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Conseil supérieur
de l'éducation
Comité protestant

A REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE
SUB-COMMITTEE ON SMALL SCHOOLS
OF THE PROTESTANT COMMITTEE

PROTESTANT SMALL SCHOOLS
AND PROTESTANT COMMUNITIES:
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE



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INTRODUCTION



In the spring of 1975 the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education struck a sub-committee, the mandate of which was to consider the question of Protestant small schools. As was the case with many other educational bodies, the Protestant Committee had become concerned about the possible implications of declining enrolments throughout Québec.

Québec's contemporary educational system has been highly rationalized in terms of where and how resources are allocated; moreover, it took on its present form in an era of expanding enrolments. What, one was inclined to ask, would be the response of such a quantitatively-oriented administrative structure in a period of contracting enrolments? Furthermore, given the high degree of centralization which had accompanied the rationalization of education in Québec, one might equally suspect that the response, when it did come, would be a centralized one.

In the early seventies it had become apparent that the rationalization of education in Québec had engendered unexpected, but real, costs; costs related to facets of the educational process which, because they were not as readily quantifiable, had been

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For the precise terms of the mandate see the minutes of the first meeting of the sub-committee, September 13, 1975.

overlooked. Instances of such hidden costs were, generally speaking, loss of respect for school property in more impersonal settings, loss of motivation on the part of the students, teachers and parents; and finally, a possible social cost in the weakening of physical communities by the withdrawal of schools. School and parent committees had even begun to suggest that the flexibility in choice of programmes, personalized learning and greater opportunities made possible by centralization were resulting in a decline in standards with regards to the essential skills of writing and reading.

We have evoked these doubts regarding the existing situation in order to situate the present report in the context of a certain reappraisal of the value of the small school. Although the Protestant system was not as exposed in 1975 (when the study was initiated) to as marked a decline in enrolments as was the Catholic system, it has, due to its greater geographical dispersion, relatively more small schools at the elementary level. It is conceivable that a mechanical application of the existing norms and administrative mentality¹ might result in the closing of small schools to prop

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During the course of our work in Québec City a senior officer of the M.E.Q. stated, in a discussion about what was a small school that: "We do not consider an elementary school of less than two hundred pupils to be adequate".

up and maintain large schools. . . . thus compounding the limitations of the present systems.

Hence, preoccupied with the fate of small Protestant schools, the sub-committee on small schools drew up a research plan consisting of three distinct constituents. The present report speaks to one of these: an exploratory examination, via historical data, of the relationships between schools and community survival. More precisely, we will be interested in the relationship which has existed between the survival of Protestant communities in Québec and the maintenance of schools in these communities.

Obviously there is a relationship of some sort: in the extreme instance, when all the members of a community leave, the school closes. The issue is, which comes first, the departure of the community or the closing of the schools. Again, the causal links are not likely to be as simple as this. Consequently, we formulated our question thus: "to what extent, if any, does the survival of a

Protestant community in Québec depend upon the maintenance of Protestant educational facilities in the geographical community?"

In an attempt to get closer to the nature of the relationship embodied in this question, we will explore it in terms of the historical evolution, in a specific geographical context, of the two variables;

the existence of school facilities and community size.

Let it be said in passing that the available literature on this question is not at all conclusive. Of those studies turned up by the bibliographic search commissioned by the sub-committee,¹ the one genuinely empirical study concerns high schools only, and the author, writing from within the educational establishment with a definite "consolidation" bias, concludes that there is no relationship between community growth and maintenance of high schools.²

Having said enough by way of introduction, we proceed now to a detailed exposition of our methods, the findings and the interpretation of these findings.

1

Brown, Shirley J. A Bibliography on Small Schools iv & 154 pp., 1976. The outcome of a research project sponsored by the Protestant Committee.

2

Fonstad, Clifton Gilbert. "Influences on small Wisconsin communities of the termination, retention, or enlargement of the public high school". Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973.

METHOD AND DATA

Implied in the question to which we are addressing ourselves (schools and community survival) and requiring some justification is the following assumption: the actual physical presence of schools within the geographical physical limits of the community is of some consequence.

Such a positing of a territorial basis for community would have been disputed in the intellectual climate of the fifties when it was fashionable to talk in terms of a more physically disembodied community. In a social context in which North Americans were encouraged, even obliged, to participate in a system of labour mobility made possible by an ever-increasing facility of movement, they were actively involved in detaching themselves from any geographical community. Quite naturally, a rationalization developed whereby the emphasis of community shifted from the geographical to the more abstract and non-geographical basis of community.

Subsequently, there have been at best three developments which have led to a re-evaluation of the importance of the geographical dimension of community. One of these was the emergence in the sociological literature of the revelations that ethnic residential segregation in North American cities, and particularly in Canada, was not simply a consequence of originally low social class positions

of new ethnic groups; but was indeed a reflection of an ethnic factor which resulted in a continued geographical segregation even after the ethnic group had achieved a degree of socio-economic success.¹

Secondly, the "environmental crisis" has led to a new regard for, and a re-evaluation of, the role of the natural, physical, or geographical environment as a support system for human community. And parallel with these rather specific intellectual developments there has arisen a generalized disillusionment with the quality of life--social disorganization, anonymity, constant change, etc - in large urban communities where the relationship with the geographical context is distant and temporary, in fact, almost imperceptible. The counter-culture of middle-class America and its yearning for a return to the land and a sense of place is a direct reflection of the new importance of territoriality in the quest for community.

Closer to home, and of immediate relevance for us is the post-war consolidation of the identification with, and legitimatization of, a distinct territorial base - Québec - as the geographical support of the French-Canadian community.

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Darroch, A.G. and W.G. Marston, "The Social Class Basis of Ethnic Residential Segregation: The Canadian Case", American Journal of Sociology, vol., 77, no., 3, pp. 491-510.

Québec is not unique in this regard: Welsh and Scottish nationalism, expressions of an effort to consolidate celtic regional communities, are further instances of a re-evaluation in Western thought of the importance of the geographical dimension of community. Hence, for these and other reasons we approach the question of relationship between small schools and Protestant communities within a geographical perspective: survival of communities will be operationalized in terms of maintenance or decline of numbers in a given geographical area; and likewise, the existence of school facilities will be operationalized in terms of the physical presence of school buildings within the geographical unit.

Delimitation of the geographical area to be studied and the geographical units of analysis to be used becomes the next issue. Within Québec we chose the Eastern Townships as the area of study for two reasons. The most important is the existence of observable, and hence measurable, Protestant communities which have a substantial and continuing history -- an obvious requirement in a study the methodology of which is historical. Secondly, the Eastern Townships is an area with which the chairman of the sub-committee and the co-ordinator of this study are both familiar. In passing, it might be noted that the Ottawa Valley, or the Lower Gaspé would have provided equally interesting settings in which to pursue such a study. A further decision was taken to limit ourselves to four counties (as they existed prior to the recent boundary changes) with the

exception of that part of one county (Ascot Township) which is now an extension of urban Sherbrooke. These four counties which constitute the study area are: Drummond, Compton, Richmond and Stanstead.

With the study area thus circumscribed, the next task was to proceed to the delimitation of a unit of analysis within which we could observe, historically, our two variables (community and schools) and the relationship between them. In addition to the need to be conceptually adequate as an embodiment of geographical community, there were a number of methodological constraints among which were the following: the unit we chose had to be such as to provide us with enough instances to allow comparison between different outcomes with respect to our two variables, community (survival or failure) and schools (maintenance or disappearance); the unit had also to be constant in order that we could gather comparable data over time; and finally, it would have to be a unit to which data on both variables could be matched. Furthermore, the unit used, in order that it be conceptually adequate as an embodiment of community would have to be of a size such that it would allow for the fact that economic transportation and communication changes have resulted in a considerable extension of the geographical base of "community".

In the light of all these considerations, we opted for what we have called the "Survey" Township. Survey has been added to the designation township in order to indicate that we are working with the geographical area of the township as originally surveyed, and not the existing municipalities which may or may not correspond in area to the original township. Many townships have been, over the course of time, divided into two or more municipalities. For example, the original township of Clifton was split to form the municipalities of East Clifton and Ste. Edwidge, and part of the latter was later partitioned off to become the present municipality of Martinville. All population and school data have been attached to these original units, the survey townships, which are, in principle, six miles square.

Can the actual physical size of the unit chosen -- the original six mile square township -- be thought to capture within it the phenomenon community? Is it, at least conceptually, an adequate embodiment of the geographical context of rural Protestant community in the Eastern Townships? With respect to the time period of the study 1931 to 1961, the answer is probably that it was too large in 1931 and -- more than likely -- too small in 1961.

Development of the road networks, introduction of telephones, snow clearance of rural roads beginning in 1951 and the general availability of motorized transport all contributed to expanding the

TABLE I

THE TWENTY TWO SURVEY TOWNSHIPS BY COUNTY

Compton

Bury
Clifton
Compton
Eaton
Hampden
Hereford
Lingwick
Newport
Westbury

Drummond

Durham
Grantham
Kingsey

Richmond

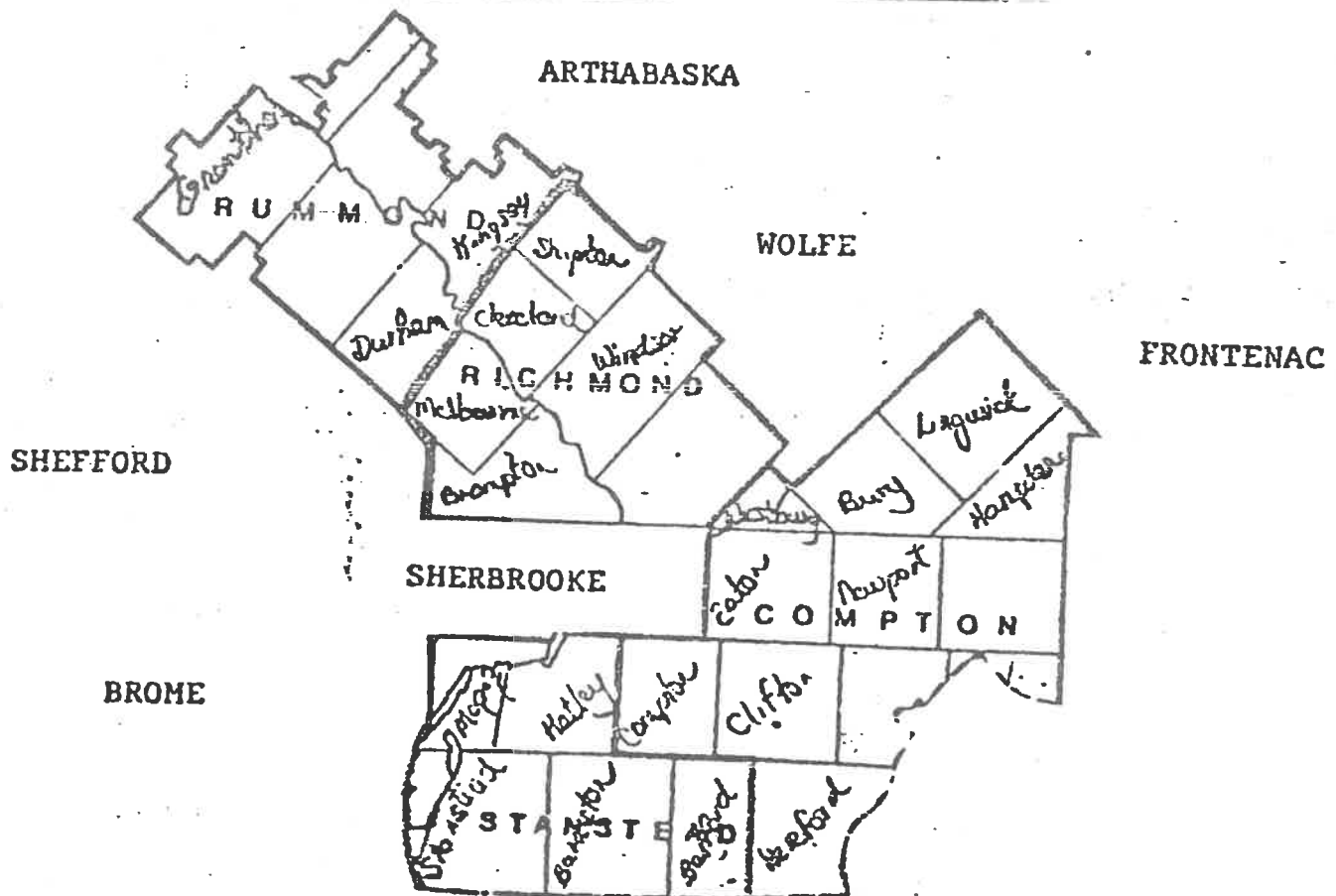
Brompton
Cleveland
Melbourne
Shipton
Windsor

Stanstead

Barford
Barnston
Hatley
Magog
Stanstead

FIGURE I

LOCATION OF THE SURVEY TOWNSHIPS



range of contacts in the thirty-year time period under question. Nonetheless, we maintain that the township as a unit of analysis is, at a minimum, sufficiently large (at least until the early sixties after which time automobile ownership became almost universal in Québec) to encompass the then existing communities. Moreover, the six-mile square units were not delimited at random: their limits are the limits which enclose one or several intact municipalities, with the exception of village or urban municipalities which grow up at the intersection of two or even three townships. In these cases population was assigned to the survey counties on a strictly geographical basis as is the practice with the Canadian census. In order to allow the reader to acquaint himself with their names and locations, the twenty-two survey townships used in the study -- all those in the four counties which had Protestant populations and Protestant schools in 1931 -- are listed in Table I and are geographically located in Figure I which follows the table. A complete list of all the municipalities mentioned and the survey township to which they were assigned can be found in Appendix I on pages 24 - 26.

We turn now to the question of the time period chosen, 1931 to 1961 inclusive; a decision which, in as much as the start of the period is concerned, is largely a function of the availability of data on schools. We were able, after a rather extensive examination of

existing sources in government records and archives, to determine when a school municipality lost a school. The particular source used went back as far as 1929. A year to year search of the school municipalities in question allowed us to determine the number and type of schools in each municipality in each of the census years 1931, 1941, 1951 and 1961. At the beginning of the period, school

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We wish to acknowledge the complete collaboration of M.E.Q. authorities, particularly Mr. R. Wyse with respect to records and Mme E. Délisle-Coté with respect to boundaries of school municipalities.

TABLE II

Protestant Schools, Elementary, Intermediate and High by Survey Townships by Census Years

Survey Townships	Census Years				
	1931 EIH *	1941 EIH	1951 EIH	1961 EIH	1971 EIH
COMPTON CO.					
Bury	021	111	001	001	100
Clifton	400	200	---	---	---
Compton	601	401	010	010	---
Eaton	412	212	102	002	200
Hampden	201	101	101	010	---
Hereford	200	100	100	100	---
Lingwick	310	010	---	---	---
Newport	010	010	010	100	---
Westbury	201	101	001	100	---

DRUMMOND CO.

Durham	220	020	110	---	---
Grantham	010	010	001	001	100
Kingsey	210	010	100	---	---

RICHMOND CO.

Brompton	100	100	---	---	---
Cleveland	501	101	001	001	101 **
Melbourne	810	111	200	---	---
Shipton	902	502	001	001	100
Windsor	001	001	010	010	100

STANSTEAD CO.

Barford	110	010	010	---	---
Barnston	611	511	201	001	100
Hatley	412	212	012	102	200
Magog	301	401	001	001	100
Stanstead	911	430	030	201	100

* E--Elementary, I--Intermediate and H--High School

** This high school, Richmond Regional, was the only one remaining in the study area in 1971.

municipalities were all contained within the limits of survey townships. As we approached the end of the study period we encountered various types of school municipality consolidation such as the short-lived County Boards; however, proceeding on the basis of our knowledge of the actual location of the remaining schools we were able to establish the existence or non-existence of school facilities in a township up to the year 1976.

Existence and types of schools by survey townships 1931 to 1971 are listed in Table II. Despite the availability of data community, and school variables for 1971, the ensuing interpretation is limited to the thirty-year period 1931-1961, thus excluding the consolidation of the sixties. The reason for excluding the year 1971 is simply that the consolidation which took place in this last decade was so extensive that a majority of our twenty-two survey townships ceased to have any school facilities at all by 1971, thus creating a decisive rupture with the previous three decades. More precisely, transportation changes (particularly highway upgrading) which were not perhaps foreign to this consolidation, reflected, in our estimation, the methodological incompatibility of including the sixties in the same time-frame as the previous thirty years. Admittedly, this is a judgemental evaluation; yet we suspect that most observers would agree that the sixties constituted a new era for rural Québec.

Population data come from the census breakdown of population by religion for census sub-divisions. As census sub-divisions are in fact, municipalities, their limits are either co-terminous with, or sub-divisions of, survey townships. Municipal population figures were regrouped on the basis of survey townships for both Protestants and Catholics. Table III contains information on the twenty-two survey townships, all those in the four counties of Compton, Drummond, Richmond and Stanstead in which there were Protestants.

TABLE III

¹
Protestant and Catholic Population by Survey Townships
(Catholic population in brackets)

Survey Township	Census Years				
	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
COMPTON CO.					
Bury	1153(399)	1015(498)	867(523)	762(626)	660(420)
Clifton	285(1579)	198(1715)	151(1632)	131(1601)	120(1430)
Compton	1007(2106)	877(2200)	748(2444)	729(2911)	760(2830)
Eaton	1660(1551)	1188(1568)	1540(2168)	1441(2359)	1290(3900)
Hampden	709(869)	559(1143)	522(1336)	323(1112)	255(830)
Hereford	141(1328)	96(1368)	92(1380)	82(1144)	50(510)
Lingwick	354(315)	300(512)	168(655)	112(686)	65(510)
Newport	575(249)	697(288)	568(587)	428(706)	425(320)
Westbury	804(3257)	785(3298)	567(3754)	533(4943)	360(510)
DRUMMOND CO.					
Durham	806(2217)	650(2245)	542(2375)	528(2013)	480(221)
Grantham	729(14612)	933(24096)	967(32210)	904(33565)	920(371)
Kingsey	277(1919)	278(2034)	221(2102)	223(2122)	195(211)

RICHMOND CO.

Brompton	310(4296)	351(4510)	301(5313)	267(6430)	305(665)
Cleveland	1248(2299)	1158(2930)	1257(3319)	1341(4033)	1303(454)
Melbourne	1008(694)	888(694)	894(765)	813(845)	700(959)
Shipton	1450(6244)	1407(7549)	1560(1502)	1598(15379)	1340(147)
Windsor	443(4372)	421(5023)	416(6372)	516(8634)	485(799)

STANSTEAD CO.

Barford	325(1699)	252(1768)	199(1456)	199(1374)	295(163)
Barnston	1164(5098)	1311(5326)	660(7024)	670(8202)	580(770)
Hatley	1717(1255)	1651(1325)	1943(1550)	1964(1603)	1870(184)
Magog	1218(6286)	1474(8961)	1502(12999)	1486(13966)	1290(146)
Stanstead	3497(2657)	3370(2534)	3244(3324)	3130(3432)	2795(322)

TOTALS

20880(65301) 19859(81645) 18939(104790) 18180(117680) 16545(

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¹
The Protestant population is the sum of all Protestants and "others". Because in 1941 the "other" category is not included, the Protestant population corresponds to the total population minus the catholics.

INTERPRETATION

Let us first consider the variable community and its two outcomes, maintenance or failure of the community. In order to do so we made a distinction between communities which were at least one thousand souls strong in 1931, of which there were ten; and those which had between five hundred and a thousand souls. The first group we designated as the large communities (1,000 and over), and the second, the small communities (500 to 1,000). The next step was to establish a criterion of success or failure as a community. If a Protestant population did not lose more than fifteen per cent of its population by 1961, and if its population as a proportion of the total population of the survey township was in 1961 at least seventy-five per cent of what it was in 1931, it qualified as a community which had survived. On the contrary, a population which had failed to at least maintain its numbers (allowing for a margin of a fifteen per cent decline in thirty years) and which failed to maintain its proportional strength in the total population (more precisely, a 1961 proportion of the total population which was at least seventy-five per cent of the 1931 proportion) was regarded as a failure.



TABLE IV

Protestant Communities, Large and Small, by Success Order

	1931	
	(1) Prot. Pop.	(2) Prot./Total %
Large Communities (1,000 or more in 1931)		
<u>Successes</u>		
Hatley	1717	58
Cleveland	1248	35
Stanstead	3497	57
Eaton	1160	52
<u>Failures</u>		
Hagog	1218	16
Shipton	1450	19
Melbourne	1008	59
Bury	1153	74
Compton	1007	32
Barnston	1164	19
Small Communities (500 or more in 1931)		
Grantham	729	05
Durham	806	27
Howport	575	70
Westbury	804	20
Hampden	709	45
Smaller than 500 in 1931 Alphabetical List and Population		
Barford	325	
Brompton	310	
Clifton	285	
Hereford	141	
Kingsley	277	
Lingwick	354	
Windsor	443	

TABLE IV

Protestant Communities, Large and Small, by Success Order

	1961		Criteria	
	(3)	(4)	Proportion	Size
	Prot. Pop.	Prot./Total %	4/2	3-1/1
Large Communities				
(1,000 or more in 1931)				
<u>Successes</u>				
Hatley				
Cleveland	1807	55	.95	+14
Stanstead	1305	25	.71	+7
Eaton	3130	48	.84	-10
	1441	38	.73	-13
<u>Failures</u>				
Hagog				
Shipton	1486	10	.63	+22
Melbourne	1598	9	.47	+10
Bury	813	49	.71	-19
Compton	762	55	.82	-34
Barnston	729	20	.63	-28
	670	08	.42	-42
Small Communities				
(500 or more in 1931)				
Grantham				
Durham	904	03	.60	+24
Newport	528	21	.78	-34
Westbury	428	38	.54	-26
Hampden	533	10	.50	-34
	323	23	.51	-54
Smaller than 500 in 1931 Alphabetical List and Population				
Barford				
Brompton	199			
Clifton	267			
Hereford	131			
Kingsley	82			
Lingwick	223			
Windsor	112			
	516			

Roughly speaking, a rural population in North America which succeeded in retaining all its offspring would have experienced something between a one hundred and a one hundred and fifty per cent increase in thirty years. I have suggested such a wide range in light of fragmentary indications which suggest that the rural Eastern Townships English-speaking population reduced its fertility drastically during the depression.¹ In the light of this, a population which failed to maintain itself at eighty-five per cent strength was obviously experiencing sufficient out-migration to result in its essential extinction in the near future.

But the growth of human populations is also a function of the economic possibilities of their environment. Hence a population unable to expand in function of available economic opportunities, as witnessed by the growth of the other segments of the population in the same environment, has failed in that it was unable to retain its offspring despite sufficient employment opportunities. Hence, as indicated above, we have designated as failures those communities

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Finestone, Harold. "Trends in the Population Structure of the Sherbrooke Subregions". Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1943

which although they may have grown, failed to maintain their proportion of the total population living in the same economic environment at a level of at least seventy-five per cent of what it was in 1931.

Table IV reveals the results of applying the above criteria of community success or failure. In the table we have listed separately the large communities, the small communities, and those with less than five hundred. This last category of communities is too small for any meaningful analysis and it is listed here for information purposes only.

Turning to the ten large communities, four of them, Hatley, Cleveland, Stanstead, and Eaton are, in reference to our criteria, successes; and the six others Magog, Shipton, Melbourne, Bury, Compton and Barnston are failures. They have been listed here in a hierarchy ranging from the most successful to the most unsuccessful, as assessed by our two criteria.

Among the large communities, it is to be noted that two communities, Shipton and Magog, although they maintained themselves in numbers, are classed as failures because they failed to maintain themselves as a proportion of the total population. The two extreme cases, Hatley the most successful and Barnston the least, are worthy of note. Hatley's success is of course relative, a fourteen per cent increase in thirty years.

The Protestant population as a proportion of the total population in Hatley was almost as high in 1961 (55%) as it was in 1931 (58%) to give a ratio of comparative 1961 to 1931 population proportions of 0.95. No other Protestant population, even Stanstead, (ratio of comparative 1961 to 1931 proportions of 0.85) did as well. Barnston, on the other hand, went from a proportion of 19% in 1931 to 8% in 1961. More specifically, the Protestant population of Barnston was reduced by half between 1941 and 1951. The juxtaposition of these two extreme cases is even more interesting owing to the fact that their environmental locations are quite similar... the two townships are actually contiguous. Why should one have collapsed and the other survived? Of all the communities, Hatley was the largest, second only to Stanstead which had over twice the population. Equally a successful community, Stanstead stands out as by far the largest of all the rural communities considered.

Of all the small communities, five hundred or more population in 1931, not a single one has been successful in maintaining itself in terms of our criteria. Although Grantham which includes the city of Drummondville, comes close, the proportion of total population in 1961 was only .60 of what it was in 1931, our criteria requires .70. Durham, on the other hand, maintained its proportion of the total population, but lost 34% of its numbers, more than twice the loss permitted by our criterion of 15%. Hampden, Newport and Westbury are clearly failures.

It is now time to proceed to the variable, presence of school facilities. In order to arrive at a quantitative expression of the extent of school facilities to be found in a survey township, we have assigned weights to each of the four types of schools present in our data. The elementary category was assigned a weight of 1; the intermediate, which included elementary, a weight of 3, high schools which included all elementary grades 4; and a high school without elementary, 3.

Obviously, these weights are arbitrary in the sense that they are the product of judgement, as opposed to some external standard. Compiling total points for each survey township, in each census year (cf. Table II), we arrived at a composite weighted score. These scores are to be found, for the twenty-two survey townships which had schools, in Table V. At the bottom of the decade year columns the means are to be found. An examination of the means reveals that the most extensive reduction of school facilities in the individual survey townships took place in the two decades 1941-1951 and 1961-1971. In the first of these decades the extent of the presence of school facilities declined by 41% (as measured by our composite weighted score) and by 74% in the second. Reductions in the decades 1931-1941 and 1951-1961 were respectively 20% and 30%. Taking our study period as a whole, the years 1931 to 1961, the average composite Protestant school score declined 66% and the Protestant population of these same survey townships declined from (cf. Table III) 20,880 to 18,180, a decline of 13%. Clearly, irrespective of the decade 1961-1971, there was a massive geographical contraction of school facilities in this short space of thirty years.

TABLE V

Protestant Schools by Survey Townships; Composite Weighted Score

(E - 1; I(incl.E) - 3; H(incl.E) - 4; H(without E) - 3

Survey Township Name	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
COMPTON CO.					
Bury	10	8	4	4	1
Clifton	4	2	0	0	0
Compton	10	8	3	3	0
Eaton	15	13	9	8	2
Hampden	6	5	5	3	0
Hereford	2	1	1	1	0
Lingwick	6	3	0	0	0
Newport	3	3	3	1	0
Westbury	6	5	4	1	0
DRUMMOND CO.					
Durham	8	6	4	0	0
Grantham	3	3	4	4	1
Kingsey	5	3	1	0	0
RICHMOND CO.					
Brompton	1	1	0	0	0
Cleveland	9	5	4	4	4
Melbourne	11	8	2	0	0
Shipton	17	13	4	4	1
Windsor	4	4	3	3	1

STANSTEAD CO.

Barford	4	3	3	0	0
Barnston	13	12	6	4	1
Hatley	15	13	11	9	2
Magog	7	8	4	4	1
Stanstead	16	13	9	6	1
<hr/>					
\bar{X} --	8.0	6.4	3.8	2.7	0.7

When we use the term "consolidation" in the subsequent discussion, we have in mind the outcome of this process of contraction and regrouping, rather than the institutional policy and practice designated "school consolidation" by educational authorities. Obviously, contraction and regrouping of school facilities is often implemented under the umbrella of a policy of consolidation, but not necessarily.

* * *

We now come to the crux of the study, the attempt to establish a relationship between the variables "community" and "schools". In order to do so we have again, in Table VI, listed in three blocks the large and small communities by degree of success, the most successful first (all the small communities, of course, were failures). Opposite the names of the communities are to be found the composite school scores for the four years 1931, 1941, 1951, and 1961.

What emerges almost immediately is that all the failed communities--with the one exception of Grantham which has maintained its absolute size--have passed through a decade in which the composite school score was halved (or almost in the case of Hampden.) Furthermore, in the case of the large communities which failed, this contraction took place in every instance in the decade 1941-1951; and in the case of the small communities, in the decade 1951-1961. Presumably, in the more dispersed communities (500 or less in a six

mile square) it was more difficult to consolidate and the regrouping of schools had to await the opening of winter roads, which did not begin until 1951 in Québec.

If we consider a halving of the composite school score to reflect a major school consolidation, the fact that every one of the six failed large communities experienced such consolidation is extremely indicative. This finding constitutes solid evidence that there is a relationship between community success, and the presence of school facilities.

TABLE VI

COMMUNITY SURVIVAL OR FAILURE AND SCHOOLS

Communities		Composite School Scores			
		1931	1941	1951	1961
I	Large, successful communities				
	Hatley	15	13	11	9
	Cleveland	9	5	4	4
	Stanstead	16	13	9	6
	Eaton	15	13	9	8
	X--	13.8	11.0	8.3	6.8
II	Large, failures.				
	Magog	7	8	4	4
	Shipton	17	13	4	4
	Melbourne	11	8	2	0
	Bury	10	8	4	4
	Compton	10	8	3	3
	Barnston	13	12	6	4
	X--	11.3	9.5	3.8	3.2
III	Small Communities				
	Grantham	3	3	4	4
	Durham	8	6	4	0
	Newport	3	3	3	1
	Westbury	6	5	4	1
	Hampden	6	5	5	3
	X--	5.2	4.4	4.0	1.8

Yet, we still do not know which of the two, community failure or school consolidation is the cause and which is the effect. These massive--in as much as they happened so quickly--consolidations in the "failed" communities, did they precede, or come as a consequence of, population decline? Unfortunately, it is not sufficient to look at the absolute population figures as found in Table III, as the age composition of the population is not taken account of. A population total may have remained stable, although the proportion of the population of school age may have declined substantially as a result of a lowered birth rate or a heavy out-migration of young couples (or both). However, the large successful communities did not experience a population drop in the decade 1941-1951; whereas, population did drop eleven per cent on the average in the large failed communities in this "consolidation" decade. Likewise, the small failed communities experienced a population loss of fifteen per cent in the "consolidation" decade 1951-1961; although they also experienced a loss of twelve per cent in the preceding decade during which there was almost no school consolidation. No, a comparison of trends in composite school scores and population figures will not deliver up to us the causality behind the relationship between school facilities and community survival.

What might give us some indication is the surprising coincidence in time of the periods of major consolidation, consolidations consisting of a halving of the composite school score. Such a massive

coincidence (and the complete absence of comparable consolidation in the successful communities) suggests that the two periods of major consolidation (1941-1951, and 1951-1961) were the consequence of a policy implemented in function of some outside imperative. If, on the contrary, consolidation was implemented as a response to community failure, one would expect the timing to be in function of the state of the different communities. In fact, the odds of the six major consolidations in the failed communities all occurring, by chance, in the same decade are one in forty. And in the failed small communities, the odds of getting, by chance, four consolidations in five communities in the same decade is one in twenty-seven.

But, one might argue, community failure is not the result of chance factors but of some outside determining factor (the depression, the war, etc), which will affect all communities at the same time. This is no doubt true. But how then, if some outside factor is responsible for the coincidence in time of the failures which in turn resulted in the consolidations, does one explain the fact that consolidation in the large communities took place in the decade 1941-1951 and in the small communities in the following decade?

Conclusion

Although the foregoing results, the coincidence of periods of major contraction and regrouping of school facilities in the same decades in failed communities, and their absence in the successful communities, is suggestive; our indicators are too crude (no knowledge of population age composition and insufficient data points in our time-series) to establish if one of the two phenomena under study (community failure and the closing of schools) manifested itself before the other. Given this limitation of the study--inability to establish causality--I would suggest a detailed study of at least six communities; the three most successful, Hatley, Cleveland and Stanstead; and the three most extreme failures, Bury, Compton and Barnston. An examination of week to week school attendance records and an in the field knowledge of the evolving socio-economic context would, I suspect, allow one to establish the direction of the relationship existing between the existence of small schools and the survival of the communities in question.

APPENDIX I

Census Municipalities Included in the Survey Townships
(listed by county)

TOWNSHIPS

CENSUS MUNICIPALITIES

COMPTON COUNTY

Bury:

Bury

Clifton:

Clifton, Clifton E., St.
Edwidge de Clifton, Martinville

Compton:

Compton, Compton Village,
Waterville, Compton Station

Eaton:

Eaton, Cookshire, Sawyerville

Hampden:

Hampden, Scotstown, Milan (pt)

Hereford:

Hereford, St. Herménégilde (pt)
St. Venant-de-Hereford,
St. Herménégilde Village (pt)

Lingwick:

Lingwick

Newport:

Newport

Westbury:

Westbury, East Angus

TOWNSHIPS

CENSUS MUNICIPALITIES

DRUMMOND COUNTY

Durham:

Durham S. (St. Fulgence),
L'Avenir, Ulverton,
Durham S. Village

Grantham:

St. Edmond de G., St. Eugène de G
St. Germain de G., St. Marjorique
de G., St. Joseph de G., St.
Germain de G. (village)
St. Joseph de G. (village),
Grantham West, St. Simon de
Drummond, Drummondville,
Drummondville South, Drummondvill-
West, (village)

Kingsey:

Kingsey, Kingsey Falls, Kingsey
Falls (village)

RICHMOND COUNTY

Brompton:

Brompton, Brompton Cove,
St. François Xavier de Brompton,
St. Denis de Brompton (pt),
St. Grégoire de Greenlay,
Bromptonville

Cleveland:

Cleveland, Richmond

Melbourne:

Melbourne, Kingsbury,
Melbourne Village

Shipton:

Shipton, Asbestos, Danville

Windsor:

St. Georges-de-Windsor, Windsor,
Windsor Ville, St. Georges de
Windsor (village)

TOWNSHIPS

STANSTEAD COUNTY

Magog:

Barford:

Barnston:

Hatley:

Stanstead:

CENSUS MUNICIPALITIES

Magog, Magog-Ville, Omerville

Barford, St. Herménégilde (pt)
St. Mathieu de Dixville,
Dixville Village,
St. Herménégilde Village (pt.)

Barnston, Coaticook, Barnston Wes

Hatley, Hatley West, St. Catherin
de Hatley, Ayer's Cliff, Hatley
Village, North Hatley

Stanstead, Beebe Plain, Rock
Island, Stanstead Plain, Ogden

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