 2003: 116-118). These activities will diminish with the specialization of fishing during the twentieth century (Béland, 1987: 72), whereas **seal hunting** remains an important activity in times when provisions become scarce (CAMI, 2003: 27).

General stores will arrive in Grosse-Ile around the 1950s (*Ibid.*), but **fishing** remains the main activity of the archipelago's residents since the extinction of the sea horse in 1799. The beginning of the twentieth century also sees a downturn of the lobster fishery due to dwindling stocks. Conservation measures will be adopted. Changes brought to fishing boat equipment will allow a diversification of fisheries. Around 1920, export of live lobsters begins which will have a negative impact on the local economy due to the concomitant reduction in plant processing. The bankruptcies of Leslie Company and Eastern Canada Fisheries around the late 1920s will be hard blow to the English economy and several families will leave the Islands. The French businesses filled the vacuum and bought the lobsters landed by the English-speaking fishermen. It will not be until 1993 that the first English-speaking fishermen cooperative will appear, namely the Cape Dauphin Fishermen's Coop.

While the English-speaking entrepreneurs and shopkeepers in Cap-aux-Meules have already lost some of their influence around the 1950s, sources agree on the fact that Grosse-Ile is a

thriving community between 1945 and 1960 (Richards, 1982: 201). On the other hand, Grosse-Ile's prosperity is slowly being threatened around the early 1960s by the development of the offshore fishery. The expansion of this modern fishing fleet causes a meteoric rise in cod and herring catches, as the number of Magdalen Islands boats grows from 5 to 163 between 1952 and 1963. This spectacular increase was soon to have a disastrous effect both on the resource and the inshore fishery, which was practiced by almost all the Grosse-Ile fishermen (*Ibid.*).

The offshore fishery expansion program which was intended initially to increase Québec's participation in this sector, raise worker productivity and stabilize employment levels in this industry, had actually the effect, according to Richards (1982), of throwing off balance the livelihood of thousands of inshore fishermen along the Gulf, including many from the Magdalen Islands. The first direct intervention by the federal government to help them out was to provide unemployment benefits to the fishermen, viewing them as "seasonally unemployed workers". The decrease in fish stocks and increase in government transfers brought about a reduction of fishing activity, while the traditional way of life and diversified economy were gradually replaced by alternating periods of work and unemployment (Richards, 1982: 202). These new reassuring circumstances gave rise to a decrease in participation by the members of the various communities to the regional economy, which caused a degree of isolation of these communities. Indeed, in the sixties contacts between Anglophones and Francophones of the Magdalen Islands were reduced to the minimum (*Ibid.*).

1.1.2 Schools

The school system slowly comes into existence in the English-speaking community, which explains why parents and grandparents themselves take on, during a certain period of time, the schooling of children. Some prefer however to give a better education to their children and send them to the Catholic convent in Havre-aux-Maisons or to the Académie in Lavernière (CAMI, 2006: 15). To attain higher education levels, it is then required to leave the Islands, often to go the Maritime Provinces. It is also possible to study privately with pastors. A few young girls can in this fashion qualify later on for teaching posts in the local school (*Ibid.*).

The first English school was initially built in Grosse-Ile in 1860, i.e. almost forty years after the village's founding. Several others have since been erected, in Old Harry, in East Cape and in Grande-Entrée, to better accommodate the growing student population.

Entry Island saw its first school not long after Grosse-Ile. Previously, schooling was done in private homes. However, teachers were hard to come by as is the case for all English schools of the archipelago early in the twentieth century. Each year, recruitment of teachers was beset with difficulties, a situation which explains why schools operated on an irregular basis, sometimes between four and eight months a year.⁴ There was a lack of resources to educate the children of a hundred families scattered across the archipelago (Larocque and Fortin, 2003: 201).

1.1.3 Churches

The first English settlers had to wait until 1852 to be able to practice their faith in a church. Before the construction of the first place of worship and before even the foundation of the Anglican Mission of the Magdalen Islands by the Reverend Jehoshaphat Mountain in 1850, people assembled in warehouses to pray. An Anglican church was built in Havre-Aubert around 1860, a second one in Cap-aux-Meules in 1869, and a third one on Entry Island in 1895. Even though Protestants were scattered over five islands (G.I., E.I., C.A.M., H.A. and Brion) and priests had to be sent by Québec's Anglican Bishop, their number doubles between 1870 and 1901. In Havre-Aubert, the church will however be abandoned, as it was serving only three practising families and a few passing visitors (Larocque and Fortin, 2003: 164). The beginning of the twentieth century will not be an easy time for the Anglican religion, with fewer than one hundred families, and four churches, two presbyteries and five schools to maintain in good repair. The generosity of English-speaking families and a few washed-up timber shiploads on the beaches will allow the construction of new churches (*Ibid.*: 201). Between 1931 and 1961, the Anglican community grows by barely 45 worshippers and no fewer than eleven priests lead the faithful.

Table I: Anglican Population of the Magdalen Islands, by Community

Community	1874	1954	1974	2001
Havre-Aubert	35	4	3	0
Entry Island	48	201	197	145
Cap-aux-Meules	82	62	5	80*
Grosse-Ile/ East Cape/ Old Harry	135	410	446	365
Brion Island	35	0	0	0
Total	335	677	651	590

*Applies to the central islands: C.A.M. and H.A.M.
(Diocese of Quebec, 1975:13 *in* Béland, 1987: 44)

⁴ As the school and fishing calendars overlapped, and since fishing attracted, not to say required, the contribution of youths, these reasons have also often been put forward to explain a certain irregularity in school attendance.

1.2 CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL CONTEXT

While English residents of the Magdalen Islands share a language and religion, the history of the communities varies on several points, in addition to diverging from the political standpoint. The distance separating the communities of the archipelago's eastern point and Entry Island has maintained a certain parallel trajectory of the cultures, a situation which has not contributed to the creation of major economic, commercial, administrative or political links. The following sections therefore attempt to draw two distinct portraits of their respective political organizations, as well as of their institutions and activities which preserve the vitality of each one of these communities.

1.2.1 Grosse-Ile

The political context of the Municipality of Grosse-Ile has gone through significant transformations over the last five years and the municipality is still trying to find a more comfortable situation within the new municipal framework of the archipelago. Indeed, since its official foundation in 1828, Grosse-Ile has always maintained its independence in the political sphere, and this until the provincial government ordered in 2001 the amalgamation of all the Magdalen Islands municipalities. A critical look on these recent events lets us better understand the current situation of this community of fewer than 550 people who share the eastern end of the archipelago with the French-speaking community.

In the fall of 1999, a referendum was held across the Magdalen Islands in order to sound out the population concerning a potential scenario where the Islands would become a single large municipality. While the feelings on the issue remain mixed, the Grosse-Ile residents seemed, for their part, to oppose this solution in large numbers (close to 95% were against it, according to a local newspaper). In addition to the linguistic and cultural gap they perceive as regards the rest of the Islands, their municipality is financially independent thanks to a large degree to property tax revenues originating from the salt mine located in their territory. The Mayor at the time, with the support of a large proportion of his citizens, therefore opted to oppose the amalgamation of his municipality. However in July 2001, the decree is adopted and the new single Magdalen Islands municipality becomes a reality. The Mayor will nonetheless succeed in obtaining bilingual district status for Grosse-Ile. This status allows an expanded representation compared to that granted to the other communities, through the election of two representatives in addition

to the councillor sitting on the municipal council, and the obtaining of district offices located in the Grosse-Ile community which provide municipal services in English.

The two years following the amalgamation of the municipalities have however left a bitter aftertaste among a number of Grosse-Ile residents. For some, it amounts to a loss of power, a decline of the democratic process, whereas others deplore the creation of a large debt load, an increase in taxes, the loss of services or simply the longer wait times to obtain services, the loss of jobs, the hiring of members of the French-speaking community to carry out landscape maintenance and the lack of upkeep of the district offices. The neglected state of the building housing the municipal offices has moreover forced the authorities to condemn these offices and relocate them temporarily in Grande-Entrée, which did not go over well with some of the residents of Grosse-Ile.

Following the election of the Liberal government in 2003, a contract was awarded to an independent consulting firm to study the possibility for a former recalcitrant municipality to “demerge” or to “dismember”, depending on the terminology used. First of all, the creation of a register to record the signatures of at least 10% of the population of a former municipality is demanded, so as to allow later on the holding of a referendum where a majority of more than 50% of the population will be required to let the said municipality break out of the new “single municipality”. An act is drafted, Bill 9, to manage the process. Determining how the debt and costs of this process are to be allocated however is a cause of headaches for the leaders and committees created to ease the transitions.

Even though only 10% of the population needed to sign the register to begin the referendum process, 35.2% of Grosse-Ile’s residents did so. The residents of Cap-aux-Meules also reached the required number of signatures, which allowed these two communities to vote on their eventual status on June 20, 2004. Four hundred and thirty one (431) residents of Grosse-Ile express their wishes that day, with a clear result of 81.7% in favour of demerging from the large municipality. The procedures are once again very complex, especially since Cap-aux-Meules,, the central municipality, also wishes to recover its independence. But the economic consequences and the unusual situation of a central municipality wanting to leave the amalgamated entity will convince Cap-aux-Meules’ residents to reconsider, forcing Grosse-Ile to go it alone with respect to its decision to demerge.

While Bill 9 seems complex, it states clearly that municipalities wishing to leave amalgamated cities can not reclaim in full their former status. The division of costs and responsibilities is not however clearly set out and this opens the possibility of numerous questions, disagreements, even frustrations on the part of each of the parties. The most recent municipal elections, which were held in November 2005, allowed the residents of Grosse-Ile to reiterate their desire for independence as they had to choose between one candidate who favoured a return to a single municipality and a second one who supported the demerger option. The latter won, getting 187 ballots against 121, and thus causing the rebirth of the Municipality of Grosse-Ile whose powers were however diminished.

As of January 1st 2006, the territory of the Magdalen Islands is made up of two separate municipalities united in a single town. The latter includes the councillors of the Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine, plus the Grosse-Ile Mayor. The Municipalité des Îles also acts as a regional county municipality (MRC). The allocation of files, responsibilities and budgets between the two municipalities, as well as between the latter and the MRC and town, remains even today a source of conflict, which is not without some impact on the political climate over the last few years. The Municipality of Grosse-Ile's position with respect to the amalgamation has created or intensified the split between the communities and polarized relationships even more along minority/majority linguistic lines. What little decision-making authority available to the town council (1 vote out of 7) is, moreover, diminished by the linguistic barrier.

1.2.2 Entry Island⁵

Located in the south-eastern part of the archipelago, Entry Island is the only area still inhabited that is not linked by road to the rest of the archipelago. Covering an area of 4.2 km², the Island offers a landscape formed of round mounds, with the highest, Big Hill (158 m), being also the highest point of the archipelago. The rolling hills and highland which are the main features of the western part of the island have contributed to the utilization of the land for farming, which has experienced a degree of marginalization since the development and professionalization of the fishery.

⁵ The first phase of the *Strategic Plan oriented towards tourism*, drafted by Luc Gagnon in 2005 and mandated by the Entry Island Harbour Authority (Administration Portuaire de l'Île d'Entrée), offers a socio-economic profile of this community, both up-to-date and relevant. Some sections of the present report therefore quote verbatim some parts of Gagnon's work. These sections will be clearly labelled as such.

In 1965, Entry Island, which was part of the Havre-Aubert municipality, separates from the latter to create its own town council. This relative independence lasts up until 2000, when the political and economic contexts force it to team up once more with its historical partner. Following the 2001 municipal mergers, a seat at the municipal council is set aside for the Entry Island representative, a post that will be granted to that person for the duration of their term of office only. During the municipal elections held in November 2005, it was decided that only one representative will stand for the two communities of Cap-aux-Meules and Entry Island, thus creating a new electoral district. Various reasons justify this union with Cap-aux-Meules: relative proximity due to the presence of the harbour, presence of most businesses patronized by the Island's residents and finally, the degree of bilingualism of its residents, which is higher in Cap-aux-Meules than anywhere else in the archipelago.

Responding to the municipality's inaction and faced with the urgency of some issues, including the purchase of a new ferry, the residents of Entry Island set up in 2001 a committee comprised of a dozen members, the *Future Committee*. Incorporated in 2006, it has currently ten members and meets on a regular basis with the municipal councillor.

1.3 INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

1.3.1 Education

The Islands' English-speaking community receives services from the Eastern Shore School Board, which oversees the educational facilities of the English-speaking populations of the eastern part of Québec. It currently has one school where children from pre-kindergarten to grade 11 are taught in Grosse-Ile, and another school in Entry Island. In Grosse-Ile, the school teaches 80 pupils this year, a decrease of 18% compared to 2000⁶. Some courses can be offered by correspondence, i.e. on the Internet, as is the case for the Mathematics 536 course, which has two students enrolled in 2006-2007.

An adult training centre offers a course in professional fishing which is equivalent to a secondary school vocational diploma (diplôme d'études professionnelles – DEP), a level of schooling now required of any person applying for a fishing licence. Twelve students enrolled for the 2006-2007 school year. Moreover, six others are taking a course training them as home care assistants,

⁶ Since 2000, the number of students enrolled at the Grosse-Ile school has fallen from 98 to 80 (2000-01: 98 students; 2001-02: 94 ; 2002-03: 95; 2003-04: 89; 2004-05: 83; 2005-06: 85; 2006-06: 80).

whereas the centre offers also extension activities, that is courses tailored to the wishes and needs of a group of participants. In 2006, a canvas painting class was offered to eight people, with the costs being shared between the latter.

On Entry Island, children have the benefit of an educational facility, the *Entry Island Intermediate School*. It teaches children from prekindergarten to grade eight, after which some students will complete their studies (up to grade eleven) in PEI, in Grosse-Ile (none during the current school year), in the Gaspé Peninsula or in the archipelago's comprehensive school (French-speaking). At the time of this study, the Entry Island school has seven enrolled students and a teaching staff of two. As sixteen students attended the school in 2004-05, this represents a decrease of more than 55% due to the fact that three families moved to the central island. This decision to send elementary school level children to French facilities departs from the historical trend where islanders elected to complete their studies in their mother tongue.

There have been a few instances of courses being offered in Entry Island, computer science, professional fishing and first-aid courses. Yet none have been offered in recent years. The school principal currently teaches an introduction to computers course to some interested individuals, although this class is provided on a voluntary basis and is the result of his own initiative.

Out of a total of 900 students attending the Islands' regional comprehensive school, twelve are of English-speaking origin, including seven in the lower secondary cycle and five in the upper cycle. However, out of these twelve students, only one is a resident of Grosse-Île. The other eleven live in Havre-aux Maisons (4), Fatima (3), Grande-Entrée (3) and Havre-Aubert (1). This tendency of Anglophones from the rest of the archipelago to choose the regional comprehensive school leads one to conclude to a fuller integration to the French environment, while it ensures bilingualism in these young people. The French elementary school located in Havre-aux-Maisons also has this year five students who come from Grosse-Île. These students thus have the opportunity to learn the second official language, as some of them attend this school for a few years only and complete their studies afterwards in an English school. The archipelago's adult education centre has at the present time only one female English-speaking student, who is enrolled in a professional vocational course to become a nursing assistant. The program leading to a fishing secondary school vocational diploma (DEP) is also offered on the central island, but it has only attracted future fishermen who speak French.

The Centre d'études collégiales des Îles, which is a campus of the Cégep de la Gaspésie et des Îles, offers general education in addition to a few technical programs. Currently, three English-speaking students are enrolled, all of them residents of Grosse-Île. Groupe Collégia, which offers custom-designed courses often at the request of employers, does not currently have any English-speaking students, although they sometimes do.

1.3.2 Church

The Anglican Church remains even today the community's main English-speaking religious institution. However, a single priest must minister in three churches: Holy Trinity in Grosse-Ile, St-Peter's by the Sea in Old Harry, and All Saints' Church on Entry Island. The Church would seem to be nonetheless still active in the communities, whether through its involvement in local activities or by the organization of fundraising drives to ensure the upkeep of its heritage buildings. Marriages, baptisms and funerals in the community are usually held in the church and the population generously meets the church's costs, thus marking the importance of this institution within the community.

1.3.3 Health

The archipelago's hospital centre, now part of the Centre de santé et des services sociaux (CSSS) des Îles, is located in Cap-aux-Meules on the central island. Besides the linguistic skills of the medical staff, nothing ensures that services are provided in English. To this day, no complaint has been filed relative to this matter. Each department relies on a few bilingual persons, except perhaps long term care where the situation can be more of a problem according to the facility's director.

The point of service for the Centre local de services communautaires de l'Est (local community services centre – CLSC), also part of the CSSS des Îles, is located in Old Harry, mid-way between Grosse-Ile and Grande-Entrée. The following services are available, on a full-time or part-time basis, in both official languages:

- A full-time (f.t) all-day-care nurse
- A visiting nurse (f.t)
- A part-time (p.t) psychologist

- A social worker (p.t)
- Two visiting homemakers (f.t.)
- One secretary (f.t)
- One physician (p.t)

A school nurse, a psychologist and a social worker also visit the Grosse-Ile school on a regular basis.

Geographical remoteness of the English-speaking community in the eastern part of the archipelago has prompted it and the CSSS to set up a first responders service (a team of 10 to 12 first-aid attendants) whose members have received appropriate training.

On Entry Island (Gagnon, 2005), health services are also provided by a CLSC point of service. The medical staff is comprised of two nurses each fulfilling their share of the duty hours, and a physician who visits the population once a month or more often, according to needs. Also, the Entry Island community can rely on a team of six first responders, first-aid attendants specially trained to assist the nurse in providing health care.

CAMI (Council for Anglophone Magdalen Islanders) is also involved in health care, through its support of projects related to the providing of health services to Anglophones, both those of Grosse-Ile and of Entry Island. As a member of a network of English-speaking partners, it has been able during recent years to attract health providers. CAMI is currently drafting an agreement between McGill University and the archipelago's hospital centre to offer internships to nursing students. While this project's main goal is the return of young English-speaking graduates, it will also help improve the level of services offered to all residents of the Magdalen Islands.

Finally, the weekly newspaper *The First Informer* also plays a role in health care, by publishing each week one or several information capsules related to health.

1.3.4. Daycare

Two Centres de la petite enfance (childcare centres – CPE) offer their services on the Magdalen Islands. Across the archipelago, they operate two child care centres and offer home child care.

For the English-speaking community, a single funded home child care service is provided to Grosse-Ile families, which has space for six children. Two others are located in Grande-Entrée, in French-speaking families while the rest of the archipelago has no English-speaking day care facilities.

1.3.5 Financial Institutions

While the National Bank has traditionally been the financial institution selected by Anglophones, the Desjardins Credit Unions have garnered over the years a growing share of these patrons. First, because of the proximity of their services (a service counter is located in Grande-Entrée, the next-door community, and the Havre-aux-Maisons Credit Union is located near the closest supermarket), but also because this cooperative possesses a greater knowledge of the area.

1.4 DEMOGRAPHY

In 2001, the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking population totalled 735⁷ individuals, i.e. 5.7% of the whole population. This population, as we know, is divided into two separate communities, Grosse-Ile and Entry Island, to which one must add a number of residents living in the other communities of the archipelago. The population on Entry Island is entirely English-speaking, whereas Statistics Canada's 2001 Census indicates that Grosse-Ile has 75 residents whose first language is French, thus English-speaking individuals represent 83.7% of the population.⁸ In the case of Anglophones living elsewhere in the Islands, it is estimated that they number slightly more than a hundred – 125 according to our calculations using data from the 2001 Census (see their distribution in Figure VI).

While the Magdalen Islands have seen a significant decline of their population between 1986 and 2001, the population of Grosse-Ile seems, on the contrary, to have grown slightly reaching historical peaks in 1991 and 1996 (see Figure IV). The English-speaking municipality however aligns itself with the regional downward trend, with a variation rate of -4.2% between 1996 and 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2001 Census). The Magdalen Islands seem to show a positive net

⁷ The rounded figure principle used by Statistics Canada to protect privacy can, for a relatively small population, have a significant impact on proportions. It is therefore important to consider all the statistical data provided as estimates.

⁸ The 1996 Census allows us to distinguish between mother tongue and language spoken in the home, whereas this data is not available in the 2001 Census. We have observed that in the case of the Grosse-Ile population in 1996, 100% used English in the home, while 2.6% also spoke French. We therefore feel confident in asserting that all the Grosse-Ile residents are part of the English-speaking community.

migration in 2005, with a slight increase of close to 2% since 2001 (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2006).

Entry Island seems on the other hand to have suffered a clear downward trend (a -12.6% variation between 1996 and 2001, according to Statistics Canada's 2001 Census). Despite a brief lull from 1981 to 1986, Entry Island has witnessed the departure of a number of its residents, who mostly went to the Maritime Provinces. The population has not only diminished considerably during recent years, but the ratio of individuals more than 15 years old exceeds that of Grosse-Ile and of the Islands as a whole (86.7% versus 79.8% and 83.3% respectively).

Finally, while these two communities are seeing their populations decrease – slowly or drastically – the English-speaking population living in the other communities seems on the contrary to be enjoying some degree of growth. As can be seen in Table V and Figure IV, the number of these English-speaking residents has grown from 80 to about 125 between 1996 and 2001, a 56% increase. One might guess that this growth is due to the arrival of English-speaking newcomers and to the movement of people from Entry Island and Grosse-Ile toward the central islands.

Table II: Demographics of the Magdalen Islands' English-Speaking Community

	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001	2005**
Grosse-Ile	451	487	475	500	532	560	569	567	543	
Entry Island		242	247	223	167	196	176	175	153	
Other communities ⁹						100	95	80	125	
Total English pop. ¹⁰						810	760	715	735	
Magdalen Islands	12749	13313	13303	13515	14130	14532	13991	13802	12824	13077

(Source: Statistics Canada; ** Institut de la Statistique du Québec, 2006)

⁹ These figures come directly from census data about each one of the French-speaking municipalities, where only the individuals who indicated that English was their mother tongue have been considered (excluding those for whom English AND French are their first languages). It is indeed hard to ascertain the limits of the English-speaking community when members of the same family belong to the two different linguistic communities. We opted for this method to ensure agreement with the numbers appearing in the report on English-speaking communities produced by the DFO.

¹⁰ These match the number of individuals of the former Magdalen Islands municipalities who have stated that English was their only mother tongue during census-taking.

Figure I: Evolution of the English-Speaking Populations of the Magdalen Islands

(Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses)

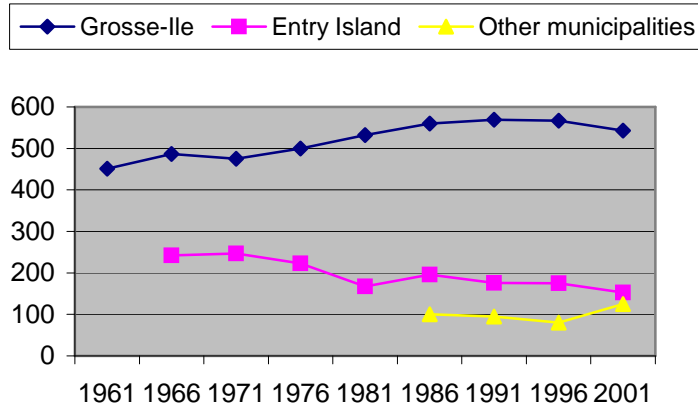
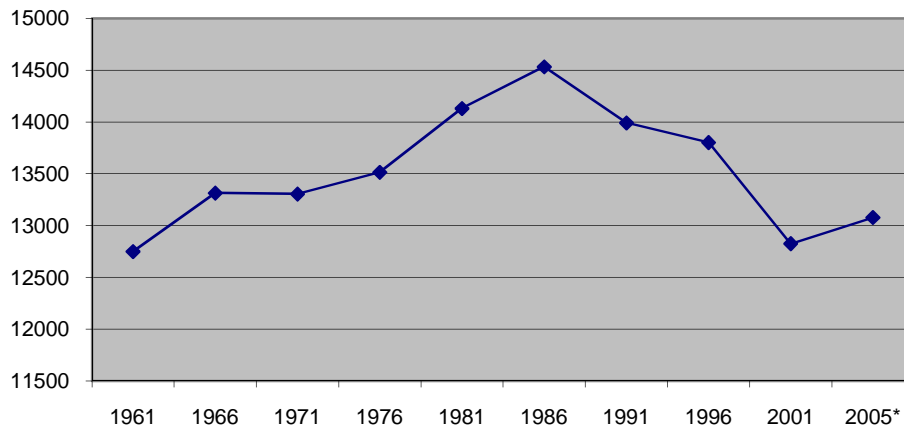


Figure II: Evolution of the Population of the Magdalen Islands

(Source: Statistics Canada, censuses and *Institut de la Statistique du Québec)

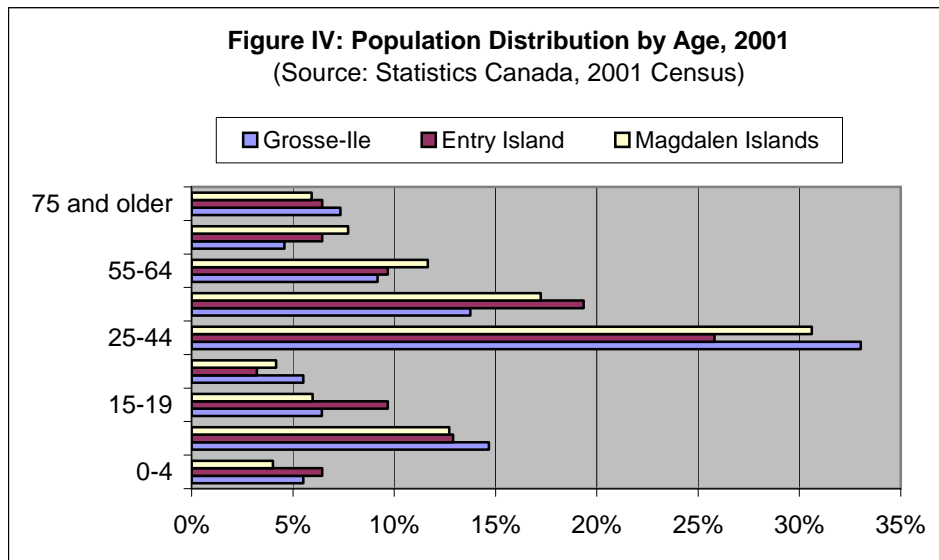
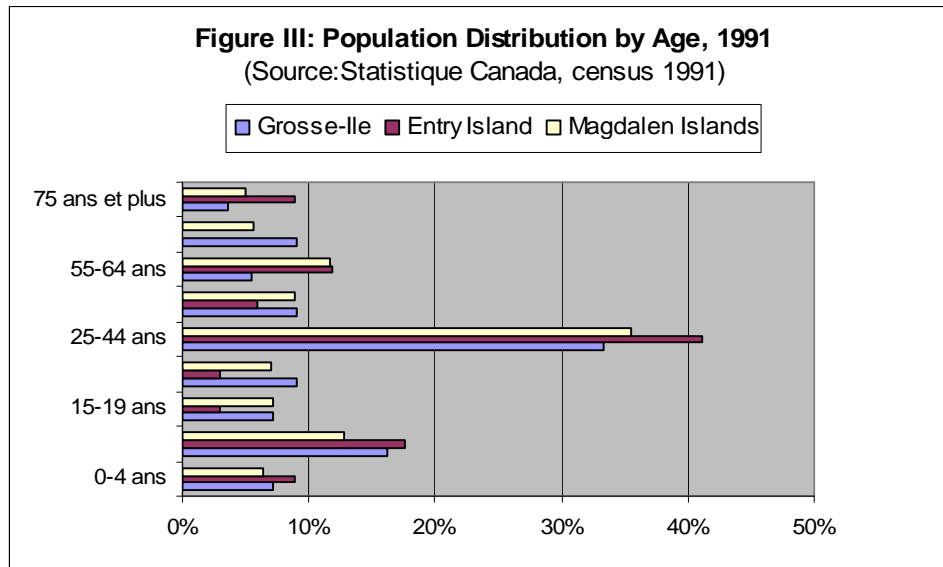


1.4.1 Population Structure by Age

The median age of the populations is very telling, with diverging results for the two main English-speaking communities on the Magdalen Islands. While the median age is 36.5 in Grosse-Ile, it is 41.9 on Entry Island and 41.1 in the whole archipelago. Thus, we see that Grosse-Ile displays

an median age which is lower than both the averages of the Islands and the province (36.5 in Grosse-Ile versus 38.8 in the province).

The age pyramid, as can be seen in Figure VI, illustrates this gradual increase in the number of English-speaking people aged 55 and older, with combined percentages for Grosse-Ile and Entry Island of 17.6% in 1991 and 21.2% in 2001. This latter figure is however lower than the percentage for the Magdalen Islands taken as a whole, which was 25.3% in 2001.



While the fertility rate has generally been higher for the English-speaking population in the Maritimes (2.5 children on average for Anglophones and 2.3 for Francophones versus 1.8 for the province of Québec), this demographic advantage has lessened somewhat on account of the migration of women in their most fertile years (Institut de la Statistique du Québec *in* DFO, 2006). On the Magdalen Islands, one can observe in the Entry Island and Grosse-Ile populations a decrease between 1991 and 2001 of the proportion of young people aged less than 25, as it falls from 34.2% to 31.7% of their respective populations. This ratio is however still higher than that obtained for the Islands as a whole, which comes to 26.9%. If we look at the 15-to-19 and 20-to-24 age groups, i.e. the time period when young people are usually studying, we find that they are proportionally more numerous within the English-speaking community than within the French-speaking one (12.0% versus 10.1%).

The Magdalen Islands' English-speaking population would appear to be sustaining a less pronounced drain of its younger generation compared to other populations in the Maritimes and the rest of the Magdalen Islands. However, continuing to ensure availability of job opportunities to limit departures and encouraging the return of young graduates remain major challenges for the English-speaking communities of the Magdalen Islands.

1.4.2 Mobility

In a world where paid employment takes on an ever increasing importance, internal migrations are frequent on the Islands. However, for Anglophones, the linguistic barrier leaves them less inclined to move. Historically, we notice a strong trend by Anglophones to migrate to the Maritimes, whether to study or to work. Recently, a diversification of this itinerary has been noted. First of all, the province's main urban centre, Montréal, is chosen as the destination to go study, where some choose the English colleges to further their education. The Western Provinces, for work opportunities, also represent a new destination for many young English-speaking Magdalen Islands residents. Almost twenty of them are currently in Alberta, where work in the building and petroleum extraction trades is lucrative and plentiful. Since 1996, a move to the main islands by a few Entry Island families explains partially the slight increase of the English-speaking population living in the rest of the archipelago. These families nevertheless return to their native islands for the fishing season, a journey also accomplished by several families settled on Prince Edward Island. This explains why the population of Entry Island varies considerably depending on the season, numbering fewer than a hundred during the winter in 2007.

Table III: Population Having Moved During the Past Five Years, According to their Origin

	1986		1991		1996		2001	
	G.-I.	E.I.	G.-I.	E.I.	G.-I.	E.I.	G.-I.	E.I.
Total Pop. Aged 5 or more	540	170	500	160	515	140	510	-
Living in the Same Province	10	5	45	0	10	0	35	-
Living in Another Province	20	40	35	0	15	10	0	-

(Source: Statistics Canada, censuses)

Table III shows the number of people who lived, five years before the census, in another area. Although there is no discernible general movement trend, the number of Anglophones who have lived in another province except Québec and have recently moved to Grosse-Ile and Entry Island decreases over the years.

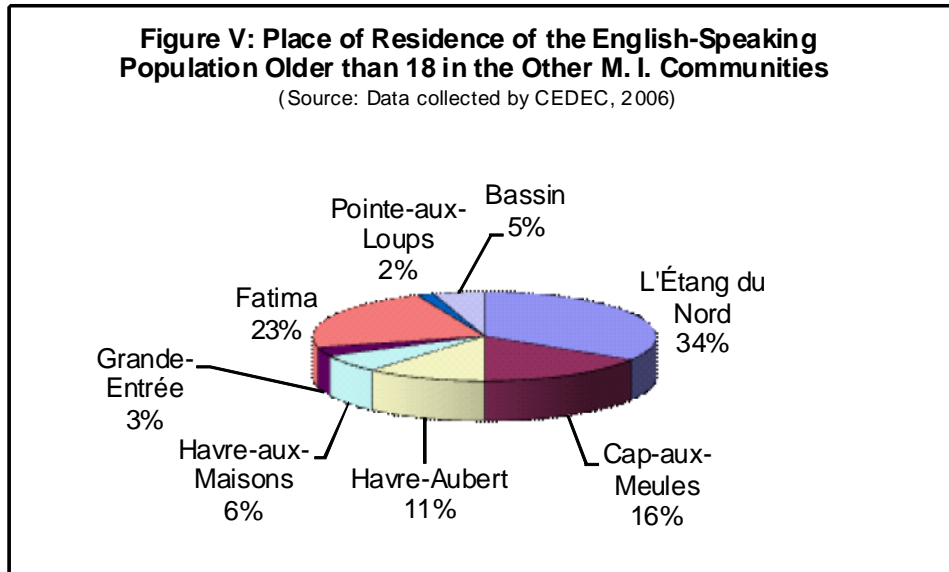
1.4.3 Anglophones Living Outside the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island Communities

Finding and drawing a portrait of the people of English origin living outside the Grosse-Ile or Entry Island communities is not a simple task. The chart below makes it possible however to characterize these persons based on their place of residence using data provided by CEDEC. Moreover, some data allows us to gain insight into certain trends, such as the decision by a few Entry Island families to come live on the main islands during the school year.

The arrival of a few individuals of English origin who have elected to stay in the archipelago for personal reasons also contributes to the increase of this scattered linguistic group. However, contacts of the latter with the local English-speaking communities are becoming infrequent and they integrate more readily into the majority community.

The increase in mixed marriages (between Francophones and Anglophones) is also a factor which has an impact on the sociolinguistic make-up of the Magdalen Islands. While these alliances were rare one or two generations ago, the number of mixed families today has grown considerably. On the other hand, the relocation of Grosse-Ile Anglophones to the central islands remains uncommon, as this phenomenon is more prevalent among the residents of Entry Island.

Figure V shows the distribution of this population, based on the total number of adults (62 who are 18 or older, out of a total of 120 living in the French-speaking community).



1.4.4 Education

The population of the Gaspé Peninsula – Magdalen Islands is less schooled than that of the province as a whole. Residents of the Magdalen Islands have less schooling than those in Québec taken as a whole. Several factors account for this situation. A greater brain drain, low educational requirements of several jobs related to natural resources, no university in the region and a lack of professional jobs are some of the reasons mentioned. The education level of the population of the Magdalen Islands is very similar to the region's, whereas the English-speaking communities show some specific characteristics (Emploi Québec, 2004).

Table IV displays the gap between the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island populations and the Magdalen Islands as a whole. Close to 50% of the English-speaking population between the

ages of 15 and 24 does not attend school¹¹, while fewer than 33.5% of French-speaking individuals aged 15 to 24 do not attend school.¹²

Table IV: School Attendance by Magdalen Islands' English-Speaking Populations Aged 15 to 24, 2001

	Grosse-Ile	Entry Island	Magdalen Islands
Total Population Aged 15 to 24	65	20	1,300
Percentage of the Population Aged 15 to 24 Attending School Full-Time	53.8%	50%	63.1%
Percentage of the Population Aged 15 to 24 Attending School Part-Time	0%	0%	3.4%
Percentage of the Population Aged 15 to 24 Not Attending School	46.2%	50%	33.5%

(Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census)

Table V: Highest Education Level Achieved by Individuals Aged 20 to 64 in the English-Speaking Communities of the Magdalen Islands, in 2001

	Grosse-Ile	Entry Island	All Eng.-Speaking Pop.*	Magdalen Islands
Total Population Aged 20 to 64	325	105		8,080
Less than a High School Diploma	52.3%	62%	61%	41%
High School Diploma and/or Some Postsecondary Schooling	20%	0%	9%	20%
Trade School Certificate or Diploma (AVS Vocational Diploma)	12.3%	0%	4%	12%
Certificate or Diploma of Collegiate Studies	9.2%	9.5%	14%	16%
University Certificate or Degree	6.2%	0%	12%	10%

*This data is taken from the 2006 DFO report.
(Sources: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census, special compilation)

¹¹ However, in the English school system, the fact that students go directly to university following high school allows some of them to earn a university degree at the age of 21, which could explain in part the high rate of people between the ages of 15 and 24 who do not attend school.

¹² These numbers however date back more than five years ago and according to school staff and community members met during this study, dropout rates have decreased significantly during the past five years.

The table above shows the highest levels of education reached by English-speaking populations as well as those attained in the Magdalen Islands as a whole. The level of schooling is lower in English-speaking populations. The proportion of individuals who have earned less than a high school diploma is higher in Grosse-Ile and Entry Island, 52.3% and 62.0% respectively, compared to 41% for all Magdalen Islands residents. This situation is unsurprising however when one considers the importance of jobs geared to resources (primary sector) held by Anglophones and the few opportunities for English professional positions available to graduates.

Moreover, the total English-speaking population on the Magdalen Islands exhibits higher levels of college and university studies than those of the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island communities combined. Even though these figures seem surprising and are admittedly impacted by Statistics Canada's number-rounding method (which probably accounts for the total lack of university graduates on Entry Island), they nonetheless show the high proportion of highly educated Anglophones living in the French-speaking communities. This difference could be the result of the fact that service industry jobs are concentrated in the central islands, whereas Anglophones originally from outside the Magdalen Islands who came to fill jobs whose educational requirements are high usually choose to live in the French-speaking community. Finally, these numbers lead us to surmise that none or only a few of these Anglophones not living in Grosse-Ile and Entry Island work in the primary sector.

1.5 ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

While, in a general sense, belonging to a linguistic minority entails some difficulty in gaining access to employment, the Magdalen Islands run against this trend. The group of unilingual English-speaking residents not only displays a rate of employment that is higher than that of the archipelago (73.4% versus 61.1%), but also a rate higher than the rate of employment of the archipelago's bilingual persons (66.6%). One finds that people residing in on Entry Island and Grosse-Ile communities earn their living essentially through fishing, and that this was their occupation when the 2001 Census was taken (Emploi Québec, 2004: 8).

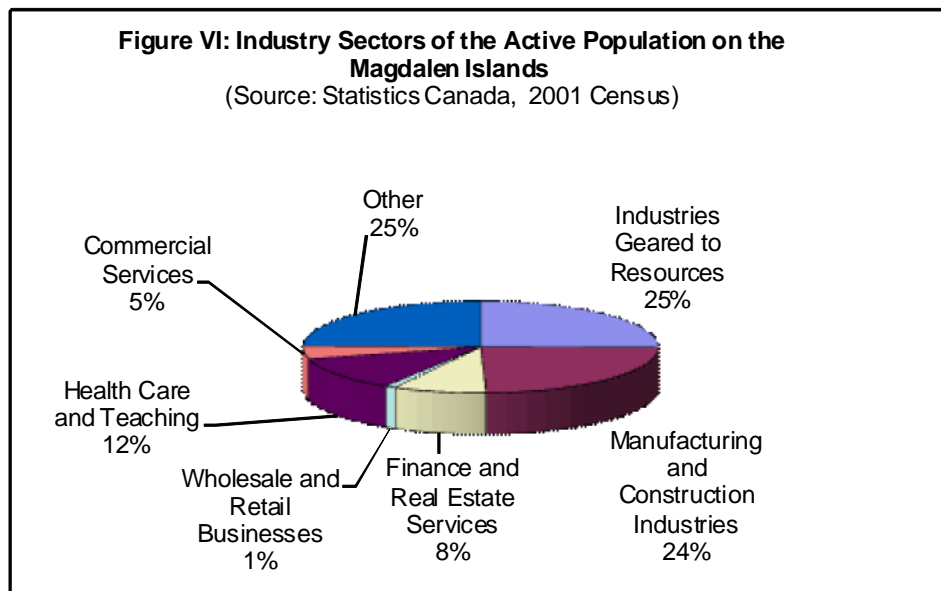
The Maritimes are often described as a "resource region" due to the important role played by natural resources in the economy. This is especially true of Anglophones on the Magdalen Islands where a total of 64% of the working population is employed in this sector. Of this

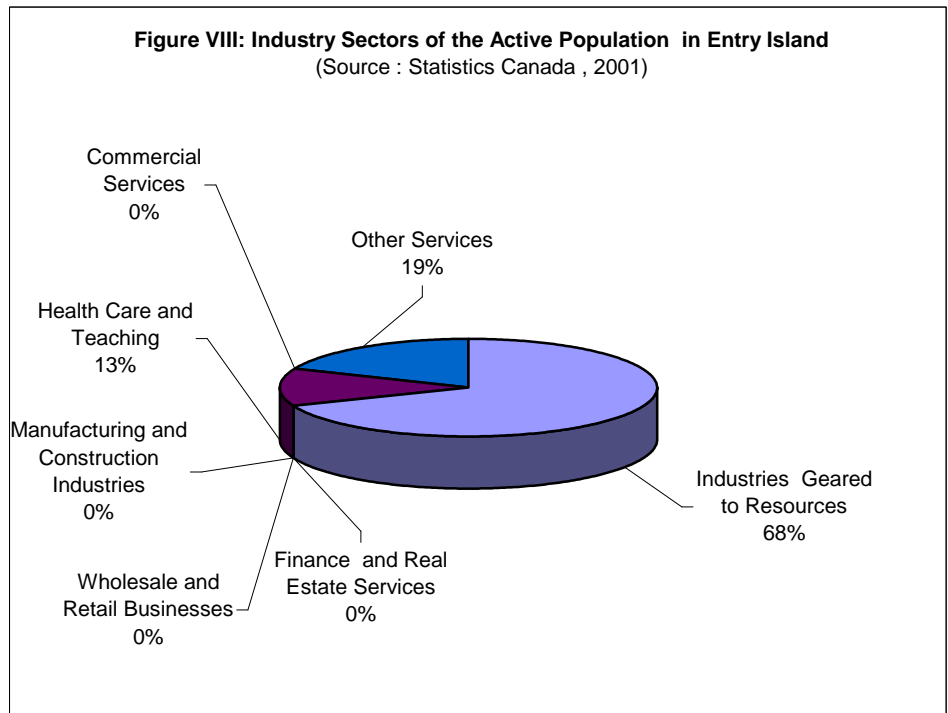
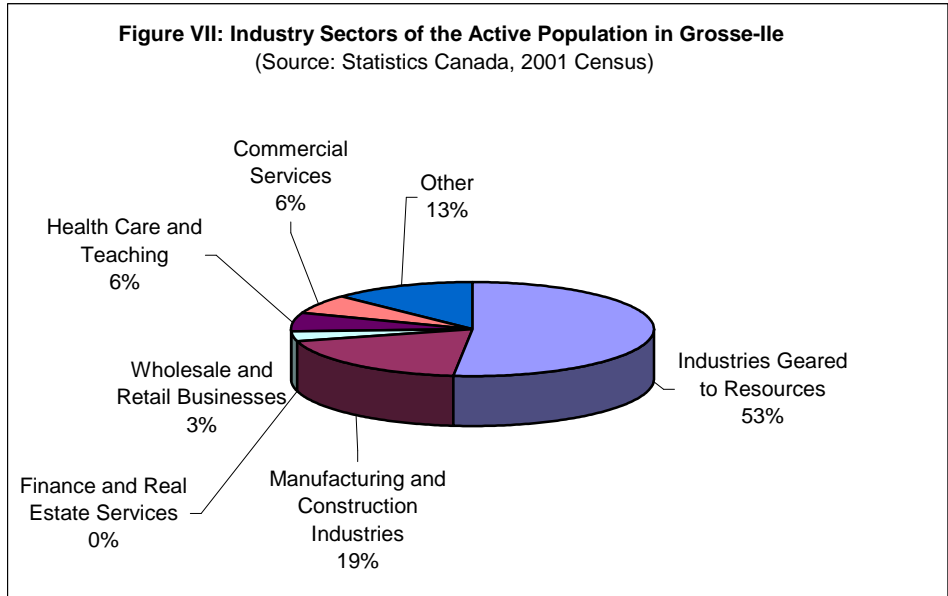
number, 98% work in the fishing industry (DFO, 2006). According to the people consulted in the context of this study, this corresponds to substantially all households where at least one of the incomes derives from fishing or fish processing. The tables below demonstrate the importance of the industry geared to the fish resource for the active population of the various communities.

Table VI: Active Population Indicators in 2001

	Grosse-Ile	Entry Island	Magdalen Islands
Participation Rate	77.4%	66.7%	63.4%
Employment Rate	66.7%	58.3%	52.3%
Unemployment Rate	15.4%	12.5%	17.6%

(Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census)





The local economy, in both English-speaking communities, is based on the fishing industry as shown in Figures VII and VIII. In Grosse-Ile as well as on Entry Island, we find that the resource-based industry sector is predominant compared to other sectors (53% and 68% respectively). Considering the fact that in the territory of the Islands, only 26% of the active population works in this sector, the contribution of Anglophones on this account is clearly established. The health

care (6% and 13%) and other services (13% and 19%) sectors rank second and third in importance, while manufacturing and construction, wholesale and retail businesses, financial and real estate services, and commercial services, are not to be found in Île d'Entrée, but are available in the main islands. In Grosse-Ile, these sectors account for 19%, 3%, 0% and 6% respectively.

1.5.1 Fishing

The **fishing industry**, which constitutes almost all the industrial activity geared to resources (98% according to DFO, 2006), is undoubtedly largely dominated by the lobster fishery for which 325 licences have been issued for the Magdalen Islands region. Table VII shows lobster landings listed by fishing ports, which lets us estimate the contribution of English-speaking populations to this industry. It should be noted moreover that during the 2006 fishing season, 37 Grosse-Île fishermen were using the Grande-Entrée facilities, a situation which admittedly become more significant following the closing of the Old Harry port.

Table VII: Lobster Landings by Fishing Ports in the Magdalen Islands, 2006 Season

Fishing Port	Number of Fishermen	Volume of Landings (tons)	Landings as a Percentage
Havre-aux-Maisons and Pointe-Basse	38	1,817	11.17%
Grande-Entrée	113 (37)	5,499 (1,760)*	33.82% (10.8%)
Grosse-Île	33	1,715	10.55%
Pointe-aux-Loups	9	470	2.89%
Havre-Aubert	14	724	4.45%
Millerand	22	1,181	7.26%
Entry Island	15	769	4.73%
Cap-aux-Meules	40	1,952	12.00%
Étang-du-Nord	37	1,953	12.01%
Cap-Vert	4	176	1.08%
Total	325	16,256	100% (26%)

(Source: DFO-CAM)

* Estimated volume for the 37 English-speaking fishermen, i.e. 32% of the G.E. fishermen

Forty-eight fishermen use the harbours of the two main English-speaking communities, representing 15% of the total number of lobster fishermen in the Magdalen Islands. This figure

must however be increased by at least 37 (Grosse-Ile fishermen who moor their boat in the Grande-Entrée harbour), thus reaching 26%. Combining all fisheries, English-speaking fishermen total 104 (DFO, 2006) and account for a quarter of all Magdalen Islands fishermen. In 2005, the total volume of landings by the English-speaking population was valued at \$11.2 M, i.e. a quarter of the total value of catches in the Magdalen Islands (DFO, 2006). Statistics for 2006 (see Table VII) show a similar proportion in terms of lobster landings.

It is worth noting that activities linked to fishing create seasonal jobs, whose income is usually supplemented by government transfer measures.

1.5.2 Fishermen's Cooperative

Two businesses take pride of place both in Grosse-Ile's economy, and in the archipelago's: the Cape Dauphin Fishermen's Cooperative and Mines Seleine.

Dissatisfied with prices set by buyers, 27 Grosse-Ile fishermen decided in 1993 to create their own business and thus market themselves their catches. While they initially focused on lobster, the Coop later on marketed mackerel, and during a certain period of time, scallops. However the latter is no longer sold by the Coop, and mackerel having become too small in size in recent years have also been dropped. Live lobsters have remained the main resource put on the market. In 2007, this local business is comprised of 72 fishermen, including 64 Anglophones and 8 Francophones. It exports its entire production across Canada and the United States. By operating with a minimum of employees, it is able to offer competitive prices to its members. Cape Dauphin Cooperative provides jobs to 38 people on a seasonal and full-time basis. It is managed by a board composed of eight persons.

1.5.3 Salt Mine

A second pillar of the economy of Grosse-Ile, and the archipelago, is the salt mine located in its territory and operated by Mines Seleine, a division of the Canadian Salt Company Limited. The years leading to the setting up of the mine had major impacts, on several levels.¹³ Indeed, while

¹³ It is worth noting that the intervention request submitted by the Municipality of Grosse-Ile, later on supported by the MRC and by citizens of the Islands, to the Conseil consultatif de l'environnement has confirmed the relevance of the existence of an office of public hearings on the environment (bureau d'audiences publiques sur l'environnement – BAPE) and of honing the methods used in Québec's public hearings process.

summarizing a rather fascinating episode of the Magdalen Islands' history, Stuart Richards (1982) highlighted the positive spin-offs with respect to social organization that resulted from the holding of public hearings related to the creation of the salt mine and ancillary port. He wrote, in a piece published following the opening of the mine:

One must remember that there was a degree of ambivalence within the Grosse-Ile English-speaking community concerning the project [...]it was generally agreed that the population was not sufficiently informed of the various facets and that it was crucial to inform them. [...] It was realized that it would prove impossible to answer several of these questions before having performed the appropriate impact assessments. This is therefore the course of action which was required by the Council, insisting that the population be also consulted. [...] Having made known its concerns to the other communities of the Islands, the Municipal Council got the support of the Comité de l'environnement des Îles-de-la-Madeleine. It also contacted journalists [...] With the support of various individuals and organizations, the Municipal Council managed, after expending considerable effort, to have public hearings held by the Conseil consultatif de l'environnement on the project.

Beyond the impact of these hearings on the decision-making processes [listed and clarified in the text], the effect on the population, less obvious, is just as significant. The hearings immediately translated into massive support by the population for the work done by the Municipal Council [...] The educational value of the hearings was manifest, as men, women and children found in the process models applicable to the leading of meetings, to public speaking and to the rules to abide by [...] They realized that they could be listened to. The hearings also provided the population with the self-confidence, and [...] the conviction that they were the ones who could best discuss their community's problems. They encouraged the emergence and strengthening of local leaders and [...] helped to create useful relationships between the English- and French-speaking Islands representatives. [...] It became obvious to the coordinators that any serious discussions about the future of the Islands required the participation of the English-speaking community.

(Richards, 1982: 206-208)

These aspects of the local history seem to have been unfortunately forgotten. Today, the mine is considered more for its economic contribution to the region. While most of its employees are not Anglophones, the fact remains that the tax revenues collected have all been to the exclusive benefit of this population up until 2001 (municipality amalgamation). Since then, the tax rate has been lowered and only a portion of the property taxes come to the Municipality of Grosse-Ile. Built in 1979, it began producing in 1982 and the number of managers and unionized employees currently (2007) totals 161, including 2 Anglophones responsible for maintenance.

1.5.4 Tourism

On the Magdalen Islands, the tourism industry ranks second in importance. However, according to a report written by Groupe Recherche Focus (2003), the English-speaking population remains on the sidelines of this industry, sharing only marginally in the economic benefits. Moreover,

while Anglophones once worked for the Magdalen Islands tourist association, currently all its employees are Francophones.

Local initiatives have nonetheless questioned this industry's development over the last seven years. In 1999 was held the socio-economic summit for the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community entitled *Empowerment: Building Stronger Communities*, whose goal was the discussion and exploration of economic development opportunities based on local strengths and potential. From this meeting, a number of projects were born, including the interpretation centre of the eastern part of the archipelago called Gateway to the East and the tourism forum of the Municipality of Grosse-Ile, in 2000 (see Appendix E for a list of the projects and programs put forward during this forum). Tourist accommodations have also increased following these meetings. Cottages and houses are now available for rent during the summer.

A visit of Brion Island remains perhaps the main tourist attraction in the Grosse-Ile area. Indeed, this island, now uninhabited but still very much in the hearts of the descendants of this former community and of Anglophones in general, features interesting historical treasures and a high level of biodiversity. According to a memorandum of understanding between the ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement et des Parcs (MDDEP) and CAMI, the latter is responsible, since the creation of the Brion Island Ecological Reserve in 1988, for controlling access to the area. However, extension of this agreement is today threatened by pressures put on this same department by two Cap-aux-Meules private business concerns who are interested in taking over the control of access to the Island.

Infrastructures, washroom facilities and a beach patrol service have been put in place a few years ago in the Old Harry area. Parking fees have been instituted to support the tourism industry in this sector. However the lack of regularity in this service's operation and the reticence of many visitors (locals and others) to abide by this new fee structure make it difficult to reach the goals that were set.

An interpretation centre of the mine and natural environment of the eastern part of the archipelago, Gateway to the East, is a local initiative which caters each summer to visitors to the archipelago. The seasonal employees, usually numbering three, had in theory to be residents of Grosse-Île or Grande-Entrée. For the 2006 summer season however, the three people hired were Francophones from the eastern part of the archipelago. The centre's opening for the 2007

season currently seems uncertain. The English-speaking community deplores the lack of opportunities for involvement in this project due to organizational shortcomings. No general assembly has been held this past year.

Entry Island, for its part, is in the process of defining a development plan focused on tourism, a local initiative supported by the CLD, the SADC, the Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine and Canada Economic Development.

1.5.5 Agriculture

Agriculture in the English-speaking community is limited henceforth to cattle raising, an activity located on Entry Island. In the registry of the ministère de l'Agriculture, des Pêches et de l'Alimentation du Québec (MAPAQ), this community pasture has 42 registered animals. Moreover, some families raise poultry and have gardens (Gagnon, 2006).

1.5.6 Aquaculture

Aquaculture, which has been growing in the archipelago in recent years, today involves Grosse-Ile fishermen only marginally. While 6 of the 21 scallop fishermen who participated in the *REPERE-Pétoncles 2000* program were English-speaking shareholders, none sat on the board. This enterprise is no longer involved in the scallop breeding and stocking projects and has ended its activities in 2006.

Mussel culture got its start in the Islands from an initiative undertaken by a member of the English-speaking community. However the business concerns currently in charge of the culture of these molluscs are entirely French-speaking.

1.5.7 Sealing

Seal hunting is practiced by a large number of Anglophones (153 out of 916 licences issued¹⁴ in 2006, according to DFO, i.e. 16.7%). The fur market's collapse following abolition campaigns is certainly a factor in the decrease of the economic importance of this traditional hunt. It nonetheless accounts for a significant part of Entry Islands' economic activity. Diversification of

¹⁴ The number of licences issued does not however match the number of hunters actively taking part in the hunt as this information is not available from DFO. Ice conditions, which vary from year to year, are one of the factors having an impact on the number of hunters.

the products obtained from seals (oil, biomolecules, meat) undertaken in recent years will perhaps bring about a new expansion of this hunting activity.

1.5.8 Businesses

The number of businesses operating in Grosse-Ile has fallen since the 1990s when one could still find a few small grocery stores and a gas station. Today, the latter no longer exists and there is but one convenience store. There are also two snow-removal businesses (one of which also provides school bus services), a vessel-towing boat, a home child care centre, an interpretation centre for the mine and natural environment, and finally the salt mine and the Cape Dauphin Fishermen's Cooperative. The Old Harry area, for its part, sports two restaurants (only one open for 10 months in the year), a pottery studio/shop, an interpretation centre about the Second World War, a local history museum and a souvenirs and crafts shop, whose future is up in the air since the departure of its owner. Accommodations in these two communities include about ten cottages and private homes made available for rent during the summer season.

On the commercial front, Entry Island is home to a few businesses which offer accommodations (two tourist homes, one bed-and-breakfast and one campground), food (one restaurant and one snack counter), as well as an ice cream parlour. The number of lodging units totals 9 rooms. All these activities are seasonal and can be made available off-season upon request, except the ice cream parlour (Gagnon, 2006). The community has also set up a local history museum.

While, on the one hand, no business outside of Grosse-Ile can claim to be entirely English-speaking, about ten of them¹⁵ hire or are managed by English-speaking people, which tends among other impacts, to attract unilingual English customers. On the other hand, the Coop supermarket in Havre-aux-Maisons has become one of the main supply spots for Grosse-Ile residents, as Anglophones represent 7% of its customers: 55 members out of a total of 780.

¹⁵ The two fires that destroyed two important fish processing plants on the Magdalen Islands in January and February 2007 will undoubtedly have a major impact on all the population, including the English-speaking communities, as a large number of the latter's residents were employed in these plants. The Grande-Entrée plant employed more than 380 seasonal workers, including approximately 25 Anglophones. While it is still too early to assess the consequences of these disasters, the 2007 season seems nonetheless to be saved through the temporary relocation of the processing activities.

1.5.9 Income of the English-Speaking Population

As can be seen in the table below, the median income of Grosse-Ile Anglophones exceeds that of both residents of the Magdalen Islands as a whole and of the province. Since the annexation of the Entry Island municipality to Havre-Aubert in 2000, income data for the Island's residents is included in the data of Havre-Aubert, which makes it impossible to distinguish between the two. However, it is noted in the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) 2006 report that the average income of Magdalen Islands Anglophones (taken as a whole) comes to \$35,409, which not only exceeds the average of the archipelago's Francophones (\$27,336) and that of the province in the fishing industry (\$31,862), but also let's us extrapolate a high average for Entry Island residents. This results from the profits of the lobster fishery, an industry which employs close to half of the workers living in these two communities (G.I. and E.I.) (DFO, 2006: 3). Furthermore, Table VIII shows also the importance of government transfers with respect to incomes in Grosse-Ile and in the Magdalen Islands. The table below confirms finally the considerable dependence on the primary sector, i.e. fishing, in Grosse-Île and by inference, Entry Island. The impression of affluence fades when one considers the almost exclusive dependence on a single employment sector, the increase in operating costs, the vulnerability of this primary sector (fishing) and the reliance on government transfers in the income equation.

Table VIII: Income of the Grosse-Île Population

	Magdalen		
	Grosse-Île	Islands	Québec
Individuals aged 15 or more who had some income	410	9,855	5,506,246
Median total income of individuals aged 15 or more (\$)	21,916	17,360	20,665
Earned income as a percentage of total income	69.7	68.0	75.1
Government transfers as a percentage of total income	28.6	25.2	13.9
Other income sources as a percentage of total income	1.7	6.6	11.0

(Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 Census)

1.5.10 Communications

Since 2005, Entry Island as well as the outlying areas of the Islands all have access to high-speed Internet, in addition to being connected to a cable network. The English-speaking community also enjoys access to print media, *The First Informer*, which offers information on

events that affect more or less directly the community since 1985. Almost all households in the community subscribe to the weekly paper. A single job is created by this community organization. Internal discords have however threatened the survival of this newspaper which keeps on providing information thanks to the efforts of volunteers. Some topics of local interest can not be covered owing to a lack of reporters and translation resources.

Moreover, the Islands' community radio, **CFIM**, puts on the air Monday to Friday between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. a program in English. Ironically, the host who is also responsible for this time slot comes from the French-speaking community. According to the station's program manager, during the past 15 years few Anglophones have applied for the position. A partnership project has however been put forward involving *The First Informer*, CFIM and the SADC, but the structure of this project has yet to be defined.

CFCY, the Charlottetown radio station in Prince Edward Island has been up until very recently the main information media used by the English-speaking community on the Magdalen Islands. As it broadcasts news from all over the Maritime Provinces, the station is also responsible for announcing the closing of the archipelago's English-speaking schools when bad weather strikes. However, this station's signal, which switched from AM to FM, is no longer received by the Islands' residents except via the Internet, a situation which tends to make some people feel that they are cut off from an important part of their community.

1.5.11 Transportation

Ground Transport (adapted from Gagnon)¹⁶

As mentioned earlier, Entry Island is the only inhabited island that is not joined by a terrestrial link to the main part of the Magdalen Islands. Within the Island, residents move around using pickups, cars, snowmobiles or all-terrain vehicles, over an unpaved road system with no snow removal. It is made up of main roads (5.03 km in total) and private lanes. However, there are no gas stations or car-repair facilities in Entry Island due to the limited size of the market. Thus residents must provide for their own gas supply from the main islands and maintain their vehicles.

¹⁶ This section deals only with Entry Island since this English-speaking community is not linked to the other islands by road.

MarineTransport (adapted from Gagnon)

Residents travel from Entry Island to Cap-aux-Meules often in fishing boats and in a few pleasure vessels seasonally. Furthermore, pursuant to the *Regulation respecting the exemption from payment of certain ferry transportation services*, residents enjoy the use of a daily shuttle (except on Sundays), a service provided by the Société des Traversiers du Québec. This ferry can carry 28 passengers; its loading capacity is 7.5 tons in the hold and 1,800 kg on the bridge. It is also fitted with a hydraulic crane.

Ferry's schedule:

Departure(Cap-aux-Meules)	8:00 a.m.	3:00 p.m.
Arrival (Entry Island)	9:00 a.m.	4:00 p.m.
Departure (Entry Island)	9:00 a.m.	4:00 p.m.
Arrival (Cap-aux-Meules)	10:00 a.m.	5:00 p.m.

As this service must first and foremost meet the needs of the Entry Island residents, we find that its schedule limits to five hours the time passengers have to take care of their business or to work on the main islands. And this does not take into account the time required for the boarding and disembarking of passengers and merchandise. Furthermore, these constraints sometimes are the cause of prolonged stays and additional expenses. (An example: A medical procedure lasting a few hours can sometimes force a patient to travel to Cap-aux-Meules the previous day, which entails lodging and food expenses. Another example: It is impossible for residents to travel to PEI on the ferry without spending on the main islands the night before departure as well as the night of arrival).

Air Transport (adapted from Gagnon)

A daily air shuttle between Havre-aux-Maisons and Entry Island complements the ferry service when navigation becomes difficult, i.e. between December 31 and May 1. The Icarus Company, owned by a resident living in L'Étang-du-Nord, but originally from Île d'Entrée, provides this service. The aircraft can carry eight people or 1,600 kg, and unlike the ferry, residents must meet part of the costs associated with this service funded by the ministère des Transports du Québec. The fare for a one-way trip is \$12 for residents and \$24 for non-residents. Furthermore, some of the costs for cargo-carrying are charged based on weight and volume. The plane takes off from Havre-aux-Maisons and makes two round trips, at 8:30 a.m. and 3:30 p.m., Monday to Friday. It should be noted that for residents, this schedule causes the same type of problems as those arising from the local ferry's timetable.

1.5.12 Leisure

The English-speaking community of Grosse-Île has its own recreational committee and has the use of a gymnasium where several sport activities can be held. In addition, children can go to the archipelago's arenas and swimming pools. However, after Grosse-Île left the Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine, and because of the non-regionalization of the recreational committees, some issues still need to be cleared up concerning access to regional hockey and soccer leagues for instance, and the use of regional equipment. A 25% surcharge has been added to the registration fees of Grosse-Île children, which has been absorbed in 2006 by the local recreational committee. Some Grosse-Île families report that priority is now given to children from the greater municipality when registering, which is generating some feelings of anger. These are unsolved political issues.

Teens aged 12 to 17 from eastern communities (Grosse-Île and Grande-Entrée) no longer have access to a youth centre, as the one which was located on the boundary between the communities has closed its doors in 2003. Since then, a few activities have been organized, but with no permanent premises, and these often are conducted only in French. Thus, a rather sporadic participation by the English-speaking clientele is observed. Some activities take place in the town hall of Grande-Entrée, the village next door to Grosse-Île. However these activities are sometimes offered in parallel with those happening in the Grosse-Île gymnasium, and this despite the increasingly limited number of young people in each of the two bordering communities.

1.5.13 Development Organizations (adapted from Gagnon)

The following organizations are potential tools to foster dialogue, or even create partnerships for projects or programs, between regional entities and members of minority linguistic communities concerned by development at the local and regional levels:

Arrimage: A cultural society whose mission involves dialogue, support and planning in the sphere of culture and art development, consultation and representation of artists as well as art and cultural organizations, and promotion of the productions of these scenes.

Attention Fragîles: Non-profit organization (NPO) whose mission involves awareness-raising, development and protection of the natural heritage of the Magdalen Islands.

Le Bon goût frais des Îles: An association of agri-food producers – its mandate is to develop and promote the marketing of products from the Magdalen Islands in the local and provincial markets. Working hand in hand with Magdalen Islands' *Table de concertation agroalimentaire*, this association also sets up partnerships between local producers, restaurant owners and retailers.

CAMI's (Council for Anglophone Magdalen Islanders) mandate is to promote and protect the rights of English-speaking Magdalen Islanders in such spheres as language, health and education services, and legal and cultural matters, in addition to working for heritage preservation. Founded in 1987, this non-profit organization with almost 90% of its funding coming from the federal government has published various historical books in addition to overseeing three museums and commemorative plaques across the archipelago. Various projects have also been successfully undertaken, including those related to health services provided to the English-speaking population. In 2006, CAMI had four permanent employees and four project leaders, in addition to two jobs offered during the summer season related to the guided tour in the Brion Island ecological and historical reserve.

CEDEC (Community Economic Development and Employability Committee) is a local organization set up in the Magdalen Islands in 2000 and coming under the *Community Table*, with the latter acting provincially. CEDEC acts as a catalyst to stimulate and promote local initiatives. This committee made up of volunteers helps also to lead discussions and support socio-economic development projects in the minority linguistic community. In December of 2005, the CEDEC's office was moved from Grosse-Ile to the downtown area of Cap-aux-Meules and a new director was hired in December 2006.

Chambre de commerce des Îles-de-la-Madeleine: Comprised of 250 members (individuals and businesses), the chamber of commerce lobbies governments on behalf of the business community, with its main goal being to increase economic development of the Magdalen Islands.

CLD: The Centre local de développement is an organization under the responsibility of the Municipalité des Îles, whose mission is to support the development of businesses and mobilize local players in order to promote economic development and job creation in its territory, within the framework of a partnership between the government and the local community. In the context

involving two municipalities in the Magdalen Islands, a question is on the table: how can the Municipality of Grosse-Ile benefit from the services of this development organization?

Comité ZIP: The Comité ZIP (zone d'intervention prioritaire – area of prime concern) in the Magdalen Islands is an NPO having a mandate to promote local initiatives for the protection, restoration, conservation and development of the uses and resources of the waters and banks of the St. Lawrence River.

Conférence régionale des élu(e)s de la Gaspésie et des Îles (CRÉ-GIM): With respect to the regional area (the Gaspé Peninsula – the Islands), it constitutes a prime government representative on regional development issues. The regional conference's mission is to promote dialogue between partners in the region and when necessary, offer opinions to the Minister on development matters in the region.

Agglomération des Îles-de-la-Madeleine: Result of the merger of six of the archipelago's municipalities, it also takes on the mantle of an MRC, both in matters of land-use management and local development. This new structure has authority over the following sectors:

- Municipal assessment
- Para-transit service
- Water treatment and septic tank sludge management
- Waste disposal and reclamation, domestic hazardous waste management and collection
- Public safety (fire department, emergency preparedness) and 911 emergency centre
- Economic development: hospitality and tourism promotion, CLD, conference centre, harbour, airport, industrial park and business assistance
- Community equipment, facilities and activities: regional swimming pool, Arrimage cultural society and Villes et villages d'art et de patrimoine program
- Arterial road network.

SADC: The Islands Community Futures Development Corporation is a locally administered NPO which is funded by the Economic Development Agency of Canada. Its mission is to spur on the community's taking over of and participation in the local economic development through dialogue and partnership activities.

Association touristique régionale (ATR): Bringing together more than 300 stakeholders of the tourism industry, the ATR carries out destination promotion as well as defending the industry's interests. It founded the Centre intégré de développement touristique whose aim is to develop new products.

PART TWO: SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

This part of our study rounds up the information collected via the semi-structured interviews and the snapshot survey administered to the participants. It is divided into four sections: 1) the community's views on local development, 2) the contribution of the English-speaking community to the regional economy, 3) the concerns, desired changes and additional needs of the English-speaking community, and 4) the strengths and weaknesses of the English-speaking community.

2.1 COMMUNITY'S VIEWS ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Interviews with 20 people from the Islands' English-speaking community helped us get a clearer understanding of the way members of this community view local economic development. Our questions elicited numerous exchanges and discussions, and a summary of the responses is offered below. When we felt that it was relevant, we presented separately the views expressed by the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island residents, thus detailing the English-speaking communities in their plurality. When used in the singular, the term community refers to all the combined members of these two areas as well as the Anglophones living in the rest of the archipelago. Finally, the order of appearance of the various aspects reflects our concern in presenting the responses according to their importance, i.e. based on the frequency they were mentioned and the insistence shown in bringing them out.

2.1.1 Changes Seen During the Past Twenty Years

Fishing is undoubtedly the topic that came up spontaneously when we asked what had changed in the local economy during the past twenty years. The main changes observed are:

- Creation of the fishermen's cooperative in 1993 and its beneficial effect on market prices offered to the fishermen.

- Economic boom in the lobster industry, with a growth in value and demand for live lobsters.
- Significant increase of business costs involved in acquiring the required operating licence and equipment, the latter being increasingly specialized, and in operating the boats.
- Increasingly risky investment for the new generation of fishermen due to the costs of boats, fishing equipment, navigation instruments and fishing licences – especially for lobster – which today amount to several hundred thousand dollars.
- The state and fluctuation of the fishery resources, with the almost total disappearance of cod a few years ago, and currently the collapse of herring stocks. In the latter case, the fishing allowed in its spawning ground (Grande-Entrée lagoon) has been singled out as being the cause of the drastic decrease in stocks in recent seasons. Mackerel, for its part, has shrunk in size with an attendant decrease in profitability. It is moreover for this reason that the fishermen cooperative has ceased processing this fish. Finally, only lobster stocks have succeeded in maintaining some regularity, but the fish harvested for the bait used in lobster fishing is becoming scarcer and more expensive.
- The growing number of fishermen operating out of the Grosse-Ile harbour and fishing sector in recent years, due to a new generation of local operators who buy fishing licences owned by fishermen landing their catch previously in other ports of the archipelago. This has the effect of increasing the pressure on lobster fishing grounds traditionally associated with the Grosse-Ile area.
- The closing of one of the Magdalen Islands' oldest fishing ports, the Old Harry harbour. This has had among other impacts the effect of forcing the relocation of 35 fishermen who used this port at the time.
- Warming of the archipelago's waters, which influences the movements of fish resources, sometimes to the detriment of Magdalen Islands fishermen.

The **tourism industry** has also suffered some transformations. However, members of the English-speaking communities would agree that they have remained fairly uninvolved in this activity and that what little benefit they have received, not counting the inconvenience they must bear, may affect the general attitude toward visitors. For both groups of the English-speaking community (here divided according to municipalities), the changes that have occurred in recent years in this industry, when we have been able to identify them, are the following:

Grosse-Ile

- An increase in the number of tourists visiting the community only in passing.
- An increase in the number of accommodations, with the appearance of a number of cottages and houses now available for rent.
- Tourism development on Brion Island.
- Tourism development in the East Point National Wildlife Area.
- Eco-tourism development on Brion Island and phasing in of the memorandum of agreement between the ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement et des Parcs and CAMI, so that the latter becomes responsible for controlling access to the Island.
- Reduction of local service offerings for tourists with the closing of the restaurant in the Grosse-Ile area.
- Holy Trinity Church (Grosse-Île) and its stained glass representation of Christ as a fisherman, which attracts many tourists each year. The Minister currently welcomes them and offers them information: a

Entry Island

- An increase in the number of visitors to the Island.
- A greater number of visitors to the Island's Museum.
- In recent years, more contact with the Association touristique régionale, which has led to having a say on the content of the Entry Island section of the annual sightseeing guide.
- An increase in the number of visitors using their own vehicles to get to the Island.

personal initiative following the refusal by the government to subsidize the hiring of a student to take on this function.

As far as **businesses and shops** are concerned, some changes have been highlighted by the residents of Grosse-Ile:

- Disappearance of the gas station located in Grosse-Ile has been remarked on by several individuals, whereas some are concerned by an eventual closing of the one in Grande-Entrée.
- Closing of the Old Harry crafts cooperative just a few years after its opening.
- Closing of the restaurant in the Grosse-Ile area, as well as of the few other shops scattered in the community.
- Departure of the owner of an Old Harry craft shop and uncertainty about the future of this business.
- Increased reliance on funded projects and disappearance of independent businesses.

Medias and communications have also been mentioned in the context of the changes that have occurred in the socio-economic life of the communities.

- Several individuals seemed bitter about the disappearance of the AM signal from the radio station that linked them to the rest of the Maritimes. This link is now only available via the Internet.
- The weekly *The First Informer* is currently experiencing problems and is still trying to rebuild a team able to ensure the continued operation of this community business. Up until now, and since 1985, the weekly paper has been self-financed.

In the **education** sector, the following changes were noted:

- Diversification of school alternatives for the post-secondary level; English-speaking colleges and universities in Montréal being added to the University of Prince Edward Island as the main venues chosen.
- An increase in the number of young graduates coming from the English-speaking communities.
- A decrease of the number of high school drop-outs, especially girls. There is also a certain decrease in motivation in the case of boys.

- A decrease in the number of students enrolled in schools, this number having gone from 98 to 80 in Grosse-Ile over the last five years and from 16 to 7 in Entry Island, since 2005.
- Heavier teacher work load due to an increase in responsibilities (as a result of the educational reform, the development of electronic media and an increased demand from youth for support).

The **seal hunt** has also experienced changes during the last two decades according to the English-speaking community members interviewed. The following findings came to light:

- A decrease of the hunting season and of its economic benefits since the ban on whitecoat hunting.
- A recent increase¹⁷ in the value of by-products on the market (skins, biomolecules, meat, oil).

Farming, practiced more on Entry Island, has seen a significant decline over the past five years. However, blue potato production seems to be acquiring some prominence. It is a traditional crop produced by an increasing number of families.

As far as **recreational activities, arts and culture** are concerned, there is a decrease in offerings in English-speaking communities with the closing of the movie theatre in Grosse-Ile and the disappearance of weekly evening dances.

Finally, while not pertaining to an economic sector as such, the following items were mentioned in the responses provided by the people interviewed. We have assigned them to the so-called **socio-economic** changes, i.e. those that are linked to the social dimension of economic development.

- A lack of interest in the population for poorly-paid jobs.
- A reticence shown by young people to get involved in volunteer activities.
- A virtually absence of financial poverty.
- A change in general consumption patterns (food, home electronics, motor vehicles, etc.).
- An increase and diversification of material needs.

¹⁷ The rise experienced by the market between 2004 and 2006 seems however to be going through a slowdown or even a fall for 2007, moving back to 2005 rates, according to one of the main players in this local industry (interview broadcast on the local radio on March 6, 2007).

- An increase in net disposable income, in general.
- An increase in reliance on government transfers.
- An increased accessibility of drugs which threatens not only social but also economic development of the communities.

2.1.2 Undertakings, Activities or Projects Seen as Success Stories for the Local Community

In our study of how the communities saw their own socio-economic development, we considered that it would be relevant to survey the participants about the undertakings, activities or projects that they felt were successes at the local level. The identification of these “success stories” and the outlining of the factors which lead to these good results will help to identify some of the aspects of socio-economic life deemed important for the English-speaking communities.

Grosse-Ile

- The fishermen’s cooperative is by far the initiative of which the community is proudest. A local project developed and maintained by the combined efforts of its members, the Coop has not only modified the local industry’s structure, it has also helped to increase prices for the resource and to create many jobs in the area. It has gone from 27 members to 72 in 13 years.
- The Old Harry restaurant, which serves residents and visitors alike for a period of more than ten months a year. The business’s good management would seem to explain its success. It has changed hands a number of times.
- CAMI, whose mission is to protect

Entry Island

- The recent rebuilding of the Island’s port. This has not only facilitated shipping, it has also allowed an increase in the safety of users.
- The store that has catered to the Island’s residents for more than forty years is considered a local success story.
- The local historical museum, where residents welcome visitors, attracts each year a growing number of visitors.
- The setting up of committees, first one for the port, and then the *Future Committee*. The pooling of efforts and the rotation of members in leading positions within these committees lets everyone get involved in local development.

the rights of the Islands' English-speaking community and preserve and spread information about its historical heritage. The success of its projects, thanks to its members' efforts and energy, as well as to government funding, allows the creation of about fifteen jobs, temporary and permanent, within the community.

- The veterans' museum, which ensures the preservation of history and constitutes also a tourist attraction for the area.
- The outdoor rink, inaugurated in the winter of 2007. It meets the needs of the community and has been made possible thanks to the collaboration of the leisure committee and the fishermen's cooperative.
- The local shops, i.e. the convenience store and the pottery studio/shop, are considered success stories because of their steady presence in the community over many years.
- The organization of the parish and its churches is deemed successful in the sense that the accumulated deficit has considerably shrunk in recent years. Funding drives and the generosity of the community's members have made this recovery possible.

- The school and several of its activities are seen as a local success, providing both jobs to fifteen graduates (including several originally from the community) and schooling to the community's youth. Some programs, including the very recent job shadowing, were the result of ideas from the staff, from the environment's openness and from the children's fine participation.

2.1.3 Undertakings or Projects That Ended in Disappointment or Failed, According to the Community

Conversely, disappointments or setbacks experienced by the community, as well as the reasons behind these negative outcomes will serve to deepen our understanding of the environment and allow a better analysis of the current situation. Thus the experiences presented below have been mentioned.

Grosse-Ile

- The decision not to repair the Old Harry port. The failure of the efforts of the Old Harry Harbour Development Committee is viewed as one of the greatest disappointments. The reasons behind this failure remain unclear to the members of the community. Some mention the slow pace of the procedures to secure funding, DFO's prevarication with respect to the future of said port,

Entry Island

- The sightseeing tour of the Island by cart, an interpretation activity which had to cease because of a lack of interest. A too short visit schedule and a lack of publicity appear to be some of the reasons of this failure.
- The campground does not seem to be in operation even though it is not officially closed. Too little demand, lack of visibility and the tendency of tourists to come on the Island for only a very short stay accounts for this

discouragement of the main stakeholders.

problematical situation.

- The Old Harry craft cooperative. The closing and interruption of this young project are attributed to a lack of funds that would have allowed the hiring of an employee during the summer season. The problems experienced by members in allocating tasks also probably hampered the continuation of this project.
- The restaurant located in the Grosse-Ile area closed its doors as it had a hard time finding employees interested in working yearlong. "Wages in the catering industry can't compete with those offered by fishing and employment insurance" said one of the participants.
- The closing of the gas station and local shops left its mark on Grosse-Ile's population which feels impoverished and less well served. However, the tendency to shop in the supermarkets in the central islands is singled out as one of the causes of these closures.
- The East Point National Wildlife Area seems to be the source of some disappointment because of the few benefits for the local community and the limits imposed on the use of these areas of the

Grosse-Ile territory. Conflicts related to the management of this area and the loss of space for traditional activities seem to be among the reasons behind this disillusionment.

- Development of aquaculture has been cited as one of the disappointments. While the members of the English-speaking community have shown an interest in the development of these activities, we are forced to admit that there is little involvement of its members in the ongoing projects.
- The Gateway to the East project, an interpretation centre featuring the territory's ecology and the salt mine's geology. The disappointment centers on the scant involvement of the English-speaking community in this project, which fundamentally was hoping for collaboration between the two linguistic communities in the eastern part of the archipelago.
- The mink breeding project. The promoters of this project whose aim was to set up a mink farm in the Old Harry sector had to abandon their idea due to concerns about negative environmental impacts.
- The weekly *The First Informer*, on account of its internal conflicts, the lack of a reporter and uncertainty

about its future.

Finally, some are bothered at times by the too short timeframes of the government-funded projects, which people wish would be set up for longer periods. Persistence of these projects would allow for a learning process, through training, and they would become a real foundation for local development.

2.1.4 Sectors of the Economy Considered Important and Showing Potential for the Future

Initially, traditional and structuring sectors of the local economy are deemed important. Thus, their upholding and consolidation are sought, since they represent potential future development.

A large majority of participants point to **lobster fishing** as the dominant activity in the economic picture of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community as a whole. Quite frequently, the number of households where at least one of the incomes derives from this industry, i.e. almost all of them, is brought up – “almost” being tacked on only to leave some room for a margin of error.

The **tourism sector** is then mentioned, followed without fail by a “but”, thus highlighting the scant direct benefits enjoyed by the English-speaking population and the half-hearted desire to see this activity see further development. The focus, in Grosse-Ile, is put on the importance for the community to stay in charge of one of the main tourist attractions of the area: Brion Island.

The **mining industry** also plays a leading role in Grosse-Ile's economy, and this despite the almost complete lack of jobs held by members of the community at Mines Seleine.

Finally, the **seal hunt** should be mentioned as an ancillary economic activity that provides a few jobs both for hunters and during processing.

This last activity (seal hunting) holds, on the other hand, an important place in the Entry Island economy, where the number of hunters is higher. There, fishing is still of course part of the picture, as well as tourism, with similar reservations expressed. Beef production and potato growing are also part of the Island's economic scene. Berry harvesting (wild strawberries) is a popular activity, even an “asset” of Entry Island, even though it cannot seriously be considered a commercial activity.

Secondly, while some individuals and organizations frequently ponder the sectors **showing development potential for the community**, the importance of fishing and the success of this industry leave little time to examine the development of the other sectors. Thus, we did notice that the more varied responses came mainly from the participants who did not work in that sector of the economy.

Grosse-ile

Fishing: The current strength of this activity makes it harder to envision its future development. Some mention the need to diversify the resource and activities that derive from it, but the difficulty experienced by processing plants in hiring all the staff they need is also noted. During the 2006 season, the Grande-Entrée plant and the fishermen's coop in Grosse-Ile had to turn to workers from Newfoundland, because of an insufficient number of available local workers. Thus, without knowing precisely how these ideas might be implemented, the following suggestions are offered:

- Diversification of resources fished (species).
- An increase of resource processing in the area.
- Increased monitoring to protect the resource (better control of poaching).

Tourism: Despite the half-hearted wish to see growth in this activity, participants

Entry Island

Fishing: There has been mention of a certain interest in providing better local management of the activity and a suggestion to the effect of setting up a specific cooperative for the Entry Island fishermen.

Improvement of sea **transport** is seen by residents as being the first potential factor for tourism development, but also for demographic stabilization.

Tourism: This is definitely the sector that is considered to display a clear development potential for the Island, keeping in mind however the necessity of ensuring trickle-down of benefits to the local population (Entry Island residents). While a committee is already studying this question with an ongoing development process, some ideas emerged during our meetings:

- Increase the promotion of the Island to visitors.
- Create an image of the Island which is respectful of its residents and their way of life; work at promoting this image.

agree that it constitutes a “safety net”, or “something to fall back on” in difficult times or should the lobster fishery collapse. Thus, it is suggested to develop:

- A greater visibility of the English-speaking community in the context of the regional tourism promotion efforts.
- Promotion of the English-speaking community to an English clientele in the Maritimes and the United States.
- Ecotourism and adventure tourism.

Development of **local businesses**: While the members of the English-speaking community are aware of the importance of tourism, they wish to see first and foremost the development and improvement of the services offered locally, i.e. for the residents themselves. Thus, the following suggestions were submitted:

- Put priority on the development of businesses rather than on the development of subsidized projects.
- Increase the number of stores in the area.
- Create a meeting place for community members, open year round. A coffee shop or small restaurant was suggested.

- Develop winter tourism, including whitecoat observation, a flourishing tourist activity in the rest of the Magdalen Islands.
- Capitalize on the interest shown for the crafting and marketing of lobster cages.

Agriculture:

- Develop the production of blue potatoes, aiming for an eventual marketing at the local level.

With respect to **communications**, potential is seen in:

- The improvement of access to English local information.
- The preservation and improvement of the local newspaper's content.

The **energy** sector was only very briefly addressed. However, wind power generation is starting to create some interest and a need for further information was mentioned.

Transport: In the case of this linguistic community, whose ties with the Maritimes are very strong, the absence of direct links with Prince Edward Island during the winter time is deplored. Many have children studying there and air travel requires stopovers in Québec or Montréal, which involves astronomical costs. According to one of the participants, "*the services are worse now than they were 30 years ago!*"

Aquaculture's potential has been brought up a few times without eliciting any specific views as to the future.

2.2 CONTRIBUTION OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY TO THE REGIONAL ECONOMY

The English-speaking population in the Magdalen Islands, as we have seen, represents less than 6% of the whole population. This minority linguistic community plays nonetheless a major role in the regional economy. Thus, the interviews conducted for this study have made it possible for us to identify various sectors where involvement of Anglophones is noteworthy. We have also surveyed the participants about their knowledge about the contribution of Anglophones to the archipelago's socio-economic life. In total, five "involvement fields" have been singled out. We outline them below:

First, as far as **economic activity** is concerned, without doubt the most significant in terms of value is the contribution by Anglophones to the **fishing** industry. As we emphasized earlier, English-speaking fishermen as a group account for a quarter of the lobster fishing licences issued and for close to a quarter of the value of lobsters landed, as well as of all species landed combined. This activity by itself creates several jobs all across the Islands, in addition to bringing benefits to the whole archipelago through economic trickle-down effects. Job creation and economic benefits also underlie the **salt mine's** operation, the latter occupying a significant portion of the territory of the Municipality of Grosse-Ile.

The English-speaking population's **economic participation** to the archipelago's general economy must also be mentioned in recognition of the fact that this community as a whole constitutes an important segment of the **customer base** of some businesses. Among these, the Havre-aux-Maisons and Lavernière food cooperatives – of which almost all Entry Island residents are members – the financial institutions (Desjardins Credit Union and National Bank of Canada) and some restaurants on the central island which are frequented quite often by the English-speaking population.

Except a few residents from the French-speaking community whose mother tongue is English and a few Anglophones who work within the majority linguistic community, the English-speaking **labour force**, i.e. the members of the English-speaking communities, seem to participate to a rather small degree to the rest of the archipelago's job market. Indeed, Anglophones working in businesses outside of their community or the public service are quite few in number. This finding is a source of concern for some members of the community and some reasons have been

suggested to explain this small involvement of Anglophones in the regional job market of the Magdalen Islands:

- First, lack of French language skills for a large number of Anglophones would, according to them, explain their modest presence in these socio-economic spheres.
- Several tend to have doubts about their capacity to function using their second language, as those jobs often require an excellent command of spoken and written French, with knowledge of English seen simply as no more than an added asset.
- The lack of information about the jobs available has also been mentioned, as the local newspaper publishes only on rare occasions the job openings and the French newspaper is not read much.
- The fact that the majority of Anglophones simply do not apply for the available positions since, they say, most already hold a seasonal job in the fishing sector. The need to develop an entrepreneurial spirit in the community is also mentioned.
- As for Entry Island residents, it is difficult if not impossible to hold a full time job on the main islands because of the limited commuting schedules.
- Finally, a rather controversial explanation challenged by a large segment of the participants but ardently defended by some: the small number of Anglophones having a job in the rest of the archipelago would be the result of discrimination by Francophones. A degree of disappointment comes from refusals suffered by several members of the community during job searches. Furthermore, the fact that very few Anglophones have been hired to do the small municipal upkeep jobs during the years when all the municipalities were merged has contributed in large measure to this bitterness. This issue of discrimination against Anglophones has not been however raised by Entry Island residents.

Despite the limited number of Anglophones working in the rest of the archipelago, several **initiatives originating from their community** have contributed to the economic and social development of all the Magdalen Islands. Among these initiatives that have had a regional impact, here are the main ones:

- A large number of businesses which today have become French were created originally by members of the English-speaking community born in Cap-aux-Meules. For example, the asphaltting and gas and oil supplying companies are mentioned. The start of mussel breeding is also attributed to Grosse-Ile residents.

- More recently, the Grosse-Ile fishermen's cooperative, which has transformed the archipelago's socio-economic picture, due to the competitive prices it offers to fishermen.
- In the social sphere, the anti-drug demonstration held in the fall of 2006 has generated a positive impact in the whole community. Said one demonstrator: *"The demonstration not only helped getting rid of drug dealers but succeeded in getting money from the government to get a full time officer working on drug issues, more officers patrolling and the info-crime line. Our action served the whole Magdalen Islands community, and the file is now in Ottawa to get these services permanently."*

Finally, CAMI has been mentioned as an entity which has played and still plays a role in the development of the historical heritage of the English-speaking community, a situation which increases the entire archipelago's **cultural value**. Indeed, the Magdalen Islands' linguistic minority contributes to its cultural diversity, or to its "cultural riches" to quote our interviewees.

2.3 CONCERNS, DESIRED CHANGES AND ADDITIONAL NEEDS OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

Following the highlighting of the various socio-economic sectors showing promise for the future of the community, some complementary concerns and needs could be expressed by the participants. The former are summarized here and categorized in a way that will serve as a grid for analysis. We have chosen to divide these remarks based on whether they touch on demographic, political, economic, social organization, cultural or ecological aspects. Such a categorization is partly borrowed from the one used to identify those factors deemed essential to maintaining the minority linguistic community's vitality (Landry, 1994:11).

2.3.1 Demographic Aspects

In order to slow down the demographic decline and maintain the population pool crucial to community life, various needs have been expressed. Among these, we find the concerns and desired changes concerning mobility, education and job opportunities – interrelated issues.

Thus, a need is felt to:

- Improve knowledge and command of the French language by young Anglophones, through immersion programs, intensive courses, as well as promote attendance at the

Islands' collegiate institution.¹⁸ Knowledge of French seems to be an overriding factor in the choice made by young English-speaking professionals to come live on the Magdalen Islands.

- Increase the job opportunities for professionals to attract young graduates.
- Increase the visibility of assistance programs, services and job opportunities.
- Raise the awareness of youth regarding possible jobs on the archipelago, so that career planning is done in a knowledgeable fashion.
- Diversify the courses offered in the sector of adult education and vocational training, to attract an expanded clientele (e.g., trade courses).
- At the high school level, extend the study fields – currently limited to academic subjects – with the goal to stimulate a greater number of young people and develop various skills (e.g. music, theatre, computer, craft courses, among others).
- Increase opportunities for post-secondary distance study.

2.3.2 Economic Aspects

In this category, we group needs and concerns related to the various economic sectors, including industry, tourism, technology, energy, etc.

- Improve access to information and to organizational and financial support for the creation of local businesses.
- Offer entrepreneurship courses to members of the community.
- Create businesses that will benefit the local community first.
- Increase the visibility and promotion of the two Magdalen Islands English-speaking communities outside of the region.
- Increase the tourism industry's benefits to the community with a view to improving the increasingly negative image of this activity.
- Ensure that the agreement with the ministère du Développement durable, de l'Environnement et des Parcs continues to be upheld with respect to Brion Island, a major element of the historical heritage of the English-speaking community.
- As regards energy, improve access to information about promising alternatives and associate the community to choices for the future.

¹⁸ It should be noted that the CEGEP de la Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Gaspé campus, is the only collegiate-level institution in Québec to offer courses in English.

2.3.3 Political Aspects

This third aspect of a linguistic community's vitality refers to the level of representation of its members within governments and decision-making hierarchies (Landry, 1994: 16). Despite the dissatisfaction expressed by some people and the disagreement which still persists¹⁹, this aspect has been addressed very cursorily during the discussions about needs, being rather categorized as a concern. If the current municipal administrative structure seems to be creating a rift between the French- and English-speaking communities (at the decision-making authority level), several people are of the opinion that it also creates an unprecedented divide at the very core of the Grosse-Île community itself. Finally, putting aside the differences of opinion, one can only conclude that both sides wish to see a clarification of the situation and that, within the English-speaking community, there is concern about the impact of the tax burden imposed.

2.3.4 Social Organization Aspects and Cultural Aspects

The needs identified with respect to these aspects are varied, but have in common the concept of strengthening social cohesion. Thus, the following concerns were expressed:

- Mobilize to a greater degree the members of the community to increase participation in the setting up of various projects, activities or organizations. For the time being, some are concerned that *"the same people are involved in every organization and this is not healthy"*.
- Increase the number of activities offered to youths.
- Extend and improve the information network within the community (media). Currently, *"there is a big lack of communication ... no way to reach the whole community through the day, for emergency, for school closings²⁰, for elections..."*
- Increase regional-level event coverage, in a back-and-forth exchange of information (between the two linguistic communities).

¹⁹ In January 2007, the Municipality of Grosse-Île requested the assistance of the federal government (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages) in its attempt to regain the powers it had before the 2001 amalgamation. In an interview on the local radio, CFIM, the Grosse-Île Mayor denounces the treatment received while the English-speaking municipality was part, as a district, of the merged Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine and expresses his dissatisfaction regarding the current allocation of responsibilities within the merged municipality structure.

In response to the Municipality of Grosse-Île's initiative, the Magdalen Islands' Mayor has said he is open to working at finding solutions during an interview that was also broadcasted and in which he stated that adjustments to the merged municipality structure had to be done. Following this exchange, by way of the radio, the English-speaking mayor explained in more detail his comments in an open letter published both in English and French in the local newspaper, Le Radar.

²⁰ Following the "États généraux" of the local station held in the winter of 2007, school closings caused by weather conditions are announced in both official languages during the morning show.

- Prompt the local development organizations to increasingly work on the community's needs rather than on those of visitors.

2.3.5 Ecological Aspects

This last point includes many concerns which are aimed at preserving the quality of the environment and providing better protection of resources. A need is felt to:

- Increase control and monitoring of fishery resources, including reduction of lobster poaching.
- Exert better control over the use of water²¹ during the summer season and raise the awareness of visitors about the fragility of this resource.
- Examine in more detail the question of whether the territory has the physical capacity to receive such a large number of visitors as regards waste management and waste water treatment.
- Better protect flora, fauna and natural habitats, aiming at a sustainable use of these resources (berry harvesting, waterfowl...).

The concerns and needs listed above are of interest to all members of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community. However, some separate issues have been mentioned by the Entry Island residents. Indeed, the Island's population, which adopted a tourism-oriented strategic development plan (*Strategic Plan Oriented Towards Tourism*), has already carried out the identification of its needs (see the report by Luc Gagnon). Thus, several of the issues raised by the participants are practical needs, relating to specific problems. The following needs **pertain exclusively to Entry Island**:

- Improvement of roads and road department services (dust reduction in the summer, snow removal in winter, repairs to an eroded section of the road).
- Purchase of a new ferry and extension of its service schedule.
- Attracting visitors to the Island who will stay for a longer period of time.
- Promotion of a coherent and respectful image of residents and their way of life (as opposed to a folkloric vision).
- Improvement of waste management.

²¹ It should be noted that the communities of the eastern part of the archipelago and of Entry Island tap groundwater from individual wells. The central islands are equipped with municipal water works.

- Assessment of a possible soil contamination by fossil fuels and toxic materials from junk vehicles.
- Installation of washroom facilities for visitors.

2.4 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

In 2000, the National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority published an evaluation report on the needs of the various linguistic minority communities across the province. The strengths and weaknesses of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community as they have been assessed at the time were commented on during our interviews and were used as part of the discussions during which other points were raised.

Among the **strengths** identified by the community's members, we note:

- A strong and dynamic fishing industry.
- The quality of the school, which makes it possible to preserve the language and culture.
- The solidarity and still strong "community feeling", despite the differences of opinion and a growing individualism.
- Local pride concerning their identity, history and heritage.

The community's **weaknesses** as identified by the members we met are listed here:

- The low rate of bilingualism in the community.
- The reliance on a single industry, fishing, whose sustainability is in doubt.
- The dependence on the employment insurance system which hampers community leadership.
- The lack of an English post-secondary educational institution in the territory.
- The decrease of youth involvement in community organizations.
- The political, but also personal, divisions within the community.

PART THREE: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

After having drawn the socio-economic portrait of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community from various data sources, after having presented the vision that the English-speaking communities have of their own environment's development as well as its contribution to the regional socio-economic context, and after having echoed their concerns and needs, we will try in this third part to report some of the orientations or actions having the potential to maintain the vitality of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community, indeed a plural community, as outlined earlier, and to contribute to its continued socio-economic development.

Without judging or prioritizing the changes desired by the participants and recorded in the two previous parts of this report (two relevant activities which should be undertaken with these communities), this chapter will attempt to highlight some points that we feel should be taken into consideration by the organizations which need to intervene with the Islands' English-speaking community to support its development.

The vitality of a minority linguistic community can be assessed through various approaches. In the social sciences field, it is common to establish vitality diagnostics by the use of quantitative studies which seek to provide a numerical value for the degree or intensity of vitality based on objective indicators, such as the rates of activity or unemployment in the community, or the level of education of the people. This study has rather opted for qualitative framework which allows, we hope, the detection of directions to take, through listening to the stakeholders and from an in-depth understanding of the local reality.

The summary and recommendations which follow take into account all the collected data, the changes seen, the important and potential development sectors, the relative contribution by the English-speaking community, and the needs and concerns but also the strengths and weaknesses of this population. While we remain aware of the interrelation between demographic, economic, political, institutional, social, cultural and ecological aspects as components of the dynamism or vitality of a population, we feel it is relevant to consider separately each of these aspects.

3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS

Statistics and opinions converge; the islands' English-speaking population is shrinking, slowly in Grosse-Ile, more dramatically On Entry Island, whereas it tends to increase in the central islands. The proportion of young people is higher and their educational level lower than in the other communities taken as a whole. Increasing the opportunities for young people to study, complete their education and come back to live in the community seems to have become a priority. A low rate of bilingualism constitutes a factor limiting the integration of the English-speaking communities to the rest of the archipelago and a significant factor in the departure of youth to the English-speaking provinces.

The school system is valued for its supervision and teaching quality, and its success in ensuring the preservation of the mother tongue, culture and sense of belonging in the community's young people. The importance of education for the latter appears clearly in the growing number of graduates and the waning drop-out rate. The system however requires some adjustments with respect to continuing education and available high school level courses, which currently are focused on an exclusively academic path. Finally, the educational system represents a positive aspect of the Islands' English-speaking communities, as it creates jobs for professionals in the communities.

From these considerations and with a view to maintaining the demographic vitality of the Islands' English-speaking community, **we make these recommendations:**

- Promote learning of the second language, by providing intensive courses, immersion programs, cross-linguistic exchanges, etc.
- Provide the necessary support to the continued existence of the territory's two English educational institutions.
- Diversify program and course offerings at the secondary level.
- Put in place educational guidance services, internships and other activities aimed at raising the awareness of young people about local job opportunities.

3.2 ECONOMIC ASPECTS

3.2.1 Fishing

Fishing – especially for lobster – forms the basis of the local economic structure. In the English-speaking community, almost all households derive some income from this activity. It preserves the community's dynamism and allows first and foremost the practice of a traditional activity with links to the community's history. It is a source of local pride and an attraction potential, in addition to providing very significant incomes. The creation of the fishermen's cooperative is a locally-organized initiative showing that the community has been able to adapt its practices to market opportunities and that, moreover, it is active, playing an influential role for the whole local and regional industry. As for regional contributions, it bears repeating that English-speaking fishermen account for a quarter of lobster landings made in the whole archipelago.

Reliance on a single vulnerable resource however makes for a doubtful future. Fishing seems in addition to have up to now channelled the time and energy of most of the active population, which may have had the effect of limiting the development of other sectors.

There is concern about the fluctuation of lobster stocks, a fluctuation which is seen in the other fishery resources. Biophysical changes (warming of the sea), increasing operating costs and increased pressure on the resource make investing in fishing a risky business, especially for young newcomers to the industry.

3.2.2 Tourism

The English-speaking population does not appear to have entirely integrated tourism development into its economic structure, nor does it seem to enjoy its benefits in any significant way. However, the phenomenon is relatively recent. The persons interviewed do recognize the advantages and development potential of their area, and are also aware of the inherent requirements of organizing a welcoming structure and services for tourists. However, we feel that these communities needed to find some anchoring point for these new activities and ask the following questions: Who should be responsible for local tourism development? What liaison mechanisms should be put in place with the Association touristique régionale? Are there local businesses that should be developed? Can the SADC and CLD promote and support entrepreneurial initiatives aimed at young people and the English-speaking community in general?

The municipal organization problems that have left their mark on the Grosse-Ile community since the beginning of the decade are perhaps some of the reasons behind the slowdown of tourism development felt in the community. The 1999 economic summit and the tourism forum held in 2000 seemed to anticipate a promising future for this industry, but projects put on the table at the time have either failed or have been partially abandoned. Some of the players involved in these projects have indeed been affected by the political changes and conflicts that followed, the latter being the cause for demoralization and withdrawal.

3.2.3 Businesses and Shops

We have noted an erosion of business activity within the English-speaking community (mainly in Grosse-Ile). The people interviewed deplored a series of closures and a reduction in the diversity of neighbourhood shops. It is hard to determine whether we are in the presence of a real destructuring or a response to today's imperatives, requiring either an increasingly larger volume of business or greater number of customers, or a specialization of business activities. The demographic context is admittedly a factor explaining these closures but the change in consumer behaviour and increased trips to Cap-aux-Meules, the archipelago's administrative and commercial centre, undoubtedly play a part in this situation.

There is hope nonetheless that service offerings and businesses will pick up in the Grosse-Ile community so as to restore neighbourhood services and, consequently, preserve a measure of vitality. It should be noted that businesses still operating in the English-speaking community as a whole are a source of local pride, as the population values the long-lived businesses and independence from government transfers (subsidized projects, employment insurance, etc.). CAMI however bucks this trend. It is a young community initiative eliciting satisfaction and pride for the projects it has set up and for the regularly offered job opportunities in the community. Finally, the coop movement has proved to be a success in the community's socio-economic landscape, indeed a success which should serve as inspiration for future development. Moreover, in Entry Island, a fishermen's cooperative project is being considered.

3.2.4 Media, Communication and Transport

We observe that boundaries, in the case of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community, exceed greatly the limits of the Islands' territory. Indeed, still very strong ties (historical, family

and fisheries-related) with the Maritime Provinces create a sense of belonging to the linguistic majority of that region of Canada and diminish the feeling of being part of the Québec or local linguistic minority. The loss of the radio broadcast signal which linked the community to Charlottetown contributes to the feeling of isolation, especially since no direct transport service, by sea or air, links the Magdalen Islands to Prince Edward Island during the winter. Thus, whether we are considering news media or transport, lack of access to what they view as being part of their community generates some degree of distress.

Communication is a major facet of social cohesion within a community, and despite the fact that several communication structures are in place for the English-speaking population, shortcomings have been identified. On the one hand, there is a perceived lack of local news broadcasting in English, the community feeling that is not fully served by local media outlets. Regional activities are only partially covered by the English printed media while the language barrier limits access to the archipelago's French-language medias. On the other hand, members of the English-speaking community lament the lack of interest for events affecting their community and the small amount of space allocated to their concerns in the French-language media. Communication, via the media outlets, is thus limited, both within the community and between the archipelago's linguistic communities.

3.2.5 Seal Hunt

It is a traditional activity providing secondary income, as a supplement to fishing. It is practiced by a large proportion of the Entry Island population and, to a lesser degree, by residents of Grosse-Ile.

3.2.6 Aquaculture

A less traditional activity, aquaculture involves only a very few members of the English-speaking community. Unpredictable productivity, and profitability only in the long term or lower than that of lobster fishing, are certainly criteria that explain why lobster fishing has remained to this day the more attractive alternative for young Anglophones. People remain however aware that aquaculture is a sector offering potential for development, should there be a fall in profitability of the traditional fishery.

3.2.7 Agriculture

Practiced only in the Entry Island community, farming has nonetheless seen a decline over the past five years. Potatoes, now grown by almost all its residents for personal use also offer development potential for a local market. It is however possible that the fishery's importance,, and that of tourism development on the Island now, may occupy most of the active population at the time of year when this farming activity must be undertaken.

To this summary of economic aspects should be added the items specific to each community:

Grosse-Ile

- Mixed feelings toward tourism development as it has been carried out up until now.
- Slowdown of local tourism development due among other reasons to the administrative and political upheavals in recent years which have monopolized time and energy.
- Threatened suspension of the agreement between CAMI and the MDDEP about control of access to Brion Island.
- Disappointment on account of a series of closures in neighbourhood services.
- Significant interest shown for the setting-up of local businesses and shops.
- A need for local autonomy combined with the need for participation in regional authorities.

Entry Island

- Shared desire for involvement in the tourism development process.
- Local development and tourism planning process under way.
- Desire for greater collaboration with the French-speaking community regarding the tourism sector.
- Setting-up of committees and community participation to this end.
- Concern about the quality of services obtained (roads, ferries) and their possible impacts on local development.

Considering all the aspects above, which as economic factors contribute to the vitality of the archipelago's two English-speaking communities ... **we recommend the following:**

- Consider, with the communities themselves, the methods to use to maintain the local vitality and especially preserve the inshore fishery, and contemplate, as a precaution, the means required to reduce the reliance on a single resource, i.e. lobster.
- In the case of the upcoming generation, support their interest in, training for and access to the fishery and other sea-related work, including aquaculture.
- Preserve the current dynamism and optimism about the future by, among other means, the setting-up of resource conservation programs, including increased monitoring of fishing.
- Encourage the English-speaking populations to define more precisely their potential and take on their share of responsibilities regarding the development of the local tourism industry and its promotion.
- Ensure that the community's interest is taken into account when the memorandum of understanding between CAMI and the MDDEP is renewed in relation with access control and development of Brion Island.
- Increase the visibility and accessibility of socio-economic and business development support and assistance programs and services, by the distribution of information about them in both official languages.
- Offer entrepreneurship training sessions to members of the community and encourage entrepreneurship.
- Allow the carrying-out of market studies, maintain and support the establishing of neighbourhood services and shops (including giving consideration to cooperative ventures).
- Ensure the continuation of information communication/dissemination (via the media outlets) at the local level and increase exchanges at the regional level.
- Take into account local priorities concerning the archipelago's socio-economic development.
- Include the English-speaking community's concerns and needs as regards island-to-island (Entry Island) and island-to-mainland (Maritimes) transport in the analysis and initiatives to improve transport services in the Magdalen Islands.

3.3 POLITICAL ASPECTS

It is important, for a minority linguistic community, to have a seat in decision-making authorities. While the Entry Island residents have set up a committee to collaborate with their electoral district councillor (municipal level), they have on the other hand lost their representative within

the Municipal Council. The residents of Grosse-Ile, for their part, have chosen in 2005 to regain their municipality status within a new structure, the Agglomération des Îles-de-la-Madeleine.

In the case of Grosse-Ile, tensions are palpable at the present time; the community seems to be divided internally and to disagree with the regional municipal situation. To avoid an escalation of tensions, the Municipality of Grosse-Ile went to Ottawa, requesting the intervention of a third party. In our opinion, this request is justified and is a confirmation of this community's sense of responsibility. A community which has on several occasions in its past history seen its situation improve thanks to the intervention of a neutral party, who could show objectivity. We could take as an example the public hearings held before the creation of the salt mine.

A redefinition and readjustment of the municipal structure are sought. The merged municipality structure always seems to create ambiguities, a structure in which the central municipality plays the role of an MRC. We indeed find that the administrative structure is not clearly defined or perceived. In the showcase texts of the Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine (including on its website), there is no mention of the English-speaking municipality, nor are there any links that could direct us to information about the latter. Whenever either the merged municipality, MRC or municipality is being referred to, it would be useful to distinguish between these various administrative levels, thus restoring a measure of visibility to the English-speaking municipality, and this despite the differences of opinion and problems existing between these entities. We therefore **recommend the following actions:**

- Include the Municipality of Grosse-Ile in the description of the Magdalen Islands' municipal and administrative organization. Determine the various responsibilities of the Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine, the MRC and merged municipality structure, to reduce the unrest between these authorities and the Municipality of Grosse-Ile.
- Carry out an analysis and assessment of the effects of the merger/demerger on local development and the relationships within the Grosse-Ile community first, then between the majority/minority linguistic communities.
- Seek and state common goals and increase communication between the various parties forming the merged municipality structure.

3.4 SOCIAL ORGANIZATION ASPECTS AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

A strong sense of belonging can be observed within the English-speaking community, as well as optimism regarding its future, an ever-present solidarity and local pride. These traits are shared by the whole community despite a slightly lessened “community feeling” due, according to some, to a rise of individualism and, to others, to the political disputes which have affected the Grosse-Ile community.

There is moreover a downward trend in community involvement seen in the Grosse-Ile community²², a concentration of the people getting involved and a fall in youth motivation. This latter trend could be attributed, according to Stuart Richards (1982) and to some of our interviewees, to the increase in the sense of security generated by government financial support. In fact, employment insurance, while essential in the eyes of many and indeed a significant component of the income of private individuals, is singled out as a factor contributing to the reduction of community initiative.

On Entry Island, community involvement is considered a collective strength. The creation of committees has made it possible, over the last five years, to set up various projects that have benefited the community.

Finally, and from a different perspective, relations between Anglophones and Francophones at the personal level are seen in a very positive light by most members of the community. Nonetheless, a lack of knowledge of the other community remains between them, whether through insufficient coverage by their respective media outlets, cultural differences or the linguistic barrier.

We recommend:

- Set up, at least for a period of time, a translation/interpreting service which would help improve discussions during regional meetings or conferences where there is common interest.

²² Results from our snapshot survey (Appendix C) show a strong propensity by respondents to get involved in their respective communities. However, the limited sample of this survey can not afford it the scope of results obtained from a quantitative survey, and in no way should it lead to generalizations. Indeed, this response (biased by the selection itself of our participants who are for the most part already involved in the community life) contradicts some of their statements, which describe a general downward trend of involvement, especially in the case of youths.

- Increase access to development programs and organizations put in place to serve the entire Magdalen Islands community.
- Set up means to increase mutual knowledge and recognition, with the aim of obtaining a better integration of the English- and French-speaking communities – this integration being, in our minds, essential to the socio-economic development of the whole archipelago.

3.5 ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS

This final factor in the upholding of vitality partakes of the very broad concept that is sustainable development. The extreme reliance by the archipelago's communities on the natural environment, whether in the case of resources (water, fauna, flora), landscapes or way of life based on the exploitation of natural resources, traditional activities, as well as the uttermost vulnerability of this environment, make it imperative to protect it. Within the English-speaking community, there is concern about the illegal harvesting of fishery resources and the inefficient measures put in place to protect them. The issues of energy development and the setting-up of a national marine conservation area (NMCA) are in their case met with some scepticism, several people seeming to fear an eventual exclusion of Anglophones from the decision-making and area management processes.

Therefore, we recommend the following:

- Ensure access for Anglophones to information on all issues related to their environment and to management of their territory.
- Ensure the participation of the local English-speaking communities during public consultations and in the decision-making processes on any development that might modify their environment or way of life.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

In the table below, we attempt to summarize in the form of a list the findings which emerge and characterize the socio-economic portrait of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community. This list is followed by a series of general recommendations.

Demographics

Findings

While the two English-speaking communities are seeing a decline of their population – moderate or drastic – the English-speaking population living in the other communities displays on the contrary a certain rise of its numbers.

The proportion of young people aged less than 25 is falling in the English-speaking community, but remains higher in the rest of the archipelago.

Attendance of French schools by young Anglophones is a relatively recent phenomenon.

The development of new means of knowledge transmission, such as distance post-secondary education, the offering of a greater number of continuing education programs and the diversification of course options at the secondary level to reach less academic-oriented sectors, is a need.

The path taken by young Anglophones is diversifying over the years, as they can now choose to study in the provincial metropolis and work in western Canada.

Some Entry Island fishermen opt to have a second home on the main islands or in Prince Edward Island, but come back to their native land during the fishing season.

Economy

Economic activity and employment rates in the English-speaking community are higher than those of the Magdalen Islands as a whole.

The sense of affluence one gets from examining the income levels of the English-speaking community (higher) fades when one factors in the astronomical rise of costs related to practicing the main economic activity, fishing, the almost exclusive reliance on this employment sector, the vulnerability of this primary sector and the significant proportion of income obtained from government transfers.

Two economic sectors in the English-speaking communities are regional in scope, fishing and mining.

Almost all English-speaking families in the archipelago depend, totally or partially, on lobster fishing.

The creation of the Grosse-Ile fishermen's cooperative has allowed a real taking-over of the socio-economic development by this English-speaking community. A source of local pride, it also seems to act as a model for the other English-speaking community, and perhaps, for other activity sectors in the future.

The English-speaking community has stayed on the margins of the Magdalen Islands' tourism development efforts. Entry Island has set up a tourism-oriented strategic development plan (Strategic Plan Oriented toward Tourism) to increase at the local level the benefits accruing from this sector. In Grosse-Ile, this sector, apparently, has been slowed down by the omnipresence of the primary activity, fishing, and by the upheavals and disputes within the municipal organization in recent years.

Important economic links, going back over many years, exist between the communities of Grosse-Île and Havre-aux-Maisons, while Entry Island is strengthening more and more its economic ties with Cap-aux-Meules.

CAMI is a local initiative that represents and serves both English-speaking communities.

Communication services (media) are scarce and the English-speaking community's sole printed media is experiencing rough waters. A partnership project between SADC, The First Informer and CFIM is in the defining stages. This project aims to improve access to information for the English-speaking community.

The residents of Île d'Entrée have to deal with a double dose of insularity, one might say. Having to board two ferries to travel to the mainland doubles the time and other insular hassles. Currently, they can not hold a full time job on the main islands due to the limited commuting options offered.

The transport sector therefore is a priority for the residents of Entry Island, as well as an important factor of economic development. They request, among other demands, a new ferry to link them to Cap-aux-Meules and improvement of the roads crisscrossing their island.

The English-speaking community also wishes to partake in the planning and decision-making processes related to energy development and other regional development sectors, including aquaculture and tourism.

Politics

The choice made by Grosse-Ile to reclaim some degree of autonomy has created a rift between the French- and English-speaking communities, while also creating tensions within the Grosse-Ile population.

The residents of Entry Island have set up an advisory committee that meets on a regular basis with their municipal councillor, which provides a greater degree of visibility for their requests at the municipal level.

A distinction between and clarification of municipal and merged municipality structures are necessary, as well as a redefining of the allocation of responsibilities, facilities, and cultural and recreational services at the regional level.

The Municipality of Grosse-Ile feels an urgent need for municipal infrastructures as it is currently forced to use the basement of a citizen's house as council chamber.

Social Organisation and Culture

The community has shown great vitality over its history. It has demonstrated that it is able to organize itself, express its needs and request assistance or intervention by a third neutral party in a conflict situation.

Better knowledge of help resources for development is required.

Institutions, including the Anglican Church and the schools, are very important for the English-speaking community, as well as for the preservation of their language, religion and culture.

Ecology

The English-speaking community shows concern about the management of its territory and conservation of its natural resources (fish, lobster, drinking water, etc.).

Beyond the specific recommendations that we mentioned in the third part of this report, we feel justified in adding a few others, of a more general nature, which may contribute to the socio-economic development of not only the English-speaking community but also of the Magdalen Islands' population as a whole.

- Encourage the creation of a means of sharing, some sort of regional forum, that would bring together socio-economic development organizations (SADC, CLD, Carrefour jeunesse-emploi, CRÉ-GIM, CEDEC, etc.) and organizations serving English-speaking communities, to share their knowledge of the needs of these communities and to consider the means to meet them. It is important to encourage the various stakeholders to pool their respective resources and skills and to examine the role given to the English-speaking community with respect to the provision of services.
- Encourage the analysis, both by the English-speaking communities themselves and the majority community, of the state of economic dependence of several of the archipelago's communities on virtually a single natural resource, namely the lobster, and a main activity, fishing.
- Bring together the communities in their search for means to assess and, as the case may be, renew the conditions in which fishing is practiced so as to maintain the quality of and access to fishery resources, and to diversify the activities related to ocean harvesting, including aquaculture.
- Encourage empowerment of the English-speaking community by increasing the taking-over and involvement in the planning and decision-making processes in the various sectors, including tourism and business development, both at the local and regional levels.
- Encourage recognition by the majority French-speaking community of the contributions of the English-speaking community to the cultural wealth and socio-economic development of the archipelago. Increase by the same token the sense of belonging of the minority linguistic community to the Magdalen Islands community.
- Allow a redefinition and readjustment of the merged municipality structure with a view to clarify the various levels and satisfy each of the municipalities, in addition to ensuring that each party receives information which is clear, of equal value and understandable to all. The setting-up, at least on a temporary basis, of a translation/interpreting service is recommended to achieve this end.
- Ensure that Statistics Canada continues to distinguish, in the case of the Magdalen Islands, between the census divisions established before the amalgamation of the municipalities. Our study of the English-speaking communities suggests that using only the archipelago-wide averages would hide realities which are, all things considered, more nuanced.

CONCLUSION

While we do not consider our study to be an all-encompassing portrait of the socio-economic situation of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community, our work has made it possible for us to highlight all its diversity and richness. We have met a community which, despite its relatively small demographic importance, offers the heterogeneity and complexity typical of any dynamic community. Moreover, local pride and a very strong sense of belonging have emerged in our interviews, both of which are essential components for the preservation of a community's vitality.

Following four months spent assembling data, interviews and observations, one can assert with confidence that the Grosse-Ile and Entry Island communities, despite the fact they enjoy standards of living basically comparable to those of other communities in the archipelago, are undoubtedly insular and maritime communities with specific features: the Île d'Entrée community faces insular constraints twice over because of its geographic isolation (no link to the main archipelago), whereas the Grosse-Ile community is characterized first and foremost by a "specialized" maritime destiny, i.e. a considerable dependence on an activity sector, fishing, and on a main resource, lobster. These differences, which echo the strong attachment of these communities to their land, seem to be emphasized by the linguistic minority context.

Only on rare occasions in the past has language seemed to exert a negative influence on the community's vitality. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that Francophones and Anglophones from the Magdalen Islands shared a same reality: insularity and inshore fishing. However, today, with the economy's diversification within the majority linguistic community and in the current municipal context where local governance is seen as going against the regional one, the English-speaking community is trying to define its place and wonders about both its affinities and differences with its French-speaking fellow citizens. Maybe now more than ever before, the linguistic barrier becomes perceptible.

The Grosse-Ile community can draw from its past history to find lessons, particularly as regards community mobilization and conflict management (delocalization threats, creation of the salt mine, forced merger). Today, as we have noted from our interviews, local economic and social successes are built on the values of cooperation, enduringness, belonging, integration and adaptation, which must for ever more be taken into account when considering future development prospects. In our view, the community seems to need time and support to

reposition itself in the new environment (state of fish stocks, economic diversification, etc.) and in the context of changes in the municipal organization – a new context and to this day an uncomfortable one.

In the case of Entry Island, the geographic isolation and population decline have forced the community to obtain representation within the French municipal structures. Its past experiences have led it to set up a local committee made up of volunteers, to better analyse and express its needs. Among the latter, our study shows that the doubly insular reality limits travel and complicates, and probably reduces, access to services. It imposes a greater degree of collaboration with the French-speaking environment to ensure the development of their living environment, as moreover the Island has become one of the archipelago's tourist attractions.

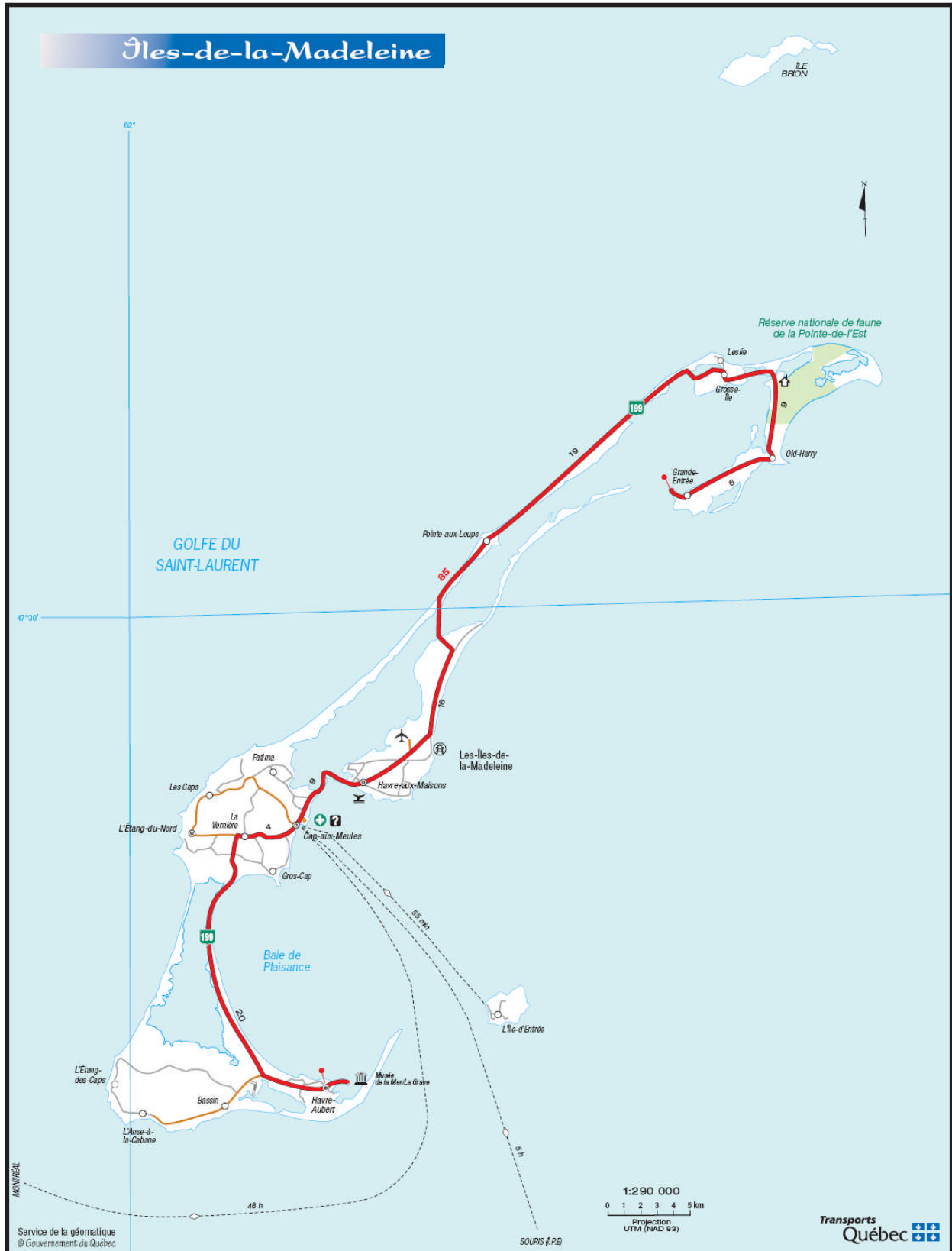
In this report, the proposed courses of action and the needs expressed suggest not a single means or solution, but a multitude of small ways to effect change, such as a restructuring initiative, improvement of existing infrastructures and increased involvement by the local population. The English-speaking community already possesses a number of assets, whether they be its dynamic industry, its institutions or its more than manifest desire to take over management of its own future development. Moreover, it behoves them to perfect, or even put in place, mechanisms that allow dialogue with the majority linguistic community. If one were to seek a natural common ground, a reality shared by both communities, it would certainly be lobster fishing. Contemplating together the necessary adjustments to the lobster fishing practices and pooling the concerns, experiences, interests and ambitions of all may well be a major contribution to deciding on the future directions. The future of the Magdalen Islands can not disregard this primary activity.

But the future must also be diversified and each community must play its role. Appropriation of development tools, development of the social fabric and strengthening of relations between the communities are admittedly among the elements that offer support to the vitality of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community. Therefore, we must hope that any and all can take part in the archipelago's development, in their own way and while respecting and valuing the differences.

REFERENCES

- Arrimage. 2002. Politique culturelle des Îles-de-la-Madeleine. 21p.
- Béland Bibiane. 1987. Ethnographie de l'Île d'Entrée. Master's thesis in anthropology, Université de Montréal. August 1987. 109 p.
- CAMI. 2006. Historical Heritage of English Communities on the Magdalen Islands. 44 p.
- Clark Byron. 2000. Gleaning on the Magdalen. 112 p.
- CEDEC. 2000. Forum on Tourism; Report. December 2. 8 p.
- Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO). 2006. Socio-Economic Profile of Anglophone Communities, Maritime Sectors of Québec 2006. 43 p.
- Emploi Québec. 2004, Fiche territoriale MRC Les Îles-de-la-Madeleine, <http://emploi.quebec.net/francais/regions/gaspesiemadeleine/publications.htm>. 32 p.
- Gagnon Luc, CLD, DEC, SADC Municipalité des Îles-de-la-Madeleine. 2006, Plan de développement stratégique orienté vers le tourisme Phase 1 (2006-2008). 81 p.
- Groupe Recherche Focus. 2003. Health Portrait Anglophone Community Magdalen Islands. 67 p.
- Institut de la statistique du Québec. 2006. Bulletin statistique régional, Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine. 27p.
- Larocque and Fortin. 2003. Histoire des Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Québec: Ed. de l'IQRC, PUL. 408 p.
- Ministère du développement économique, d'innovation et d'exportation. 2006. Portrait socio-économique des régions du Québec. 111 p.
- Municipalité de Grosse-Île. 1999. Sommet socio-économique pour la communauté d'expression anglaise des Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Empowerment: Building Stronger Communities. December 6, 1999, Grosse-Île. 10 p.
- National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority. 2000; Community Economic Development Perspectives. 109p.
- Naud Chantal. 1993. Îles-de-la-Madeleine 1793-1993. Deux siècles d'histoire. Étang-du-Nord: les Éditions Vignaud. 241p.
- Richards Stuart. 1982, « La communauté anglophone de Grosse-Île, aux Îles-de-la-Madeleine. Plan d'aménagement et mines de sel », in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell, Les anglophones du Québec: de majoritaires à minoritaires. Identité et changement culturel, no.1; Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture: 197-211.
- Sexton Louis, Lavoie Nancy. 2005. Rapport concernant l'agglomération des Îles-de-la-Madeleine et la reconstitution de la Municipalité de Grosse-Île. 15 p.
- Statistics Canada, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001 censuses.

APPENDIX A: Map of the Magdalen Islands



APPENDIX B: Interview Outline

1. REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF COLLECTED DATA

2. IDENTIFICATION OF IMPORTANT ECONOMIC SECTORS

Perceived changes, positive and negative, in the community's economy over the last 20 years (agriculture, tourism, trades, craftspeople, fishing...)

Projects, undertakings, activities, past or present, considered as sources of pride, as local success stories; reasons of their success

Projects, undertakings, activities, past or present, which ended in failure, conflict, disappointment; reasons behind these failures

Economic sectors currently viewed as important

Changes desired in the community's economy (agriculture, tourism, trades, craftspeople, fishing...)

3. RELATIVE INVOLVEMENT/CONTRIBUTION OF ANGLOPHONES TO REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Contribution/influence of Anglophones to development and to the regional economy

Perception of the Anglophones' involvement in the archipelago's businesses

Perception of the Anglophones' involvement in public/parapublic services

Links between Anglophones within/outside the community and between the two main English-speaking communities and between Anglophones and Francophones

Obstacles or limits to the regional involvement of Anglophones

Desired improvements

4. DEVELOPMENT SECTORS SHOWING FUTURE POTENTIAL

Sectors with potential in the future

Conditions for their development/achievement

5. NEEDS, RECOMMENDATIONS

Current needs and concerns of the community (social, education, training, linguistic, economic, tourism, organizational, environmental, energy, demographic, cultural, etc.)

Knowledge/recognition of the English-speaking community

Rapprochement with the French-speaking community, receptivity of the latter

Other recommendations

APPENDIX C: Compilation of the Snapshot Survey

1. Where do you live (locality) ? **Grosse-Île.: 11** **Île d'Entrée: 8**

According to you, what initiatives taken by the English-speaking community (ESC), have had a positive impact on the rest of the islands? (Ex: Public audiences for the salt mine, Fishermen's coop, first greenhouse and beach grass plantation, drug awareness for children, etc.)

- **Coop (5)**
- **CAMI (historical work) (2)**
- **Veteran museum (1)**
- **Anti-drug movement (4)**
- **Maison du potier (1)**
- **Création T.L.C. (1)**
- **Protection of Brion Island (1)**
- **Future committee(1)**

2. How do you consider the following relationships?

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Absent
Between the two ESC (Grosse-Isle and Entry Island)	2 3 = 5	8 3 = 11	1 = 1		
Between ESC and French speaking community	3 = 3	7 5 = 7	2 = 2	2	
Between ESC and federal authorities	1 2 = 3	3 4 = 7	5 2 = 7	2	
Between ESC and provincial authorities	2 = 2	3 4 = 7	5 2 = 7	1	1
Between ESC and regional authorities (agglomeration)	1 = 1	2 3 = 5	2 4 = 6	5	1
Between ESC and the municipality	2 2 = 4	4 4 = 8	3 2 = 5	2	

3. What statement would best describe your vision of the ESC future on the islands?

Optimistic: 3-4

Slightly optimistic: 5-2

Slightly pessimistic: 2-1

Pessimistic: 1

4. How would you rate your feeling of membership towards your community?

	Very strong	Strong	Average	Weak	Very weak
(Grosse-Isle or Entry Island)?	6 5 = 11	3 1 = 4	2 1 = 3		
Magdalen Islands	1 3 = 4	6 2 = 8	3 1 = 4		

5. How likely are you to get involved in your community in order to make it a better place to live?

Very Likely: 7-6 = 13

Likely: 2-2 = 4

Not sure: 1

Unlikely: 1

Do you know CEDEC? If yes, in what way could it assist or support the ESC?

No: 2

Yes: 5 3 = 8

Unanswered: 1- 3 = 4

- Support economic development
- Funding sources (2) 1
- Developing projects to maintain & expand vitality
- Assist preparing projects 3
- Facilitating community encounters.
- Increased possibility of moving back into community with new director.
- Nothing yet that has benefited our community (GI)
- Give information 2

APPENDIX D: Informed Consent and Undertaking of Confidentiality

Within the framework of the Communities of Official-Language Minorities Program, Industry Canada has mandated the Centre de recherche sur les milieux insulaires et maritimes (CERMIM) to establish a socio-economic profile of the English-speaking citizens of the Magdalen Islands. This study aims to highlight the socio-economic characteristics of the archipelago's Anglophones in order to gain a better understanding of the needs of this community and ensure a better match between these needs and the services provided.

The findings may be used on the one hand during Industry Canada consultations and meetings with official language minority communities in Québec. On the other hand, Industry Canada can share this data with members of the Government Table to find solutions with other Departments. Third, this profile's data can be used by the communities themselves, affording them a picture of some current realities.

In the first phase, historical, geopolitical and demographic information was collected from various documents. The outline of this initial effort is presented below and will be used as topics for discussion with the members of the English-speaking community. In the second phase, and to obtain the viewpoint of the communities on their own socio-economic development and their future prospects, meetings are planned with various people from a number of different socio-economic sectors. Information collected during these interviews will be processed using a qualitative thematic analysis method, i.e. a summary will be done for each of the themes reviewed.

Rest assured that the confidentiality of the information collected will be safeguarded. To this end, no name or title of individuals will be revealed during the analysis process or drafting of the report. The interview recordings will be used for reference purposes by the Research Officer and will be destroyed afterwards.

Thank you for your collaboration, it is an essential part of this study.

Stéphanie Arseneau Bussièrès
Research Officer
Tel. 969-2100 extension 224

Date _____

APPENDIX E: Projects and Activities Discussed During the Grosse-Île Socio-Economic Summit, 1999

Following the Socio-Economic Summit for the Magdalen Islands' English-Speaking Community held in October 1999, CEDEC has organized a forum on tourism held December 2, 2000. Individuals interested in encouraging the development and increasing the vitality of the Magdalen Islands' English-speaking community were invited to participate in the various workshops.

During this forum, the following points were highlighted:

- The efforts of the Port of Old Harry Development Committee to encourage fishermen to organize themselves, to set up a development plan and to collect the arguments in favour of the carrying-out of this project.
- The sustained efforts that led to the veteran's museum, made possible thanks to the collaboration of Canadian Heritage (\$50,000 for the facilities) and CAMI. A long term strategic plan had included at the time future constructions and other developments.
- The Heritage Museum located on Entry Island, which became a reality thanks to the efforts and commitment of many volunteers from CAMI and CEDEC. Its inauguration was held July 17, 2000 and the Museum welcomed 2,255 visitors during that first summer.
- The Brion Island Ecological Reserve, which attracts every year residents and visitors. Access to the Reserve is regulated by the Government of Québec while CAMI develops a plan to maintain access to it.
- The Friends of Old Harry association of craftspeople had 15 members initially. A sales outlet and exhibition room had been set up near the Old Harry beach and was open to the public during the summer of 2000. 3,200 people came to visit. The members, all volunteers, took on their share of business hours, which were not however optimal. There were also shortcomings in promoting it to tourists. The group is on the verge of forming a cooperative, the second one in ten years in the municipality.
- Gateway to the East: This initiative was born of the need for a long term development plan for the eastern sector of the archipelago and for better access to information about the tourist attractions of this part of the Magdalen Islands. This project plans to:
 - Offer an introduction to this area
 - Provide a link with the tourism activities
 - Manage the eastern part's development
 - Offer a focal point for the English-speaking community
 - The goal of the committee responsible for the organization of the Gateway to the East was to have in place a development officer.