

# **Are Urban Youth More Modern? Spatially Based Differentiation, Home Leaving, and Transition Outcomes in Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay<sup>1</sup>**

**Marc Molgat**

University of Ottawa

[marc.molgat@uottawa.ca](mailto:marc.molgat@uottawa.ca)

**Patrice LeBlanc**

Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue

[patrice.leblanc@uqat.ca](mailto:patrice.leblanc@uqat.ca)

**Martin Simard**

Université du Québec à Chicoutimi

[martin-g\\_simard@uqac.ca](mailto:martin-g_simard@uqac.ca)

## **Abstract**

This article focuses on an interesting question for studies of youth and regional development: How are the transitions and social integration of young people shaped by the localities and spaces they are brought up in and through which they pass on their way to adulthood? Using social differentiation theory, our study focuses on how the socioeconomic and historic structuring of regions and individual mobility may leave imprints on the life course of young adults. We examine this issue from the angle of the transitions to adulthood of migrant and nonmigrant youth who live in the cities of two region types: metropolitan or urban fringe environments and resource- and agriculture-dependent regions. The analysis is based on survey data collected from young adults aged 20 to 29 years (N = 1,202) living in Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay in the Province of Quebec. Results show not only that metropolitan youth are not more “modern” than their regional counterparts but also that youth mobility has effects on the locales under study.

---

## **1.0 Introduction**

Social practices such as leaving home and household formation are evolving quickly nowadays. These key moments in the transition to adulthood are happening later for many young people and open up various pathways toward social integration through studies, employment, and living arrangements. One interesting challenge for both youth and regional development studies is to

---

<sup>1</sup>This article is based on a paper presented at a meeting of the Canadian Association of Sociology and Anthropology at York University in June 2006. The authors wish to acknowledge support for this research from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, CURA program. The CURA project “Insertion et participation des jeunes en région. Une approche qui tient compte des jeunes dans le développement régional ” was directed by Madeleine Gauthier, INRS-Urbanisation, Culture et Société. Also, the authors wish to thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

understand how these phenomena are shaped by the localities and spaces young people are brought up in and through which they pass on their way to adulthood. In this perspective, this article focuses on how young people from different geographic settings experience their transitions to adulthood.

While recognizing that these experiences can vary, we attempt to move away from the idea that young people from metropolitan areas are more “modern” than their nonmetropolitan counterparts because they adopt ways of life that are more in tune with social change, notably by pursuing education and spending longer periods of time living in nontraditional household arrangements, such as living alone or with roommates. One way of moving away from such a “traditional versus non traditional” perspective is to consider the socioeconomic and historic structuring of regions, which may leave an imprint on individual life courses, without however considering that they determine them completely. The article also takes into account the question of mobility since young people who leave their regions of origin often end up living in metropolitan or peripheral urban settings, thus contributing to the social organization of these locales.

We will look at these issues from the angle of the transitions to adulthood of migrant and nonmigrant youth who live in the cities of two region types in the Province of Quebec. The first is made up of metropolitan or urban fringe environments and is represented by the city of Gatineau. The second are resource- and agriculture-dependent regions, for which the cases of Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay are considered. More precisely, the article examines how spatially based social differentiation patterns may intersect with transitions to adulthood.

In the following pages, we will address these questions beginning with how spatial considerations might be integrated into a youth transition framework. This intersection of place and youth, in a context where geographical mobility is frequent, generates hypotheses about how youth from different settings make their transitions to adulthood. After a brief overview of the methodology, we will present some survey data that allow for analysis and discussion on the effects of spatial differences on youth transitions, and conversely of youth mobility on the locales under study.

## **2.0 Theoretical Considerations and Hypotheses**

Social differentiation theory is a useful tool in understanding how differences and inequality are created and reinforced within social systems (Baron, Grusky, & Treiman, 1996; Juteau, 2003; Mark, 1998). According to Juteau (2003), social differentiation is a cyclical process that produces differences between groups based on unequal access to economic, political and cultural resources, which in turn contribute to socioeconomic disparities and social tensions, thus reinforcing social differentiation. There are various strands of social differentiation based, for example, on gender, ethnicity, age, and locality. Differentiation based on locality has a somewhat different status from other differentiation processes because it goes beyond social groups and is extended to geographic locations. Southcott (2003) has developed this idea in terms of “spatially based differentiation” and used it to define region types that bring considerable nuance to the traditional urban-rural dichotomy of space. In these region types, patterns of social differentiation may vary significantly. Juteau points out, “Each region type represents a container, so to speak, embodying other forms of social differentiation” (2000, p.102). In this sense, it is worthy to note that after decades

of criticism on environmental determinism—and despite (or perhaps because of) the influences of globalization and telecommunications—the social sciences are experiencing a renewed interest in space as a factor that might somehow shape social phenomena and processes (Lévy, 1999; Wolch & Dear, 1989).

By referring to the dimensions of commodity production, socioeconomic production, and sociohistorical conditions, Southcott (2003) suggests that spatial forms in Canada can be categorized into six region types that can be broadly separated in two groups according to social differentiation trends. The first group is made up of two region types, those of metropolitan and “urban fringe” areas. These are characterized by demographic and economic growth, a mounting postindustrial economy, rising levels of income and education (but also by the entrenchment and growth of pockets of poverty), ethnic diversification, and a decrease in gender-related social differentiation, the latter based on the growth of the postindustrial economy and continuous challenges to the forces of tradition. The second group is made up of four region types: agricultural, resource dependent, fishing dependent, and Northern native. All are experiencing demographic decline (except for the Northern native region type) and economic difficulties (except perhaps for oil-rich regions), have populations with lower levels of income and education, are ethnically homogeneous, and show a relative stability of gender-related social differentiation. But here also, changes in gender patterns occur. They are related to the need of women to farm because of the weakening financial situation of family farms, and to the increasing opportunities for work in the growing service sector in resource-dependent regions. Southcott notes, however, that the fishing and Northern Native region types appear the least open to this sort of change. In the province of Quebec, this spatial typology seems to roughly match popular notions of “core” regions found in the St. Lawrence Valley and “peripheral” regions located elsewhere in the province.

Although various kinds and sizes of cities exist in this second group of region types, they cannot be considered as belonging to the metropolitan or urban fringe types because of the nature of their socioeconomic context. Some studies show that Statistics Canada’s Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and Census Agglomerations (CAs) can be classified according to their regional contexts, grossly defined either as “peripheral” or “central” (Bourne & Simmons, 2003; Simard & Simard, 2005). Both Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay fall into the first category. Moreover, analyses based on the classifications of CMA- and CA-influenced zones (or MIZ) clearly show that both CMAs and CAs such as Saguenay and Rouyn-Noranda have strong links to their environment in terms of employment and services (NRC, 2007). Finally, it may be argued that the influence of regional settings on cities is generally stronger in agricultural, resource-dependent, fishing-dependent, and Northern native regions than in metropolitan or urban fringe regions, where the flow of influence is more or less opposite.

By joining these perspectives on region types to work done in the field of youth sociology, we propose that these “containers” and their patterns of social differentiation play into the construction of the life course during the transition to adulthood. At the same time, however, the period of youth appears as an important time for changes in established patterns. As such, youth may be seen as a period of life where new patterns are more likely to be produced, following the choices young people make in the face of multiple possibilities and the social and material constraints that impinge upon them. The transition strands through which these

choices are made can be described following Galland's work on how young people enter adulthood (Galland, 2000, 2001, 2007). He has identified three transition strands: leaving the parental home and establishing residential independence, leaving school and entering the labour market, and moving from being single to forming a couple and, eventually, a family of one's own. In general, Galland shows that the youth period in France has shifted from a synchronous and rapid transition process over these strands to a generally protracted one. These changes in the passage to adulthood have been noted in many industrialized societies, including Canada and Quebec (Beaujot, 2004; Cavalli & Galland, 1995; Clark, 2007; EGRIS, 2001; Gauthier, 2003).

Taking into consideration these issues concerning youth, as well as the more general outlook of social differentiation theory, one might conclude that in the locales we are studying, spatially based social differentiation is founded on a number of factors. These would include unequal access to educational opportunities (namely postsecondary programs), unequal access to labour-market opportunities, and norms and values that carry a heavier weight in some regions than in others, and that largely reflect a more traditional path toward adulthood, i.e., early school completion and leaving home to set up home and a family. From this perspective, it may be tempting to conclude that urban youth follow more modern pathways to adulthood, by delaying transitions through prolonged education and single life.

Previous analysis of youth transitions in Quebec show some important differences between young people living in large cities and those living in small towns or in rural areas, in terms of the timing of leaving home, geographical mobility within the province, and living arrangements (Côté & Potvin, 2004; LeBlanc, 2004; LeBlanc, Girard, Côté, & Potvin, 2003; LeBlanc & Molgat, 2004; Molgat, 2002). In essence, those living in the metropolitan areas of Montreal and Quebec live longer with their parents, migrate less and are more likely to live alone than to have moved in with a partner or started a family of their own.

The most common explanations of these differences are (a) the limited availability of postsecondary programs in outlying regions that in turn fosters outward migrations, (b) the more traditional life course patterns of those who stay behind, and (c) the greater availability of postsecondary programs in big cities that attracts single young people and allows urban youth to live at home while pursuing their studies. Furthermore, at the end of their studies, many young adults choose to stay on in larger urban centres, whether they are migrants to the city or not. These trends point to how regional social differentiation patterns may affect the experience of youth in general and in particular the choices young people make as they wind their way through education and work; they also reflect how regions are structured through these very same experiences and decisions because of youth mobility patterns. Moreover, differences and inequities could increase in the following years through the development of the new economy based on knowledge and technical innovations (Polèse & Shearmur, 2002) that are located principally in the metropolitan and urban fringe region types.

From this standpoint, a number of hypotheses can be derived for the analysis of our research data. The first is that when young adults from agriculture-, resource- or fishing-dependent regions leave home and their cities of origin, they do so in order to pursue postsecondary education. Although this has been true for the "peri-nordic" regions of Quebec (LeBlanc et al., 2003) where both Saguenay and Rouyn-

Noranda are located, cities in these regions have never been the focus of specific analysis. The second hypothesis is that, as a result of these departures and on the basis of the spatially based differentiation model, those who stay on in these cities should have lower levels of education and income and be more likely to form a couple and a family early in life than those who migrate.

Finally, analysis should show that for those who do migrate, their situation will vary according to the region types where they settle down, reflecting differential access to labour-market opportunities and expectations about socially desired pathways to adulthood. On the whole, if these trends hold true, they could be understood as relatively coherent patterns of reproduction of spatially based social differentiation. Following these patterns, metropolitan and urban fringe regions would continue to experience population growth, high levels of education, and increasing challenges to the forces of tradition. Resource-dependent cities and region types would, however, continue to witness decline, both in terms of population and levels of education; furthermore, these areas would witness more traditional pathways to adulthood, as reflected by trends of early family formation.

### **3.0 Methodology**

The following analysis is based on a survey of 1,202 respondents conducted in the cities of Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay in the Province of Quebec, between December 2004 and April 2005. In the following paragraphs, we first describe these three localities then go on to explain the sample and how the analysis was conducted.

It is important to note that all three survey locales had been reshaped administratively by municipal mergers a few years prior to the study. They all include an urban core, a suburban belt and large periurban territories. Some of these periurban territories are still considered by local populations as rural or farming oriented, which explains why population densities are low for Saguenay, and particularly for Rouyn-Noranda (see Table 1).

The first of the three cities is Gatineau (population of about 240,000).<sup>2</sup> It lies on the northern shore of the Ottawa River opposite the city of Ottawa and belongs to the metropolitan and urban fringe region types. It is located in the southwestern part of Quebec, approximately 200 km west of Montreal and is the regional center of the Outaouais, the eighth largest administrative region of Quebec in terms of population. Gatineau has been experiencing fairly strong population growth since the early 1990s as a result of positive net migration flows. As well, the region benefits from a strong postindustrial services-based economy, as can be noted in the distribution of the labour force within industry types (see Table 1).

The other two cities, Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay, belong to resource- and agriculture-dependent regions. They obviously differ in terms of size and are accordingly categorized by Statistics Canada as a CA (Rouyn-Noranda) and a CMA (Saguenay). Although CAs represent cities of 10,000 to 100,000 inhabitants and CMAs cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants, we believe that Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay can be appropriately grouped in terms of their intrinsic ties to the historic and socioeconomic development of their regional context.

---

<sup>2</sup>Data concerning population, education, employment, earnings and income, and housing for each city are presented in Table 1.

Rouyn-Noranda (population of about 40,000) is the administrative center of the Abitibi-Temiscamingue region and is located in the mid-upper northwest portion of Quebec. In terms of road travel, the city is about 500 km northwest of Gatineau and 700 km northwest of Montreal. The Abitibi-Temiscamingue region is the fourth largest of the 17 administrative regions of Quebec and 14th in terms of population. Population numbers have been decreasing in the region since the mid 1990s but the city of Rouyn-Noranda witnessed a small growth between 2001 and 2006 (+ 0.8 %). Logging and mining are the motors of economic activity; agriculture is also an important component of the economy, even within the city limits of Rouyn-Noranda itself, where 13% of workers are found in the “Agriculture & other resource based” industry category (see Table 1). Rouyn-Noranda is also host to the Horne foundry, which employs about 550 workers. As is further evidenced by the distribution of workers within industries, the city is oriented toward services, notably those offered by the government.<sup>3</sup>

Saguenay (population of about 145,000) is in the Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean (SLSJ) region and is located about 200 km north of Quebec City. SLSJ is the third largest of the 17 administrative regions of Quebec and the 10th in terms of population. As in Abitibi-Temiscamingue, the number of residents in the SLSJ region has decreased since the early 1990s and the city of Saguenay is one of only two Canadian CMAs<sup>4</sup> that experienced a steady population decline between 1996 and 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007a). Aluminum smelters (three of which are in the city of Saguenay, employing more than 4,000 workers), followed by pulp and paper and agricultural industries, are the main elements of the regional economy, and much like that of Rouyn-Noranda, Saguenay’s employment structure is oriented toward services, although a more important percentage of workers is found in the manufacturing industry (see Table 1).

Comparisons of the three locales on the basis of education, labour market participation, income, and housing serves to further highlight resemblances between and specificities of these cities (see Table 1 for the following discussion). In terms of education, Gatineau has perhaps the widest range of postsecondary institutions and programs available within easy commuting distance. Gatineau boasts French- and English-language CÉGEPS (*Collège d’enseignement général et professionnel* [College of General and Vocational Education]) and a small university within its city limits. Students who do not find in these institutions their desired program of study may register at the University of Ottawa (although at approximately twice the cost in tuition), a bilingual university situated less than 5 km away from Gatineau’s city centre. A third English-language university (Carleton) is located a further 5 km south. In comparison, although both Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay have one or two CÉGEPS and one university located within their city limits, and offer an impressive variety of programs, the fields of study available to students are not as wide ranging as for those living in Gatineau.

The educational attainment of the population also differs between the cities. The highest levels of postsecondary studies are found in Gatineau, particularly at the university level, followed by Saguenay and Rouyn-Noranda. As may be expected because of the structure of their regional economies, the latter two cities have higher rates of individuals with formal apprenticeship training or trade certificates

---

<sup>3</sup>The most important employer in Rouyn-Noranda is the Health and Social Services Center (1,150 workers).

<sup>4</sup>The other is Saint John, in the Province of New Brunswick.

and diplomas. Finally, it is worth noting that the rate of those without a high school diploma is highest in Rouyn-Noranda, followed by Gatineau and Saguenay.

In terms of labour market participation and individual revenues, these are much higher in Gatineau than in Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay; unemployment rates are also lower in Gatineau. These differences may be the reflection of both the availability of high-quality well-paid jobs tied to the federal government for residents of Gatineau and the higher levels of educational attainment of its population. Conversely, the lower labour market participation rates in Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay may be partly explained by weaker rates of participation for women, who may be more inclined in these cities to be homemakers: Only one third of women in Gatineau are not in the labour force, whereas the rate jumps to 40% in Rouyn-Noranda and 47% in Saguenay (Statistics Canada, 2007b). In terms of low income levels, however, it is noteworthy that Gatineau has the highest rate of all three cities. This would suggest a relatively important polarization of revenues and further supports the classification of this city in the group of urban fringe/metropolitan region types, as described in the preceding section.

Finally, Table 1 shows little difference between the three cities in terms of dwellings: Roughly 6 of 10 dwellings are owned and the rate of those requiring major repair does not vary by more than one percentage point. However, the availability of rental housing varies both within and between the three cities. In Gatineau, vacancy rates started plummeting in the late 1990s and rose slightly to 2.1% in 2004, the year the survey was started (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation [CMHC], 2004a). In comparison, vacancy rates in Rouyn also fell but only reached 4.8% in 2004 (Observatoire de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue [OAT], 2008); in Saguenay they remained high and more stable during the same period, ending with a rate of 5.3% in 2004 (CMHC, 2004b).

The study sample is equally divided among Gatineau ( $n = 401$ ), Rouyn-Noranda ( $n = 401$ ), and Saguenay ( $n = 400$ ) and comprises respondents aged 20 to 29 who were interviewed by telephone. The survey was designed to study the leaving-home patterns and housing paths followed by young people during the transition to adulthood, in an effort to distinguish differences and similarities between the three areas. The margin of error is  $\pm 4.9\%$  and the confidence interval is 95%; the response rate was 58.2%. The data set has been weighted to reflect age groups (20–24; 25–29) and gender in all three areas.

In order to take the mobility of respondents into consideration, the article compares respondents who did and did not migrate at the moment of leaving home. Also, it examines the outcomes of transitions, comparing the situations of migrants and nonmigrants aged from 25 to 29. Conceptually, we consider migrants to be those who left their administrative region of origin, whether or not this was followed by a return to the same region. Further, we have distinguished migrants from nonmigrants only at the moment of leaving home since the survey does not allow for isolating other points when migration may have occurred. This choice can be justified by (a) the fact that among youth who migrate from one administrative region to another, 72% do so upon leaving home for the first time (Gauthier et al., 2006), and (b) research on leaving home and housing paths shows that this moment is a particularly sensitive juncture in young people's lives and is related to the rest of the life course in terms of further education, work, family formation,

Table 1. *Selected Characteristics of Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay, 2006\**

	Gatineau	Rouyn-Noranda	Saguenay
Population			
Total population	242,124	39,924	143,692
2001–2006 population change (%)	+ 6.8	+ 0.8	- 2.3
Population density per square kilometer	707	7	128
Industry (% workers in each industry type)			
Agriculture & other resource based	1	13	4
Construction	6	6	6
Manufacturing	4	6	14
Wholesale trade	2	5	3
Retail trade	11	13	14
Financial & real estate	4	4	3
Health care & social services	10	12	13
Educational services	8	8	8
Business services	15	14	13
Other services	39	20	21
Education			
Number of CEGEPS (& approximate distance from city centre)	2 (both 7 km)	1 (2 km)	2 (1 & 20 km)
Number of universities in region (& approximate distance from city centre)	3 (3, 3, and 8 km)	2 campuses (2 & 105 km)	1 (2 km)
<i>Educational attainment (%)</i>			
Less than high school diploma	24	30	22
High school diploma or equivalent	23	21	21
Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma	12	17	22
CEGEP or college certificate or diploma	17	16	18
University certificate or diploma below & over the bachelor level	24	16	18
Labour force activity			
Participation rate (%)	70.6	63.7	59.9
Unemployment rate (%)	5.6	8.5	8.7
Earnings and income before tax in 2005			
Median earnings—persons 15 years & over who worked full year, full time (\$)	46,065	38,816	40,145
Median income—persons 15 years & over (\$)	30,370	24,237	23,288
% in low income—all persons	15.8	13.2	14.5
Housing			
Owned dwellings (%)	64	60	62
Rented dwellings (%)	36	40	38
Dwellings requiring major repair (%)	7	8	7
Rented dwellings vacancy rate in 2004 (%)	2.1	4.8	5.3

\*Data for 2006, unless otherwise noted.

Sources. Statistics Canada (2007). *Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, Saguenay-Quebec* (tables), *2006 Community Profiles—2006 Census*. Data for vacancy rates are from CMHC rental market reports (2004a & 2004b) and a table produced by the Observatoire de l’Abitibi-Témiscamingue based on MHC data (OAT, 2008). Distances from city centers to CÉGEPS and universities were calculated using the Google Maps tool (<http://maps.google.ca/>) and thus reflect road travel.



and more generally, moving on to financial independence (Jones, 1995). In the analysis, migrants and nonmigrants are compared in terms of gender, age when leaving home, and reasons for leaving home.

Finally, in order to analyze the outcomes of the transitions, we compare migrants and nonmigrants aged from 25 to 29 only. This age bracket reflects a time when postsecondary education is completed for the great majority of young people and when labour market integration occurs (Clark, 2007); at this age, many young people have also formed a couple and begun families of their own, although evidence shows that a majority of young men and women do not have a first child until their late 20s and early 30s (Beaujot, 2004; Clark, 2007). In order to compare these outcomes, we will present data on educational attainment, income levels, living arrangements (including the presence of children), and tenure type (whether respondents own or rent their dwelling).

## **4.0 Findings**

### **4.1 Leaving Home**

The data analyzed here concern only those respondents who have left the parental home. Young adults in their 20s are most likely to have left home in Rouyn-Noranda (87%) and less likely to have done so if they lived in Gatineau (78%) or in Saguenay (74%) (see Table 2). Upon leaving for the first time, more than 30% of all respondents migrated, the highest rate being among those now living in the city of Gatineau.<sup>5</sup>

An important and highly significant difference can be noted in terms of the number of migrants who are returnees to their region. Returnees are those respondents who left their region when leaving the parental home, returned to the same region afterward (not necessarily to live with their parents), and were still living there when interviewed for the survey. They represent from two thirds to over three quarters of respondents having left home in the cities of Saguenay and Rouyn-Noranda (the resource-dependent regions) but less than 40% in Gatineau. This indicates that most migrants in Gatineau have in fact moved there from outside the region, demonstrating that the city is attracting new migrants, much like Montreal does (Gauthier et al., 2006, p. 74; Tremblay & Hamel, 2004).

Among those who have migrated, a balance between men and women is noted, except in the city of Saguenay where men represent 55.1% of migrants. Among nonmigrants, women form a weak majority of respondents in Gatineau and Rouyn-Noranda and are proportionally more numerous in Saguenay. Among migrants, gender differences for Saguenay may be explained by higher rates of incoming male migrants attracted by employment opportunities in local industries and by a lower rate of return for young women who leave the region. This explanation is supported by studies on migration intentions conducted with high school students in the SLSJ region that indicate that young women are much more likely than young men to plan to live in a big city in 15 years time (Laberge et al., 2004). Gender differences among nonmigrants may be explained by the earlier timing of home leaving among young adult women in Quebec (Molgat, 2002).

---

<sup>5</sup>Caution is needed in interpreting the differences between cities in out-migration rates at time of leaving home ( $\chi^2$ :  $p < 0.157$ ).

Table 2. *Housing Paths at the Moment of Leaving Home and Gender of Migrants and Nonmigrants in Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay (%)*

	Gatineau <i>n</i> = 311 (78% of respondents)	Rouyn-Noranda <i>n</i> = 349 (87% of respondents)	Saguenay <i>n</i> = 294 (74% of respondents)
Stayed in region upon leaving home (nonmigrants) <sup>1</sup>	61.2	68.2	63.4
Left region upon leaving home (migrants*) <sup>1</sup>	38.8	31.8	36.6
Migrants who are returnees <sup>2</sup>	37.5	76.2	65.7
Migrants* <sup>3</sup>			
Men	51.7	47.3	55.1
Women	48.3	52.7	44.9
Nonmigrants <sup>3</sup>			
Men	44.6	45.8	38.9
Women	55.4	54.2	61.1

Source. Quebec survey on youth housing paths, 2004–2005.

\*Migrants can be returnees to the region or incomers who had never previously lived in the region.

<sup>1</sup>  $\chi^2$  : *p* < 0.157.

<sup>2</sup>  $\chi^2$  significant at *p* < 0.000.

<sup>3</sup>  $\chi^2$  : *p* < 0.074.

Young people in Canada and in Quebec have generally been leaving home later than in the past (Beaupré, Turcotte, & Milan, 2006; Clark, 2007; Milan, Vézina, & Wells, 2007). Furthermore, returns to the family home are increasingly frequent (Mitchell, 2006), a trend that directly contributes to the rising proportion of youth in their 20s who live with their parents. In our sample, migrants living in Gatineau and Saguenay left home earlier than did nonmigrants (see Table 3), notably before age 20, when the majority of home leaving occurs. More striking, however, is the finding that nearly three quarters of both migrants and nonmigrants living in Rouyn-Noranda left home before their 20s. High levels of home leaving before age 20 are most likely explained by the reasons young adults give for having left home (see Table 3). Although our data are not robust enough to explore the relation between age and reasons for leaving home among both migrants and nonmigrants in the three cities, earlier studies carried out in Quebec show that leaving home before age 20 is strongly associated, for migrants, with pursuing educational pathways (Molgat, 2002).

Reasons for leaving home are generally construed to be a reflection of young people's aspirations (except when they are forced to leave) but can also be seen as

a reflection of structural opportunities, differences between region types and the way young people navigate through them, as we suggest here. In general, migrants in our sample leave home in order to further their studies: Just less than three quarters of those living in Gatineau and Rouyn-Noranda mentioned this reason, although the rate falls to two thirds in Saguenay. In a structural perspective, this difference may be explained by the greater number of CÉGEPs in the SLSJ region (four) as opposed to the Abitibi-Temiscamingue (one) and Outaouais (two) regions. Young people may need to leave home to live closer to a CÉGEP where their program of study is offered. However, other factors can be at play. In the perspective of gaining autonomy, young people can “use” distance in justifying home leaving to their parents (Jones, 1995; Molgat, 2003), which explains why autonomy is the second most often cited reason for leaving home among migrants from all three cities. Also, youth from “far away” Rouyn-Noranda may interpret leaving for studies as one of their only opportunities to experience urban living, as opposed to youth from Saguenay who live in a bigger city and who are also close enough to Quebec City to experience a larger metropolitan centre without necessarily moving away. Finally, it must be noted that the high number of respondents leaving home for school in Gatineau probably reflects the attraction to the city of college or university students from outside the region who may wish to study either in Gatineau or across the river in Ottawa, and who end up setting up home permanently in the region. The same attraction phenomenon occurs less frequently in Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay, despite their being hosts to regional campuses of the University of Quebec. In fact, many young people from these areas choose to leave their region in order to pursue university-level education (Gauthier et al., 2006).

A number of migrants, primarily men, also mention having left home for work<sup>6</sup>: over one fifth in Gatineau, over one quarter in Rouyn-Noranda, and over one third in Saguenay. Differences here may be explained by the greater number of low-skill but fairly well-paid employment opportunities related to the lumber and mining industries<sup>7</sup> in the regions where Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay are situated.

Among nonmigrants, the most often-cited reason for leaving home is autonomy. This result is supported by other studies that show that when autonomy or independence from parents is included in surveys as a possible motive for moving away from the family home, respondents most often choose this over other reasons (Jones, 1995; Mitchell, 2001; Ravanera, Rajulton, & Burch, 1995), especially when they move within the same city as their parents (Molgat, 2002). Autonomy may be selected more often for a number of reasons, the most important being that for nonmigrants, leaving home cannot be interpreted as an event that is imposed by the need to move away from the region and thus refers to a more subjective process. Qualitative research shows that for these young people, leaving home is not the ultimate consequence of autonomy but very much a part of the process of autonomy construction, and that moving out is a way of affirming autonomy in the course of seeing oneself as a full adult (Molgat, 2003, 2007). It is not surprising therefore that, in quantitative and qualitative studies, autonomy is often mentioned and interweaved with other reasons for leaving home, such as living with a partner or pursuing school or work (Jones, 1995; Molgat, 2002, 2003).

---

<sup>6</sup>Two to three times more men than women mention this reason. Data not presented.

<sup>7</sup>It is worth noting that the survey was administered before the massive lay offs that occurred recently in the lumber industry of Quebec.

Table 3. *Home-Leaving Characteristics of Migrants (M) and Nonmigrants (NM) in Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay (%)*<sup>1</sup>

	Gatineau <i>n</i> = 311		Rouyn-Noranda <i>n</i> = 349		Saguenay <i>n</i> = 294	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
Age at leaving home						
Under 18 years	23.7	18.9	32.7	37.7	24.3	16.8
18–19 years	38.1	33.5	38.2	37.3	35.5	30.8
20 and over	38.1	47.6	29.1	25.0	40.2	52.4
Reasons for leaving home*						
School	74.4	24.2	72.7	35.2	66.0	26.5
Work	20.3	21.5	28.2	33.9	35.5	20.0
Live with partner	23.7	47.8	19.1	44.1	17.0	55.9
Autonomy	49.6	77.4	48.2	70.3	52.3	78.5
Bought a home	2.5	9.7	0.9	5.5	-	6.5
Poor relations w/ parents	4.2	17.9	6.4	11.4	1.9	18.3
Other** <sup>2</sup>	4.2	10.2	4.5	7.2	1.9	9.1
Returned home***						
—	28.8	24.2	46.4	27.5	43.0	21.5

Source. Quebec survey on youth housing paths, 2004–05.

<sup>1</sup>All  $\chi^2$  are significant at  $p < 0.002$  unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> $\chi^2$ :  $p < 0.160$ .

\* Respondents could choose more than one item.

\*\* Includes those who refused to answer and those who gave no answer.

\*\*\* Not necessarily living with parents at time of survey.

Nonmigrants select much more often than migrants a “traditional” reason for their departure from the family home, i.e., leaving home to live with a partner. This reason is chosen by over 40% of nonmigrants in Rouyn-Noranda and by approximately one in two nonmigrants in Gatineau and Saguenay. More women than men state this reason,<sup>8</sup> which reflects general trends of earlier couple formation and marriage among young women (Clark, 2007; Statistics Canada, 2003). Also, moving into a house they have purchased is a reason young people give for leaving home, but among nonmigrants only: Nearly 1 in 10 does so in Gatineau, 1 in 15 in Saguenay, and 1 in 20 in Rouyn-Noranda.

<sup>8</sup>Data not presented.

Among nonmigrants, Rouyn-Noranda presents a particular situation: More than one third state they left home to further their education. This can once again be associated with the fact that the only CÉGEP in the Abitibi region is in Rouyn-Noranda, where roughly one quarter of the population lives. Although this CÉGEP offers programs on two other campuses in the Abitibi region (Amos and Val d'Or), many young people who want to pursue postsecondary education without leaving the region may feel the need to leave the family home and move to Rouyn-Noranda. This may be attributable to the greater diversity of programs in this city, but also to the possibility this CÉGEP offers of leaving home without going too far. In this respect it should be noted that in the Province of Quebec rental housing options are greater in larger locales like Rouyn-Noranda and much less so in rural and semirural areas and towns (Roy, 2006).

On the whole, the data show that furthering education, the more typically modern path to adulthood, is the most important reason explaining why young adults initiate a migration pattern upon leaving home. The home-leaving experiences of nonmigrants, on the other hand, are chiefly justified by access to greater autonomy and moving in with a partner. These trends may clarify why migrants tend to return to live in the family home more often nonmigrants; leaving for school is considered by young people and their parents as a less definite exit than leaving to set up a household with a partner (Jones, 1995). We have also noted that more traditional home-leaving patterns of migrants and nonmigrants continue to exist. These are sometimes related to work and are more salient for migrants living in Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay and for nonmigrants living in Rouyn-Noranda. This would seem to indicate that industries located in and around these cities continue to attract young workers, primarily men, from outside the region. Another traditional home-leaving rationale is also evident for nonmigrants: setting up home with a partner, a situation more frequently identified by women than men. Finally, the long-thought- disappeared transition from the parental home to a purchased home of one's own is also prevalent, but primarily for nonmigrant youth in Gatineau.

#### ***4.2 Outcomes for Migrants and Nonmigrants at Ages 25 to 29***

The socioeconomic characteristics of those aged 25 to 29 give a further indication of the types of spatially based social differentiation patterns that may occur, or indeed be transformed, through the transition to adulthood. The first of these characteristics is that of living arrangements. They can be considered as telltale signs of whether adulthood has been reached, in the sense that having a family of one's own is often considered by young people as a key marker of entry into full adult status (Arnett, 2006; Molgat, 2007). More often than not, it generally follows other transitions such as leaving home and finding employment (Clark, 2007) despite some contentions that youth transitions are no longer as linear as they used to be (Charbonneau, 2006).

However, at ages 25 to 29, the outcomes of youth transitions in our sample do not present clear spatially based social differentiation patterns (Table 4). Differences exist, however, between migrants and nonmigrants and are quite salient in terms of having started a family life. In both Saguenay and Rouyn-Noranda, for example, more than half of nonmigrants who are living with or without a partner have children; in Gatineau the proportion is just under 50%. Comparatively, only 4 of 10 migrants in all three cities have children. The only obvious regional distinction

is related to migrants living in Gatineau: They have the lowest proportion of those living alone (15.9%) and the highest rate of those living with a partner only (37.7%).<sup>9</sup> This singularity may be explained by different migration patterns to Gatineau, whereby couples end up migrating to the area because one partner has found work or because young couples from Ottawa choose Gatineau as a less expensive place for entering the housing market. In the other two regions, incoming migrants are more often returning home after their studies and many are probably returning as singles. This would also explain why “to live with a partner” is a more important home-leaving reason for migrants now living in Gatineau than in the other two cities.

Homeownership can also be seen as a measure of the transition to adulthood, albeit to a lesser extent than living arrangements because it also belies the ability to purchase a home; many households with lower incomes may put off homeownership more or less indefinitely. Although the data show that migrants in Saguenay and Rouyn-Noranda are less often homeowners than their nonmigrant counterparts and that among migrants, homeownership is highest in Gatineau, the results cannot be considered statistically significant ( $p < 0.437$ ).

The most striking (and statistically significant) differences occur during the transition from education to work. These are visible in terms of educational attainment and income levels, both between migrants and nonmigrants and between region types (see Table 5). Regarding educational attainment, few respondents have not obtained a high school diploma (less than 2% among migrants and 9% or less among nonmigrants). It does not follow, however, that education levels are equivalent among all groups. Lower levels of educational attainment (i.e., high school completed only) are found among nonmigrants, particularly in Rouyn-Noranda (40.5%) and Saguenay (34.9%). Conversely, migrants have attained higher educational levels than nonmigrants, and these levels are very high in Gatineau, where more than 60% have a university diploma.

As has been noted in the theories concerning spatially based social differentiation, education levels are much higher in the metropolitan/urban fringe region (Gatineau) than in the resource- and agriculture-dependent regions (Saguenay and Rouyn-Noranda); however, according to our sample, complete polarization is not occurring, as can be noted by the low numbers of respondents without high school diplomas and the fairly high levels of CÉGEP diplomas among both migrants and nonmigrants in the latter two cities. Furthermore, nearly 40% of migrants have university diplomas in both Saguenay and Rouyn-Noranda, as is the case for nearly one in five nonmigrants in Rouyn-Noranda and over one in four in Saguenay. Thus, comparatively lower levels of educational attainment among young adult migrants and nonmigrants in both Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay are not to be equated with failure to move on to postsecondary education. In fact, although university diploma rates among our respondents are lower in these cities than in Gatineau, the combination of CÉGEP and university diplomas among nonmigrants gives postsecondary diploma rates of 57.5% for Saguenay and 50.4% for Rouyn-Noranda. These rates are much higher than those observed in the general population for both cities (see Table 1).

---

<sup>9</sup>Caution is needed in interpreting the differences between cities in living arrangements ( $\chi^2$ :  $p < 0.219$ ).

Table 4. *Living Arrangements and Tenure Type of 25- to 29-Year-Old Migrants (M) and Nonmigrants (NM) in Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay (%)*

	Gatineau		Rouyn-Noranda		Saguenay	
	<i>n</i> = 202		<i>n</i> = 189		<i>n</i> = 202	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
Living arrangement <sup>1</sup>						
Alone	15.9	12.5	25.5	12.1	28.2	14.6
With roommates	8.7	7.7	5.5	7.8	7.7	3.1
With partner	37.7	31.7	25.5	25	20.5	29.2
With partner and child(ren)	36.2	41.3	41.8	47.4	35.9	45.8
Alone with child(ren)	1.4	6.7	1.8	7.8	7.7	7.3
Tenure type <sup>2</sup>						
Homeownership	49.3	45.7	38.2	44.1	37.5	48.5
Rental	50.7	54.3	61.8	55.1	62.5	51.5

Source. Quebec survey on youth housing paths, 2004–05.

<sup>1</sup>  $\chi^2$ :  $p < 0.219$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $\chi^2$ :  $p < 0.437$ .

As income is directly correlated to education, it is not surprising that migrants, who have higher educational attainment, generally have higher income levels than nonmigrants (see Table 5). However, it is worthy to note that the proportion of migrants with annual incomes below \$30,000 living in Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay is relatively high (53.3% in Rouyn-Noranda and 61.7% in Saguenay) and fairly similar to that of nonmigrants in these regions (approximately 60% of nonmigrants live with less than \$30,000 per year). At the other end of the income spectrum, Rouyn-Noranda's migrants are more than twice as likely as nonmigrants to have incomes of \$50,000 and over. In contrast, migrants and nonmigrants living in Saguenay are very similarly distributed in terms of income levels, despite the fact that migrants in this city have clearly attained higher education levels than nonmigrants.

The most striking feature when comparing income levels comes from Gatineau, where income is much higher than in the other two regions, thus reflecting the spatially based differentiation theory. In fact, the earnings of young adults may be exacerbating differentiation since the variations in median incomes or earnings of the general population in the three cities (see Table 1) are not as remarkable as what is found in our sample. For example, *nonmigrants* in Gatineau are 2 to 2.5 times more likely than *migrants* in Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay to earn \$50,000 or more per year. Also, comparatively few migrants in Gatineau earn less than \$30,000 per year (22.7%) and nearly 40% report incomes of \$50,000 or more in the past year. In Gatineau, migrants are clearly making more money than

nonmigrants, in contrast with the situations in Rouyn-Noranda and, more to the point, in Saguenay.

Table 5. *Educational Attainment and Income Levels of 25- to 29-Year-Old Migrants and Nonmigrants in Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, and Saguenay (%)*<sup>1</sup>

	Gatineau		Rouyn-Noranda		Saguenay	
	<i>n</i> = 202		<i>n</i> = 189		<i>n</i> = 202	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
Educational attainment						
No high school diploma	1.4	7.0	1.6	9.1	—	5.7
High school diploma	11.0	26.1	27.4	40.5	16.0	34.9
CÉGEP diploma	24.7	37.4	32.3	31.4	46.0	34.0
University diploma	61.6	29.6	38.7	19.0	38.0	25.5
Income levels						
Under \$30,000	22.7	36.8	53.3	61.7	61.7	62.6
\$30,000 to \$49,999	39.4	38.7	33.3	33.0	27.7	29.3
\$50,000 and over	37.9	24.5	13.3	5.2	10.6	8.1

Source. Quebec survey on youth housing paths, 2004–05.

<sup>1</sup>All  $\chi^2$  are significant at  $p < 0.000$ .

These data seemingly contradict the notion that both Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay offer many well-paid unionized jobs in the mining and industrial sectors of the economy. It must be noted that employment perspectives for young people in some of these industries were more or less bleak in the years preceding the survey, either because employee demographics were concentrated in the older age groups or because some sectors were witnessing weak growth or decline and layoffs. In the SLSJ region, average disposable income has been declining since the 1980s, essentially because of fewer jobs in the industrial sector and growth in the lower paid service sector, particularly in the city of Saguenay (Brochu, Gauthier, & Proulx, 2004; Proulx, 2005). Also, although the service sector in both cities may offer employment opportunities for young adults, salaries may be lower and pay ranges tighter than elsewhere.

## 5.0 Discussion

The data analysis tends to support the first of the hypotheses, i.e., that in resource- and agriculture-dependent cities, migration upon leaving home is closely tied to educational reasons. This is further underscored by the high rate of migrants in Gatineau who state they left home for school: Since few of them are returnees to Gatineau, they have most likely left resource- and agriculture-dependent regions in order to pursue postsecondary education in this setting. The access to postsecondary institutions and programs at the CÉGEP and university levels in Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay seem to make a difference in terms of staying on in



the region. However, distance may play the opposite role, in that many young people who want to experience urban life see leaving for postsecondary education as an opportunity to achieve this goal.

The second hypothesis was related to the first in that departures for postsecondary education should mean that those who stay behind in the resource- and agriculture-dependent cities have lower levels of education and income than those who migrate and are more likely to form a couple and a family early in life. Although our data clearly show that those who do not migrate have lower levels of educational attainment, there is no evidence of an important polarization between migrants and nonmigrants in the two resource- and agriculture-dependent cities we have been studying. Despite the fact that nonmigrants are more likely to not have a high school diploma, these rates are fairly low (less than 10%) and, in fact, more than half of those who stay on end up with a postsecondary degree, whether from a CÉGEP or a university. In this sense, young adults from these resource- and agriculture-dependent cities appear to have relatively similar educational aspirations as their metropolitan and urban fringe counterparts from Gatineau. The major difference appears at the university level. Young migrants in Gatineau, who are principally incomers to the region, have achieved much higher levels of education. This would indicate that it is not only urban youth that contribute to structuring the metropolitan and urban fringe spatial differentiation patterns, but also those coming from resource-dependent regions.

As education levels impinge on income, it is perhaps not surprising that the revenues of young adults living in Gatineau are highest, notably among migrants. However, a close look at the data clearly suggests that the structure of regional labour markets also has an influence on income levels. For instance, although nonmigrants from Gatineau and Saguenay have relatively similar proportions of young adults with a postsecondary diploma, three times as many from Gatineau earn \$50,000 or more per year. Discrepancies between city types in terms of levels of educational attainment and income are also noted among migrants. These latter observations lend credence to the force of spatially based differentiation patterns.

The other part of the second hypothesis dealt with earlier entry into traditional adulthood for nonmigrants, through partnership and family formation. Data confirm this idea when looking at the proportion of migrants and nonmigrants who leave home to live with a partner. But in terms of outcomes, there are no important differences except among nonmigrants in all three cities, who are more likely to have children: This observation points to how migration has a delaying effect on transitions to adulthood. Among nonmigrants, those living in Gatineau are least likely to have children, but the rate is nevertheless near 50% and close to what is found in the other cities. This lack of clear polarization between city types in terms of family formation may be linked to the increasing levels of educational attainment for women and men who do not migrate, since staying in school longer also has a delaying effect on other life transitions (Clarke, 2007).

The final hypothesis concerned how migration patterns should affect youth differently according to the city types they have settled into. The preceding analysis clearly confirms this hypothesis in terms of income, but outcomes are less salient for other dimensions of the transition to adulthood, such as living with a partner and having children. In fact, the higher rates of migrants living with a partner in Gatineau may simply be explained by a delay effect: Since they stay in school for longer periods of time, there are delays in obtaining stable employment,

which in turn may encourage couples to wait longer before having children. On the other hand, a spatially based differentiation pattern may be at play, whereby couple and family formation are viewed by more young adults in Gatineau as a process that should be longer and more drawn out to allow for individual expression and professional development before taking on the responsibilities of family life. Whether or not such a value difference is at play would need to be analyzed in further research.

## 6.0 Conclusion

Are urban youth really more modern than their regional counterparts? In answering this question, it is important to bear in mind one of the most important conclusions of this article: that spatially based social differentiation patterns are far from being *sui generis* from the perspective of youth transitions. In other words, influences on youth transitions cannot emanate only from spatially based differentiation patterns; other sources of influence such as social discourses on the value of pursuing education and experiencing big-city living must be taken into consideration. In fact, contrary to our hypotheses, the intersecting study of youth transitions and spatially based social differentiation patterns causes a blurring of the view that urban youth are more modern than their regional counterparts. This largely stems from young people's geographical mobility, whether through out-migrations toward other regions, returns to the region, or new in-migrations. This mobility modifies popular perceptions of how young people from different geographical settings live out their lives. In effect, upward social mobility through education and relatively well-paid jobs may in fact be attributable not only to existing spatially based social differentiation patterns in metropolitan and urban fringe cities but also to the agency of young people from resource- and agriculture-dependent cities who decide to leave in order to pursue their education. In this sense, it is these young migrants who appear as the most modern.

This conclusion underscores a point made in the United Kingdom by Thomson and Taylor (2005) about young people's perceptions and strategies of "localism" and "cosmopolitanism": Tensions between home, tradition, and fixedness (localism) and mobility, escape, and transformation (cosmopolitanism) are negotiated by young people over time, while they are making transitions to adulthood. The authors argue in this sense that localism/cosmopolitanism should be understood as a "single, interdependent term through which perceptions about space and associated status can be expressed" (p. 337). Following our analysis, we feel that the same argument should be applied to the fixed typologies of urban/rural and modern/traditional. Although our data do not allow for an examination of young people's feelings of place, mobility, or "being modern," they do provide a strong basis for suggesting that more nuanced typologies and analyses are needed to better understand youth transitions and their interplay with the locales young people live in and move through.

It may be tempting to view the young mobile adults who leave Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay as part of a highly educated "creative class" (Florida, 2003) that positively influences the growth of metropolitan and urban fringe cities. However, the hyperbole surrounding the creative class theory (Peck, 2005) leads to some caution in interpretation. The attraction to Gatineau of young people in their late teens and early 20s is clearly linked to the issue of human capital, i.e., acquiring a postsecondary education, and also to experiencing autonomy and independence.

Our study cannot gauge whether Gatineau attracts these youth because it holds all of the “3Ts” that are identified by Florida (2003) as crucial in exerting a pull on the creative class: technology, talent, and tolerance. Whether or not Gatineau—and neighboring Ottawa—possesses these promises of an exciting haven for a highly educated class of young adults has yet to be studied.

Regardless of how this question may be settled, our analysis clearly provides a different perspective when considering which young people actually contribute to the image of urban youth as being more modern. It is also important to understand that the mobility decisions made by youth, including those to stay on or to return, contribute to the structuring of cities in all region types, not only because young people integrate existing social differentiation patterns, but also because they end up modifying them. This process also occurs on the geographic level of towns and rural areas. In this sense, future studies of young people’s transitions and mobility should also connect with these locales and spaces which often make up vast expanses of land in the North American context.

Finally, the relatively high educational attainment of nonmigrants in resource-dependent cities begs to question the extent to which populations in these regions, and youth in particular, are permeable to discourses on the importance of pursuing education in the face of an increasingly knowledge-based economy and rising demands for a highly skilled workforce. The presence of postsecondary institutions in the cities of Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay may play an important role in this respect. How this might affect the economic and demographic evolution of the resource- and agriculture-dependent cities of Rouyn-Noranda and Saguenay remains an open question.

## 7.0 References

- Arnett, J. J. (2006). Emerging adulthood: Understanding the new way of coming of age. In J. J. Arnett & J. L. Tanner (Eds.), *Emerging adults in America. Coming of age in the 21st century* (pp. 3–19). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Baron, J. N., Grusky, D. B., & Treiman, D. J. (Eds.). (1996). *Social differentiation and inequality: Essays in honor of John Pock*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Beaujot, R. (2004). *Delayed life transitions: Trends and implications*. Ottawa: The Vanier Institute of the family.
- Beaupré, P., Turcotte, P., & Milan, A. (2006). When is Junior moving out? Transitions from the parental home to independence. *Canadian Social Trends*, 82, 8–15.
- Bourne, L. S., & Simmons, J. (2003). New fault lines? Recent trends in the Canadian urban system and their implications for planning and public policy. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12(1), 22–47.
- Brochu, I., Gauthier, E., & Proulx, M. U. (2004). *Le dollar Saguenéen*. Chicoutimi, QC: Centre de recherche en développement des territoires.
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). (2004a). *Rental Market Report—Gatineau*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://dsp-psd.tpsgc.gc.ca/Collection-R/CMHC/RM/NH12-69E/NH12-69-2004E.pdf>

- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). (2004b). *Rental Market Report—Saguenay*, Ottawa, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://dsp-psd.tpsgc.gc.ca/Collection-R/CMHC/RM/NH12-197E/NH12-197-2004E.pdf>
- Cavalli, A., & Galland, O. (1995). *Youth in Europe*. London: Pinter.
- Clark, W. (2007). Delayed transitions of young adults. *Canadian Social Trends*, 84, 13–21.
- Côté, S., & Potvin, D. (2004). La migration interrégionale des jeunes au Québec : Des parcours différenciés selon le lieu d'origine. In P. LeBlanc & M. Molgat (Eds.), *La migration des jeunes. Aux frontières de l'espace et du temps* (pp. 33–80). Quebec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- EGRIS (European Group for Integrated Social Research). (2001). Misleading trajectories: Transition dilemmas of young adults in Europe. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 4(1), 101–118.
- Florida, R. (2003). Cities and the creative class. *City and Community*, 2(1), 3–19.
- Galland, O. (2000). Entrer dans la vie adulte: Des étapes toujours plus tardives, mais resserrées. *Économie et statistique*, 337–338, 13–36.
- Galland, O. (2001). Adolescence, post-adolescence, jeunesse: Retour sur quelques interprétations. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 42(4), 611–640.
- Galland, O. (2007). *Sociologie de la jeunesse*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Gauthier, M. (2003) (Ed.). *Regard sur... La jeunesse au Québec*, Quebec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Gauthier, M., LeBlanc, P., Côté, S., Deschenaux, F., Girard, C., Laflamme, et al. (2006). *La migration des jeunes au Québec. Rapport national d'un sondage 2004–2005 auprès des 20–34 ans du Québec*, Montreal: INRS — Urbanisation, Culture et Société.
- Jones, G. (1995). *Leaving home*. Buckingham (UK) and Bristol, PA: Open University Press.
- Juteau, D. (2000). Patterns of social differentiation in Canada: Understanding their dynamics and bridging the gaps. *Canadian Public Policy—Analyse de politiques*, 26 (supplement 2), 95–107.
- Juteau, D. (2003). Introducing social differentiation. In D. Juteau (Ed.), *Social differentiation: Patterns and processes* (pp. 3–24). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Laberge, L., Perron, M., Gaudreault, M., Blackburn, M.-È., Auclair, J., & Veillette, S. (2004). Facteurs prédictifs de l'intention de migrer chez les élèves du secondaire au Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean. *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, 33(1), 117–146.
- LeBlanc, P. (2004). L'accession à la vie adulte des jeunes de milieu rural et de milieu urbain. In P. LeBlanc & M. Molgat (Eds.), *La migration des jeunes. Aux frontières de l'espace et du temps* (pp. 199–222). Quebec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval.

- LeBlanc, P., Girard, C., Côté, S., & Potvin, D. (2003). La migration des jeunes et le développement régional dans le croissant péri-nordique du Québec. *Recherches sociographiques. La migration des jeunes*, 44(1), 35–55.
- LeBlanc, P., & Molgat, M. (2004). Jeunesse et migration: Fragmentation des temporalités et complexité des rapports à l'espace. In P. LeBlanc & M. Molgat (Eds.), *La migration des jeunes. Aux frontières de l'espace et du temps* (pp. 271–290). Quebec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Lévy, J. (1999). *Le tournant géographique. Penser l'espace pour lire le monde*. Paris: Belin.
- Mark, N. (1998). Beyond individual differences: Social differentiation from first principles. *American Sociological Review*, 63(3): 309–330.
- Milan, A., Vézina, M., & Wells, C. (2007). *Family portrait: Continuity and change in Canadian families and households in 2006, 2006 Census* (Catalogue no. 97-553-XIE). Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Mitchell, B. A. (2006). *The boomerang age. Transitions to adulthood in families*. New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Aldine Transaction.
- Mitchell, B. A. (2001). Ethnocultural reproduction and attitudes towards cohabiting relationships. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 38(4), 391–413.
- Molgat, M. (2002). Leaving home in Quebec: Theoretical and social implications of (im)mobility among youth. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5(2), 135–152.
- Molgat, M. (2003). Pourquoi, aujourd'hui, quitter père et mère? Ruptures et continuités dans les motifs du départ du foyer parental au Canada. In E. Maunay & M. Molgat (Eds.), *Les jeunes adultes de leurs parents. Autonomie, liens familiaux et modes de vie*, (pp. 45–73). Quebec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Molgat, M. (2007). Do transitions and social structures matter? How “emerging adults” define themselves as adults. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 10(5), 495–516.
- Natural Resources Canada. (2007). *Metropolitan Influenced Zones Map*. Retrieved November 2, 2007, from <http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/maps/peopleandsociety#QOL>
- Observatoire de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue (OAT). (2008). *Taux d'inoccupation des logements selon les agglomérations de recensement, Abitibi-Témiscamingue, 2000 à 2007*, data obtained from Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from [http://www.observat.qc.ca/Statistiques/Dev\\_social\\_com.htm#Taux\\_dinoccupation\\_des\\_logements\\_selon\\_les\\_agglomérations\\_de\\_lAbitibi-Témiscamingue\\_2000\\_à\\_2003](http://www.observat.qc.ca/Statistiques/Dev_social_com.htm#Taux_dinoccupation_des_logements_selon_les_agglomérations_de_lAbitibi-Témiscamingue_2000_à_2003)
- Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 740–770.
- Polèse, M., & Shearmur, R. G. (2002). *The periphery in the knowledge economy. The spatial dynamics of the Canadian economy and the future of non-metropolitan regions in Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces*. Montreal: INRS — Urbanisation, Culture et Société/Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development CIRRD.

- Proulx, M.-U. (2004). La trajectoire économique du Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean. *Revue Organisations et Territoires*, (13)2, 23–30.
- Ravanera, Z. R., Rajulton, F., & Burch, T. K. (1995). A cohort analysis of home-leaving in Canada. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 26(2), 179–193.
- Roy, C. (2006). *Les conditions d'habitation des ménages québécois vivant en milieu rural*. Quebec, QC: Société d'habitation du Québec.
- Simard, M., & Simard, C. (2005). Toward a culturalist city. A planning agenda for peripheral mid-size cities. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 14 (Supplement 1), 38–56.
- Southcott, C. (2003). Spatially based social differentiation in Canada's future: Trends in urban/non-urban differences in the next decade. In D. Juteau (Ed.), *Social differentiation: Patterns and processes* (pp. 205–252). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Statistics Canada. (2003, February 6). Marriage. *The Daily*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Statistics Canada. (2007a). *Portrait of the Canadian population in 2006, 2006 Census*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 97-550-XIE2006001. Retrieved November 2, 2007, from <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/analysis/popdwell/pdf/97-550-XIE2006001.pdf>
- Statistics Canada. (2007b). *Gatineau, Rouyn-Noranda, Saguenay-Quebec (tables). 2006 Community Profiles. 2006 Census*. Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 92-591-XWE. Ottawa. Retrieved June 4, 2008, from <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census06/data/profiles/community/Index.cfm?Lang=E>
- Thomson, R., & Taylor, R. (2005). Between cosmopolitanism and the locals. Mobility as a resource in the transition to adulthood. *Young: Nordic Journal of Youth Research*, 13(4), 327–342.
- Tremblay, J., & Hamel, J. (2004). Les flux migratoires des jeunes Montréalais vers les régions: Bref survol. In P. LeBlanc & M. Molgat (Eds.), *La migration des jeunes. Aux frontières de l'espace et du temps* (pp. 223–244). Quebec, QC: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Wolch, J. R., & Dear, M. (Eds.). (1989). *The power of geography: How territory shapes social life*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.