

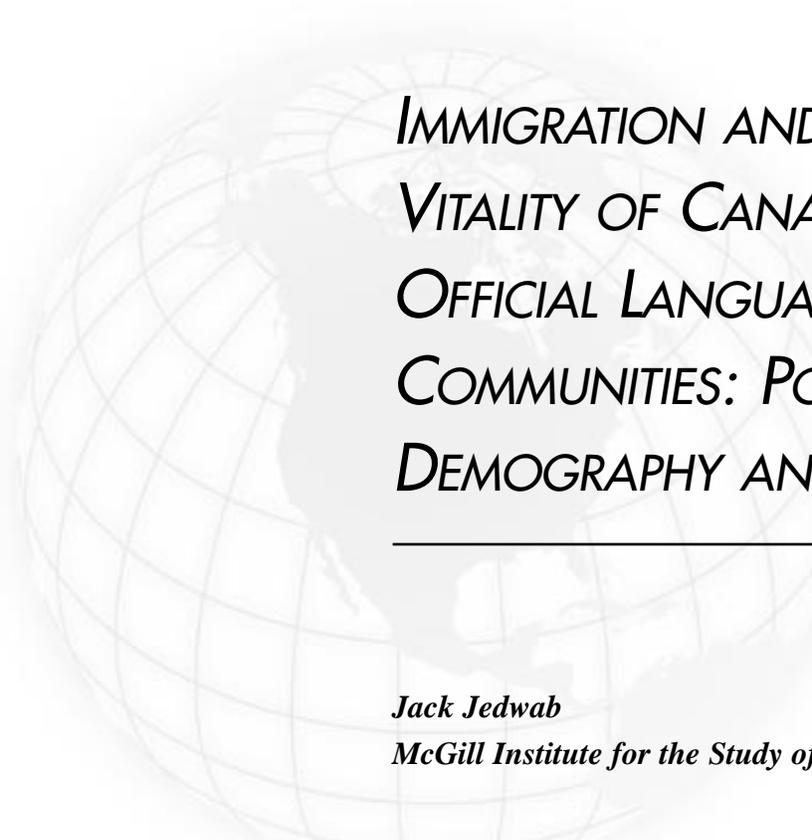


*IMMIGRATION AND THE
VITALITY OF CANADA'S
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE
COMMUNITIES: POLICY,
DEMOGRAPHY AND IDENTITY*



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the beginning of the 21st century, immigration is the single most important factor contributing to the real growth of Canada's population. It is a major issue for demographic balance and the future of linguistic duality throughout the country. For instance, over the past 15 years, it has accounted for approximately 50% of Canada's population growth.

Historically, immigrants helped strengthen the position of the English-speaking population while the Francophone population relied primarily on natural increase for population growth. However, when the Francophone birth rate declined around the 1960s, immigration became important to Francophone population growth as well. Subsequent Quebec government initiatives are an example of the way immigration policy can support the demographic vitality of linguistic communities: between 1968 and 1999, some 310,000 French-speaking immigrants have entered the province.

In the Speech from the Throne in January 2001, the government stated that "Canada's linguistic duality is fundamental to our Canadian identity and is a key element of our vibrant society." In fulfillment of its commitment to promoting linguistic duality, the government needs to consider ways to enable English-speaking and French-speaking communities, and especially the French-speaking communities outside Quebec, to share equitably in the social and demographic benefits of immigration.

There are demographic data which point to a significant disparity between the number of English-speaking and French-speaking immigrants who come to Canada: 3.6% French-only speakers compared with 78.8% of speakers of English only. Recent increases in the proportion of Francophone immigrants are due to Quebec's recruitment efforts. Unlike Quebec, the federal government has not been

making any direct effort to recruit French-speaking immigrants overseas. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) can do much more in this area: the department should develop benchmarks to increase the number of Francophone immigrants who will settle in regions outside Quebec, and these benchmarks should be reviewed annually to measure progress in this area. Government regulations and policies must support these goals.

The situation with respect to Quebec's Anglophone communities is somewhat different. While immigration has contributed to their growth, the very unfavourable rates of interprovincial migration culminated in significant population losses from 1971 to 1986. Most English-speaking immigrants settle in Montreal where the Anglophone community is very diverse in its ethnic composition. The principal challenge for the Anglophone communities is the retention of new arrivals; Anglophone institutions must be provided with the ability to counteract this phenomenon by instilling in immigrants a sense of community.

There are problems for minority official language communities with respect to settlement and integration issues as well. These communities, with the exception of English Montrealers, frequently lack the resources to create the institutions and structures needed to help immigrants adapt to their new environment.

There is definitely a need to reach out to Francophone immigrants outside Quebec who may not always be aware of Francophone institutions and the availability of services in French. Integration is a two-way process that ultimately implies a change in the identity of the host community as well as of the new arrivals.

This study proposes a series of recommendations which address three key areas: Policies and Principles; Recruitment and Promotion; and Settlement and Integration. Among the most important are the following:

- An **integrated approach** must be enunciated by the federal government and objectives, regulations and policies with respect to demographic renewal of official language communities put in place and acted upon, in close collaboration with the affected communities.
- A strategy with regard to **Francophone recruitment** should be developed; benchmarks should be established to increase Francophone immigration to minority language communities and reviewed annually to ensure progress in this area.
- In order for minority official language communities to play their role in encouraging immigrants to come to their areas, **welcoming** them and helping them **integrate into Canadian society**, they must be supported by the federal government at all levels of the process, from planning to settlement and integration activities.

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Defining the Issues

Immigration is a major issue for demographic balance and the future of linguistic duality throughout the country; over the past 15 years, it has accounted for approximately 50% of Canada's population growth. In fulfillment of its commitment to promoting linguistic duality, the government needs to consider ways to enable English-speaking and French-speaking communities, and especially the French-speaking communities outside Quebec, to share equitably in the social and demographic benefits of immigration.

Close to 15 years ago, the government of Canada adopted legislation that reaffirms linguistic duality as a fundamental part of the Canadian identity. Part VII of the *Official Languages Act* of 1988 commits the federal government to taking measures to: a) enhance the vitality of the official language minorities and support their development; and b) foster the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society. More recently in the Speech from the Throne in January 2001, the government stated that "Canada's linguistic duality is fundamental to our Canadian identity and is a key element of our vibrant society." Although various initiatives have been adopted to fulfill this commitment, including, for example, the Canada-Quebec Immigration Accord, little attention has been paid to the potential impact on the linguistic minorities of one of the most significant factors affecting the Canadian population in recent decades: immigration. This report explores the impact that immigration may have on the protection and promotion of linguistic duality. More specifically, it examines the influence that immigration may have on the development and vitality of the official language minorities and offers policy recommendations intended to help strengthen their communities.

Since 1867, over 14 million people have immigrated to Canada. Throughout our history, immigrants and their descendants have contributed to the country's economic growth and social development and helped to shape the Canadian identity. The same is true today. At the beginning of the 21st century, immigration is the single most important factor contributing to the real growth of Canada's population. Future population growth will increasingly depend upon it (Statistics Canada, March 2001).

Until the 1960s, the vast majority of Canada's population was of British and/or French descent, with the French-speaking population overwhelmingly concentrated in Quebec and English speakers constituting a large majority in the rest of the country. Already, however, the influx of immigrants from many parts of the world had begun to change the face of Canada.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) observed that the proportion of Canadians of neither British nor French descent had risen from 11% in 1881 to 26% in 1961 and that "other" ethnic groups could eventually constitute a majority of Canadians.

Most new immigrants adopted the English rather than the French language after their arrival in Canada, contributing greatly to the vitality of the Anglophone community. While the RCBB recognized the importance of immigration to the continued growth of the country, its 1969 report noted that this disproportionate growth could lead to a relative decline of the French-speaking community, as a proportion of the whole population. The RCBB made few suggestions, however, for preserving the French fact, especially outside Quebec.

In the decades since the Royal Commission, immigration has continued to revitalize Canadian society, but its impact has continued

to be felt predominantly in the English-speaking community. Today, of the nearly five million immigrants who live in Canada, some 3.8 million speak English only, about 180,000 speak only French, and nearly 600,000 speak both official languages. For every new immigrant whose mother tongue is French there are ten whose mother tongue is English.

For this among other reasons, including the declining birth rate among Francophones after 1960, many Canadians are not very optimistic about the evolving situation of the French language. In one survey, about 83% of Francophones said they do not feel that the future of the French language and culture is secure outside Quebec. Some 53% of English speakers shared this view, as did the majority of immigrants (Environics, 2000).

A number of factors influence a community's demographic vitality, among them fertility, mortality, migration (immigration, emigration and interprovincial migration) and linguistic mobility (the loss of the mother tongue or acquisition of new languages). In his *Annual Report 1988*, the Commissioner of Official Languages observed that, although Canada depends increasingly on immigration for its demographic growth, policy makers had rarely assessed its impact on the demographic vitality of the country's official language minorities (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1989).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) regularly extols the benefits the country derives from the diverse skills and experience contributed by immigrants. Former Immigration Minister Elinor Caplan has rightly remarked that "immigrants are a vital source of human capital that continues to expand our economy and strengthen our communities" (CIC, November 1999).

Can immigration policy help Canada meet its legislative commitment **towards the reinforcement of its linguistic duality** and the development and vitality of official language minority communities? This report will assess current immigration initiatives which address this commitment designed to strengthen these communities and the potential for a convergence of objectives in the areas of language and immigration.

How can the government recruit more immigrants to move into linguistic minority communities and help them to establish themselves in those communities? What employment obstacles do such immigrants face? Are there gaps in government services and educational facilities for immigrants? How have the minority communities accommodated new immigrants, and is there more they can do to help immigrants become full participants in the society of their new home? These are among the questions this report attempts to answer.

The wide range of sources employed in this study include federal and provincial government documents (notably from Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage), reports generated by official language communities and their representative organizations, research essays relevant to the issues of immigration and official languages, reports of consultations held with immigrants from official language minority communities, polling conducted within the communities, and data culled from the longitudinal immigration database of Citizenship and Immigration Canada and Statistics Canada.

II. CANADA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND IMMIGRATION POLICIES

A. Official Languages

In 1969 the federal government adopted Canada's first *Official Languages Act* (OLA). It declared that English and French are the official languages of Canada and have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada. Section 2 of the OLA called for respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensured equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institutions.

In 1988 the government reinforced the terms by which support was extended to the country's official language communities when it adopted the new *Official Languages Act*. Thus the new Act contained innovative language that went well beyond what previously existed. Part VII of the 1988 Act states, in section 41: "The Government of Canada is committed to: (a) enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and (b) fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society."

Promoting linguistic duality, in general, and the vitality of official language minority communities, in particular, would henceforth involve every federal department and agency. With respect to the latter objective, the enhancement of the "demographic vitality" of official language minority communities is an essential element in the development and growth of Canada's Anglophone and Francophone official language minority communities (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1989).

As already mentioned, the Speech from the Throne in January 2001 states unequivocally that "Canada's linguistic duality is fundamental to our Canadian identity and is a key element of our vibrant society." It continues:

The protection and promotion of our two official languages is a priority of the Government — from coast to coast. The Government reaffirms its commitment to support sustainable official language minority communities and a strong French culture and language. And it will mobilize its efforts to ensure that all Canadians can interact with the Government of Canada in either official language (Speech from the Throne to Open the First Session of the 37th Parliament of Canada).

The government is committed to supporting the development and vitality of official language minorities.

1. Linguistic Vitality Defined

There has been some debate over the meaning and implications of linguistic vitality. A review of the parliamentary debates of the period when the notion of vitality was introduced into the *Official Languages Act* leaves the impression that the application would be flexible and based on the changing conditions of the official language communities. The interpretation of vitality made by the Canadian judiciary suggests that the legislator desired a broad application of the concept.

The test of linguistic vitality is often confined to the demographic condition of a given community, specifically its evolving numbers and/or its changing population share within a given geographic area (city, province or country), as well as the degree of language loss that it encounters. Although government plays a fundamental role in support of a community's institutional life, there are limits to what it can do to stimulate demographic vitality. Simon Langlois notes that a

de-emphasizing of the demographic factor would represent a serious error in examining the question of vitality (Langlois, 2000).

Others, however, have stressed the non-demographic dimensions of vitality. There is an evident correlation between the demographic and non-demographic aspects of communal life, between the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of vitality (O'Keefe, 1998). What are the optimal conditions for vitality in official language communities?

Landry, Allard and Bourhis (1995) have established the following criteria to determine whether a given community meets the conditions of vitality.

- 1) Status – pertaining to a configuration of prestige variables (i.e., economic, social, socio-historical, language);
- 2) Demographic – relating to the number of group members and their distribution; and
- 3) Institutional support – referring to the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in the various institutes of a nation, region or community.

If these factors constitute the sum of what is today defined as vitality it would follow that a government commitment to this objective should direct its efforts to these areas. Underlying these factors is the organizational or institutional capacity of the group; what is described as its degree of institutional completeness is regarded as essential to the community's well-being.

Natural increase, migration and language retention or language loss are fundamental aspects of demographic change. For many Francophones outside Quebec, language transfers are the major threat to sustaining vitality. Language is not, however, the major challenge to the demographic vitality of Quebec's Anglophone communities. Rather, it

has been the very unfavourable rates of interprovincial migration that culminated in significant population losses between 1971 and 1986. Official language communities may therefore attribute a different meaning to the notion of vitality depending on their respective circumstances. A Montreal Anglophone will very likely have a different set of needs to achieve conditions of vitality than an Anglophone from the Gaspé Peninsula. Measures to promote vitality in Moncton may differ from those needed to do so in St. Boniface. In effect the situation encountered by a linguistic community may result in several interpretations of what constitutes linguistic vitality, and varying solutions are required to achieve that end.

International and interprovincial migration can be critical to the demographic situation of a given community. According to Maurice Beaudin, immigration has not been favourable for Francophones outside Quebec. As he notes, in the last 15 years about 3% of immigrants who arrived in Canada were of French mother tongue, and about 82% of them settled in Quebec (Beaudin, 1998).

B. Canada's Immigration Policy

Historically, the aim of Canadian immigration policy was to promote population growth. It was to be a selective policy largely dependent on the absorptive capacity of the economy. In the first half of the 20th century, immigration was not designed to change the basic character of the Canadian population. European immigration was favoured, and restrictions were maintained on immigrants from Asia. In effect immigration policy had reasonably clear ethnic as well as economic goals (Green and Green, 1999).

In 1962 the government of Canada removed the discriminatory aspects of its immigration policy. Henceforth entry to the country was to be based on such factors as education and/or other skills rather than on a candidate's

nationality. This resulted in a considerable increase in the number of source countries of immigrants coming to Canada. In 1966, with the amalgamation of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the Department of Labour, the level and composition of immigration was to be linked to labour market needs.

A selection or point system was introduced in 1967 as a major step to limit the discretionary powers of immigration officers and to provide them with a set of explicit guidelines. Canada's *Immigration Act* defined three main policy objectives: (i) to facilitate the reunion in Canada of Canadian citizens and permanent residents with their close relatives from abroad; (ii) to fulfill Canada's international legal obligations with respect to refugees and to uphold its humanitarian traditions; (iii) to foster the development of a strong and viable economy and the prosperity of all regions in Canada.

Although immigration has a profound impact on demographic realities, the *Immigration Legislative Review* (CIC, January 1997) observes that Canada has no demographic policy to consider. In the case of official language minority communities, there are no real demographic objectives as regards the immigrant presence. Whereas Quebec, which is the only province with sole selection powers, establishes certain demolinguistic goals as regards immigration, elsewhere in Canada any such evaluation is rendered difficult by the absence of criteria against which to measure the contribution of immigration to population objectives.

Among the objectives of the new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, which was given Royal Assent in November 2001 are:

- to permit Canada to pursue the maximum social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration;
- to enrich and strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society, while

respecting the federal, bilingual and multicultural character of Canada;

- to support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy, in which the benefits of immigration are shared across all regions of Canada;
- to promote the successful integration of permanent residents into Canada, while recognizing that integration involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Canadian society.

An objective of immigration policy is to strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society.

The responsibilities of immigrants described by CIC are:

- to obey Canadian laws;
- to participate in Canada's democratic processes;
- to respect the rights and freedoms of others;
- to respect Canada's linguistic duality and multicultural heritage.

The key domestic challenges recently identified by CIC include:

- ensuring that all parts of Canada share in the benefits of immigration; and
- eliminating barriers to settlement and integration.

From an economic standpoint, CIC views immigration as a way to bolster the population and to readjust its age structure. Thus the long-term policy goal appears to be to use immigration to make the Canadian workforce more skilled and flexible. This objective characterizes much recent debate about the modification of the point

system. Some argue, however, that immigration policy is not always a good tool for meeting such goals. Given the profile of those persons who settle in Canada, they question, among other things, whether contemporary immigration offsets the aging of the population.

C. Official Languages and Immigration: Policy Intersections

Canada's immigration policy may not have explicit demographic goals, but it undoubtedly has a considerable impact on the demography of official language communities. Perhaps the most obvious intersection between the two policies involves CIC's objective to "enrich and strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society, while respecting the federal, bilingual and multicultural character of Canada" (Canada, November 2001). This is compatible with Heritage Canada's goal of advancing "the equality of status and use of English and French and the enhancement and development of the English and French linguistic minorities in Canada" (Canada, June 1995).

In addition, in the new *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*, there is a specific objective relating to minority official language communities:

3(1)(b.1) to support and assist the development of minority official languages communities in Canada.

And the following clauses have been added with respect to the application of the new Act:

3(3)(d) ensures that decisions taken under this Act are consistent with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, including its principles of equality and freedom from discrimination and of the equality of English and French as official languages of Canada; and

3(3)(e) supports the commitment of the Government of Canada to enhance the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada.

CIC has not yet proposed regulations to specifically address those new provisions of the Act.

Over the years, CIC has conducted several reviews of its selection criteria for potential immigrants. Although the according of points to potential immigrants for knowledge of official languages can be viewed as an identity-based objective, it also has a significant economic dimension in that it facilitates the adaptation of new immigrants. Indeed, research on employment levels and employment earnings demonstrates that language knowledge is a crucial factor in successful adaptation and insertion.

Under the present selection system some 70 out of a possible 110 points on the selection grid are required for entry into Canada. Language carries a maximum weight of 14% or 15 points (it was 10 points prior to January 1, 1986, at which time five points were added for knowledge of official languages). Of the 15 points available, up to nine can be awarded for the strongest knowledge of one of Canada's official languages. Language ability can account for the third highest number of points allotted to a potential immigrant. Other points which can be allocated include: education (16 points maximum), an education/training factor (18 points maximum), knowledge of English and/or French (15 points maximum), personal suitability (10 points maximum), and a demographic factor (10 points maximum), plus bonus points for entrepreneurs or investors (30 points maximum) (CIC, January 2001).

A recently issued CIC report entitled *Towards a New Model of Selection* notes that most jobs in Canada are conducted in only one

official language (CIC, November 1998). For the labour market, it is the strongest of the official languages that matters the most in acquiring and sustaining employment.

The report found that knowledge of the second official language does not translate into higher earnings or reduced unemployment (except in the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick and the city of Ottawa). It concludes that the points awarded for the second language may be too high in relation to that provided for the primary language. The CIC report nonetheless affirms that there may remain an economic rationale for awarding some points for a second official language. Knowledge of a second language may play a role in obtaining work quicker or another job if unemployed. The bilingual individual may also have a slightly wider array of job choices.

The CIC report adds that any changes to the weight and point structure of the language criterion would need to be balanced elsewhere in the selection system to ensure that skilled workers with average language knowledge would still be able to obtain enough points for admission.

As to selection criteria in the area of language knowledge, the report makes the following recommendations.

- Language proficiency (i.e., ability to communicate) should be a key selection factor.
- The importance of language should be reflected in a heavier weighting in the new grid.
- The point spread between the “fluency” level of proficiency and the other levels should be widened.
- The point split between primary and secondary languages should be adjusted to place the most emphasis on the primary language. However, the grid

should still recognize and encourage bilingualism.

- Language should not be used as a barrier to entry. Any changes to the weights and point structure of the language criterion should be balanced elsewhere in the new selection system.

Under the new Act, the proposed grid, which allocates 16 points for fluency in the first official language and 4 points for fluency in the second official language, is consistent with the aforementioned recommendations. The proposed revamped system is designed to:

- ensure that the selection system for skilled worker immigrants allows for an efficient selection of individuals who can succeed in a fast-changing knowledge-based economy; and
- ensure that Canada selects skilled worker immigrants who have a flexible range of abilities, rather than narrow skills in one particular occupation that may no longer be in demand in Canada.

At first look the proposed selection grid appears to be beneficial for immigrants who know Canada’s official languages, in that the weight accorded to language knowledge increases to 20 points from 16. There is, however, an important nuance with regard to the knowledge of the second official language. In effect, the ratio of first to second language knowledge in the proposed grid is 4 to 1, whereas it is 3 to 2 under the current system. As such, bilingualism among immigrants is less important in the proposed attribution of points. In the province of Quebec’s selection grid, the ratio of points awarded for first and second language knowledge is 2.5 to 1.

It is important to examine the impact that any change to the point system might have on the ability to attract persons who speak both official languages and notably those French speakers who wish to settle outside Quebec.

How can immigration policy help fulfill the development objectives of section 41 of the OLA?

1. CIC Action Plans on Official Languages

In recognizing its commitment to the implementation of section 41 of the OLA, and to give effect to the federal government's statutory commitment to promote linguistic duality and to enhance the vitality of linguistic minority communities, CIC has presented action plans since the year 1998 and projected various initiatives through to the year 2002. The CIC action plans have reiterated that "measures will be taken to raise awareness in CIC offices in Canada and abroad of the importance of developing OLM communities." Among the objectives that characterize CIC's commitment to section 41 are the following.

- To facilitate the integration of immigrants into OLM (official language minority) communities.
- To encourage OLM communities to participate in CIC activities.
- To promote awareness among CIC's clients and the general public of Canada's bilingual character and the presence of OLM communities in every province and territory.
- To consider the interests of OLM communities when developing policies and programs.
- To ensure that CIC policies and programs foster the recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society.

Below are the principal initiatives that the branches of CIC have either undertaken or intend to pursue.

Selection Branch: This branch will consider section 41 in the development and review of policies, especially those relating to foreign students and access to professions and trades, and ensure that the knowledge of English and of French continue to be treated equally under federal selection criteria for skilled immigrants. (This equal treatment facilitates the selection of skilled immigrants destined for Francophone OLM communities.)

Integration Branch: Through CIC's regional representatives, this branch will consult community associations to determine the linguistic needs of its clients.

Settlement Division: This branch will promote the interests of OLM communities during negotiations with provinces on the realignment of the administration of settlement services. It will incorporate specific clauses concerning the provision of official language services and offer settlement services to communities integrating newcomers. These services will be provided in English and/or French.

International Region: This region will invite OLM organizations to submit materials for missions abroad with a particular emphasis on their communities and the services they provide to new immigrants.

The actions described above pertain to the dissemination of information to potential candidates and the strengthening of settlement services upon their arrival. They do not touch directly on such demographic issues as selection (something upon which the point system will undoubtedly have a more direct effect). However, in its 1999-2000 progress report, CIC suggests that the new legislation will give the Selection Branch an opportunity to reinforce the importance of the knowledge of one of Canada's official languages. CIC's 1999-2000 action plan states that it is working with

the Société franco-manitobaine (SFM) to attract more French-speaking immigrants to Manitoba. Certainly these are good examples of measures that can be taken in conjunction with other Francophone communities. CIC appears open to further examine such possibilities.

D. Federal-Provincial Immigration Agreements

Immigration agreements entered into with the provinces by the federal government have a potentially crucial impact on the recruitment and integration of new arrivals. Over two decades ago Quebec secured greater powers in the area of immigration. Many observers credit these arrangements for the Quebec government's ability to attract more French-speaking immigrants. Immigration agreements with other provinces were struck more recently, so it is difficult to measure their impact on the promotion of the vitality of official language communities. There remain concerns that the objectives of federal immigration policy do not coincide with those of the provinces.

1. Canada and Quebec: Immigration Agreements

Quebec government initiatives are an example of the way immigration policy can support the demographic vitality of linguistic communities. The co-operation between the federal and Quebec authorities represents a tacit acknowledgment that in certain cases it is both legitimate and feasible to use immigration as a means to support linguistic vitality. In promoting the vitality of the French language, the Quebec government is aware of the crucial role played by immigration (Pâquet, 1997). From the early part of the century until the 1960s, many French Canadian leaders were uneasy about the influx of immigrants. There was some concern that it would diminish the demographic weight of Francophones within Canada. There was a certain fear and hostility

toward immigrants, which produced an unhealthy climate for relations between linguistic and ethnic communities. Following the Second World War, Quebec opinion leaders took a greater interest in the impact of immigration. With the significant decline in the birth rate of French Canadians in the 1960s, a decline in the proportion of French speakers in the country's population was predicted. In part this projected decline was attributed to the fact that immigrants were overwhelmingly integrated into English language institutions.

In December 1968, Bill 75 created the Quebec Ministry of Immigration. A 1971 agreement between the Canadian and Quebec governments assigned Quebec officers abroad a role in informing potential applicants about the province's linguistic reality. In 1975 another arrangement transformed this role to that of an adviser to the federal authority for applicants who wished to come to Quebec. Perhaps the most important agreement was struck in 1978: the Canada-Quebec Agreement on immigration and selection of foreign nationals. Thereafter significant authority was assigned to Quebec in selecting applicants who wished to settle in that province. The government of Quebec proceeded to develop goals for the numbers of French-speaking immigrants it wished to attract. Statements by federal officials at that time made it clear the extent to which the transfer of immigrant selection was understood to have a bearing on Quebec's demographic situation. While the federal immigration policy did not have explicit demographic objectives, it did not deter Quebec from establishing such goals.

During the late 1970s the Quebec government made efforts to direct new arrivals to French-language institutions. After the adoption of the *Charter of the French Language* in 1977, with only few exceptions the children of immigrants were directed to French-language schools. This

provision had the effect of largely conferring the responsibility for the welcoming of new immigrants to the province's French-language institutions. In the late 1980s the Quebec government negotiated the transfer of responsibility, and funding, from the federal authorities for reception and settlement services for new arrivals. In doing so Quebec further reinforced its role with regard to the integration of new immigrants. The Canada-Quebec Immigration Accord, also known as the McDougall-Gagnon-Tremblay agreement, stipulated that the federal government will remain responsible for establishing the levels of immigration but will permit Quebec to obtain a share of total Canadian immigration that corresponds to the province's proportion of the country's population.

Between 1968 and 1989 close to 180,000 French-speaking immigrants entered the province, approximately 35% of the entire flow of new arrivals to Quebec. Another 130,000 arrived between 1990 and 1999, nearly 37% of total immigration. Moreover, the knowledge of French among Quebec's immigrant population increased from slightly over 50% in 1971 to approximately 73% in 1996.

Increasingly, immigrants came from a wide range of source countries, and Quebec struggled with the impact of the growing ethnic diversification introduced into a French-language milieu. New approaches were required to address the identity issues arising from heightened diversity. In 1990 the Quebec Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration issued a policy statement or action plan on immigration and integration entitled *Let's Build Quebec Together* (MCCI, 1990). This document includes many of the objectives that still guide contemporary Quebec immigration policy. It reiterated Quebec's conviction that immigration can and must strengthen the French language and identified four challenges, largely interdependent, with

which future Quebec immigration was to be associated. They were: redressing the demographics of Quebec (also referred to as demographic recovery); economic prosperity; the perennial reality of the French fact; openness to the world.

Reduced levels of immigration were perceived as a threat to the province's economic and cultural vitality, so it was deemed important to meet the challenge of redressing the demographics without diminishing the position of the French language.

The point system for selecting independent workers as established by Quebec immigration authorities requires that a candidate obtain 65 points.

- Training: education, 11 points; 2 more for second specialty; 4 for specialized training.
- Employment: job guaranteed, 15 points; skills in demand, 12 points; employability, 7 points.
- Age: 10 points.
- Language knowledge: French, 15 points maximum; English, 6 points maximum.
- Adaptability: visited Quebec, 5 points maximum; personal qualities, 5 points; knowledge of Quebec, 2 points.
- Experience: work experience, 10 points; managerial experience, 15 points (MRCI, *Grille EMP*, 2001).

While the points awarded for the French language are two-and-a-half times those for English, Quebec's system still rewards candidates who know both languages. Approximately 19% of the total selection grid is accorded to language knowledge, and eligible candidates who know both French and English can earn about one-third of the points needed for admission.

As a consequence of Quebec immigration policies that placed increased emphasis on

attracting French speakers, notably in the area of recruitment, more immigrants and their descendants today form part of Quebec's Francophone community. At the same time the number of English-speaking immigrants has remained higher than the Anglophone community's share of the provincial population, and in the 1990s such immigration has helped stabilize the Anglophone community's demographic condition. Without immigration, the population losses of Quebec Anglophones arising from interprovincial migration would likely have meant a further erosion in the community's population.

2. *Other Immigration Agreements*

In the past few years, CIC has entered into other immigration agreements with the provinces of British Columbia, Manitoba, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. Under these agreements the province will assume full responsibility for designing and delivering settlement and integration services and programs for newcomers and also play a larger role in consultations to determine immigration policy and planning and to boost business immigration. The federal government will maintain its role in setting national standards. Federal funding for settlement services and programs will be transferred to the province (CIC, *Federal-Provincial Agreements on Immigration*, 2001). These partnerships are designed to permit the development of a "made to measure" approach to immigration in order to maximize the many benefits that new arrivals bring to these provinces.

E. Information Dissemination

1. *Canada*

The dissemination of information about Canada to prospective immigrants can be pivotal to both the recruitment and adaptation of new

arrivals. In a survey of Francophone immigrants in Toronto, some 71% reported that they were aware that services were available in the French language upon their arrival in the country. Nearly a third, however, appeared unaware of the existence of such services (Larocque, 1997). It is not clear that new arrivals obtained their information from Canadian immigration officials. In the same study nearly one-third of these new arrivals indicated that they knew a lot or a good deal about Canada prior to settling here. Conversely, some 59% claimed that they had a limited

Federal and provincial governments should give potential immigrants accurate information about Canada's linguistic duality.

knowledge about Canada, and just under 10% knew nothing at all. The five principal sources of information for new immigrants can be broken down as follows: the media (45%), schools (41.7%), family (38.3%), friends (28.5%) and, the lowest ranking, Canadian government officials (25%). In light of these findings it is imprudent to suggest that immigration officials play a lead role in informing prospective immigrants about the country (Larocque, 1997). Of course some of this is attributable to the categories of Francophone immigrants (i.e., family class) and the source countries from which they emanate.

It is important not to create wrong expectations about the linguistic situation in the country. In this regard there have been conflicting reports among immigrants about the information that they have received relative to conditions in Canada outside Quebec. While some contend that immigrants are told that they cannot find employment in Canada without knowing the

English language, other Francophone immigrants who settle outside Quebec have been surprised to discover that these parts of the country are not as bilingual as they were led to believe.

On the whole, the information disseminated by CIC provides a reasonable depiction of the language situation in Canada. More can be done, however, to make immigrants aware of the importance of linguistic duality as a fundamental marker of identity in Canada.

Below we review the information provided to immigrants by CIC and Quebec's Ministry of Relations with Citizens and Immigration (MRCI) with respect to demographic and linguistic realities. CIC has the following to say about language in Canada.

- There are two official languages in Canada, English and French. Almost everyone in Canada speaks at least one of these languages, and millions of Canadians speak both. There are Anglophone and Francophone communities in every province and territory. English is the language of the majority everywhere in Canada except in the province of Quebec, where French is the official language. French is spoken in many communities in other provinces, especially New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba. New Brunswick is an officially bilingual province.
- One of the most important skills you will need to adapt to life here in Canada is to speak English or French. Once you learn one or both of these languages, you will find it easier to get a job, to understand Canada, and to communicate with your children, who will be busy learning English or French at school. You will also need to know English or French to become a Canadian citizen (CIC, *Welcome to Canada*, 2001).

The widely distributed CIC publication *A Look at Canada* contains sections on Canada's official languages, and its description of the conditions in the provinces refers to linguistic duality. The issue is treated as follows.

English-speaking and French-speaking people have lived together in Canada for more than 300 years, and English and French are Canada's two official languages. Linguistic duality is an important aspect of our Canadian identity. Over 98% of Canadians speak either English or French or both. You must know either English or French to become a Canadian citizen.

Other documents issued by CIC to those who settle in Canada do not sufficiently stress the importance of the French fact, however. The best example of this is the publication entitled *A Newcomer's Introduction to Canada* (CIC, 1997). The "A New Beginning" section highlights the importance of learning English or French and notes that "the best way to adjust to your new community is to get involved! Try to speak English or French, even if you make mistakes. Understanding Canada's official languages will help you adapt more easily."

A subsequent section of the guide, "A Profile of Canada," legitimately points to the importance of First Nations and the multicultural reality but does not refer to the French fact as a vital characteristic about which new Canadians should be aware.

Immigrants should know that French is not only the language of an historically rooted community but that of a rich culture whose vitality the federal government is committed to sustaining.

2. *Quebec*

The Quebec government has recently made changes in the content of the information that it transmits to potential candidates for

immigration. There is now a much greater emphasis on Quebec's diversity. MRCI describes the linguistic situation for immigrants in the following manner.

A French-speaking society open to diversity

- In Quebec, French is the first language for 82% of the population.
- To affirm Quebec's French-speaking identity, protect linguistic rights and promote the evolution of the French language, successive governments have legislated to ensure the use of French in the various areas of public life while guaranteeing the English-speaking minority the use of its language and institutions.
- In Quebec, education is mostly in French. Education is also available in English and in private schools. Temporary foreign workers can choose the language of instruction and educational institution for their children for the duration of their stay.
- Montreal, a Quebec metropolis, is the second largest French-speaking city in the world. Montreal is an international and cosmopolitan city, where thousands of people do business on an international scale every day. French-English bilingualism is very common.
- Quebec's second largest linguistic group, the English-speaking community, is concentrated in the Montreal area, the Eastern Townships and the Ottawa River Valley.
- There is also a significant number of people from many other backgrounds, mainly in Montreal and, to a lesser extent, in and around Quebec City, Hull and Sherbrooke.

The contribution of immigration and cultural diversity

- In addition to the arrival of the French and English during the 17th and 18th centuries, Quebec has experienced several waves of immigration since the 19th century. The Irish Catholics who immigrated during the second half of the 19th century helped shape the face of many regions in Quebec.
- At the turn of the 20th century, most immigrants were from Europe. According to the 1911 census, in addition to the Irish, there were approximately 8,000 people who had come from Germany. In the 1920s, immigrants began arriving from Eastern Europe. In 1931, the Jewish community already numbered 60,000, and there were some 25,000 Italians, 10,000 Poles and 1,000 Germans. Ethnic, cultural and religious diversity is an integral part of present day Quebec (MRCI, *Newcomer's Kit*, 2001).

The differences between the information transmitted by CIC and by the MRCI are not as significant as they might appear. In each case, there is much emphasis on the diversity of the population. For its part, CIC is cautious with respect to information about linguistic realities both outside and within Quebec. On the other hand, the MRCI highlights the presence of both French and English. Indeed, where the MRCI refers to the experience and advice of other immigrants, it points to the importance of "mastering the English language, especially if you want to live in Montreal" (MRCI, *Newcomer's Kit*, 2001). The federal information does not focus on the presence of an English-speaking community in Quebec and speaks little about the province's pluralistic reality.

Discussion/Policy Implications

The Throne Speech opening the 37th Parliament on January 30, 2001, states unequivocally that “Canada’s linguistic duality is fundamental to our Canadian identity and is a key element of our vibrant society.”

Immigration plays an important role in modifying the demographic character of Canada and of its official language communities and is thus critical to the promotion of their vitality. Governments must clearly recognize this relationship and adopt immigration measures that are consistent with the commitment to support the vitality of the official language communities. A framework or set of guidelines should be developed that describes the elements that contribute to community vitality and suggests initiatives that reinforce this objective.

As well, in recognition of our linguistic duality, modifications to the existing point structure for immigrant admission should place significant value on the ability to speak an official language and strongly support knowledge of both official languages.

Federal-provincial agreements in the area of immigration, as shown in the case of the Canada-Quebec Immigration Accord, can have a profound impact on the selection and recruitment of immigrants. It is therefore vital that the provincial authorities be sensitive to those official language minority communities that wish to attract immigrants in support of community vitality. Such agreements should not therefore exempt either the federal or provincial authorities from the federal government’s commitments to official language communities. CIC should work closely with those provincial governments that recently signed immigration agreements to ensure that the needs of official language communities are satisfied in this domain.

And, given the importance of CIC action plans relative to Part VII of the OLA for official language communities, they should be strengthened with a set of well-targeted measures; they should respond to proposals made by the communities and, where possible, be developed in conjunction with the minority communities.

Information is vital not only for the recruitment of immigrants but also for their successful settlement and integration, and there needs to be a review of some of the documentation that is distributed overseas. More emphasis is needed on the commitment to linguistic duality and the contribution and presence of official language minority communities. Greater harmonization in the information sent to potential immigrants by federal and Quebec authorities is a goal that should be pursued by the representatives of the departments concerned.

III. FRANCOPHONES IN CANADA

A. Immigrants and the Demography of Official Language Communities

In an effort to predict the impact of government action on official language communities one may identify the areas in which immigration and language policies converge and the degree to which they intersect. Demographic conditions undoubtedly constitute one of the most important dimensions in any assessment of the situation of official language communities. Another is the quality of life or institutional well-being of the community—what sociologist Raymond Breton has called the institutional completeness of the group. While some analysts stress the actual number of a given linguistic group, others are more preoccupied with a particular community's share of the municipal/metropolitan, provincial and national populations.

Size and weight of communities are deemed especially relevant in the formulation of certain government policies and very often in determining the level and type of services to be delivered to official language communities. For that reason community leaders are keenly interested in knowing their total membership.

The number of persons that belong to an official language community may vary according to the criteria for membership analysts employ. To establish the demographic impact of immigration on official language communities the following linguistic categories were used.

- Knowledge of official languages was used to determine the contribution of immigration to the overall position of the French language.
- First official language spoken was used to establish the size of the community; if respondents declared that both official languages were their first, we distributed them equally between the

Anglophone and Francophone populations.

- Mother tongue was used to examine the settlement patterns of Francophone immigrants and their impact on the composition of the community.

1. Knowledge of Official Languages among Immigrants

While CIC measures the immigrant's language knowledge upon arrival, Statistics Canada looks at the state of such knowledge at the time of the census. Therefore Statistics Canada provides information on the degree to which an immigrant acquired knowledge of an official language between the time of arrival and the time of census.

Table 1

Knowledge of official languages among immigrants upon arrival in Canada, 1991-1995 and 1996-2000

	1991-1995	1996-2000
Total immigration	1,175,821	1,033,346
French	58,587 (5.3%)	46,490 (4.6%)
English and French	42,531 (3.8%)	36,702 (3.6%)

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada: *Facts and Figures*, 1991-2000.

In Table 1 we can track the degree to which immigrants declared knowledge of the French language upon arrival. The reduction in the number of such immigrants in the period 1996-2000 is consistent with the decrease in the annual immigration levels in the late 1990s; however, there was also a decline in the proportion of entrants who knew French and notably those who spoke only that language.

Table 2 permits us to follow the changes in the numbers of immigrants who arrived in the country between 1961 and 1996 and today possess knowledge of English and/or French. The difference from the data in Table 1 is mainly attributable to the acquisition of the English language by those immigrants who declared knowledge of French only upon arrival, the acquisition of French by Quebec's English-speaking immigrants, and allophones,

largely in Quebec, who learned French after their arrival. The figures issued by Statistics Canada indicate that the percentage of immigrants who knew only French increased between 1961 and 1991 by nearly 50% in each decade. The percentage of immigrants who knew French only steadily climbed between 1961 and 1996 (from 2.9% to 5.4%), largely due to Quebec's efforts to recruit such immigrants. When those who declared

Table 2

Total immigration to Canada by knowledge of official languages upon arrival, to 1996

	Canada	French	English and French	English	Neither
Total Immigrants	4,971,070	183,380 (3.6%)	571,785 (11.4%)	3,864,015 (78.8%)	351,890 (6.2%)
Before 1961	1,054,935	19,865 (1.8%)	105,075 (10.0%)	899,320 (85.6%)	30,660 (2.5%)
1961-1970	788,580	23,140 (2.9%)	107,140 (13.5%)	617,225 (79.1%)	41,075 (4.5%)
1971-1980	996,160	35,075 (3.5%)	132,505 (13.3%)	772,505 (78.0%)	56,075 (5.1%)
1981-1990	1,092,405	49,755 (4.6%)	135,345 (12.4%)	815,615 (74.8%)	91,685 (8.2%)
1991-1996	1,038,995	55,540 (5.4%)	91,715 (8.9%)	759,345 (73.7%)	132,390 (12.0%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Table 3

Immigrants' knowledge of official languages upon arrival in selected provinces, 1996-1999

Year	Knowledge of	Canada	N.B.	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Alberta	B.C.
1996	English	117,017	401	6,779	70,769	2,240	7,553	25,971
	French	9,799	51	8,182	1,191	42	89	183
	Both	6,607	33	3,419	2,283	61	202	502
1997	English	111,324	362	5,958	68,712	2,150	7,021	24,215
	French	8,302	35	6,935	1,032	31	72	138
	Both	6,111	30	3,010	2,160	43	220	556
1998	English	83,628	336	4,694	51,559	1,483	5,717	17,725
	French	8,497	47	7,145	991	38	113	123
	Both	7,644	42	3,542	2,038	53	199	481
1999	English	92,545	331	5,548	58,422	1,775	6,414	17,939
	French	9,530	49	8,069	1,102	41	80	138
	Both	7,644	45	4,424	2,305	56	245	471

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996-99.

knowledge of both official languages are included, the percentage of immigrants who know French climbs to between 16% and 17% over the years 1961-1991. Indeed, despite the additional points allotted in 1986 for knowledge of official languages, there has been little change in the proportion of immigrants who upon arrival in Canada claim a knowledge of French.

The proportion of immigrants who know both official languages remains below the overall proportion of Canadians able to speak English and French, which in 1996 stood at about 17%. While we need to allow for the acquisition of official languages among immigrants in the 1991-1996 cohort, it is legitimate to ask whether more can be done to support training for immigrants in a second official language.

In gathering data on immigration, CIC focuses on knowledge of official languages upon arrival and looks at how this may affect the process of adaptation. As seen from Table 3, in recent years the distribution of immigrants by knowledge of official languages has been fairly consistent, with Quebec receiving some 70% of all immigrants who know the French language. When further divided, this represents 84% of all those who know French only and 57% of all new arrivals who declared knowledge of English and French.

One might think the initial distribution by language knowledge of immigrants who settle in the rest of Canada would contribute to increasing the level of bilingualism among the population. But it is important to look at the share of such immigration and how the language knowledge of immigrants evolves over time.

We can see from Table 3 that between 1996 and 1999 the real numbers of immigrants who spoke French only upon arrival and those who spoke English and French have stayed

relatively consistent. This is undoubtedly a function of the annual immigration levels. Indeed in the year 2000, as the annual number of immigrants increased by nearly 20% (from approximately 190,000 to just over 227,000), the numbers of immigrants who declared knowledge of the French language rose by nearly the same percentage (17,185 to 20,247).

Nearly all French-speaking immigrants settle in Quebec, while elsewhere, the impact of immigration can aggravate the relative decline of Francophone minorities.

The bulk of the increase came from entrants who claimed knowledge of both English and French (30%) as opposed to those who spoke the French language only (8%).

It is no surprise that Quebec has by far the greatest share of immigrants who know French only. Of unilingual French immigrants, 96% reside in Quebec. Of those immigrants who declare knowledge of both English and French, some 54% reside in Quebec, and in the period 1991-96 the proportion of such persons rose to 57%. On a considerably smaller scale there have been increases in the number of immigrants who know only French in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta. It is apparent that very few immigrants who know French only reside outside the province of Quebec, even if immigrants had higher rates of unilingualism when they first settled in a given region. Of the approximately 755,000 immigrants who declare knowledge of French, some three-quarters speak both official languages. In Quebec, about 63% of immigrants who know French also claim they are able to speak English. In the rest of Canada, 98% of immigrants able to speak French also speak English. In short, very few immigrants

Table 4**Knowledge of French only among immigrants upon arrival in selected provinces, to 1996**

	Canada	N.B.	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Alberta	B.C.
Before 1961	19,865	45	19,255	385	35	35	90
1961-1970	23,140	35	22,560	440	15	20	60
1971-1980	35,075	95	33,825	870	45	80	135
1981-1990	49,755	70	47,845	1485	30	75	250
1991-1996	55,540	90	52,740	2335	15	130	215
Total	183,375	335	176,225	5515	140	340	750

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Table 5**Knowledge of English and French among immigrants upon arrival in selected provinces, to 1996**

	Canada	N.B.	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Alberta	B.C.
Before 1961	105,075	890	54,270	32,620	1,215	3,440	10,570
1961-1970	107,140	975	57,840	31,400	1,280	3,980	9,500
1971-1980	132,505	2,460	71,050	37,335	1,490	6,305	11,445
1981-1990	135,345	1,200	73,240	41,915	1,360	4,905	10,785
1991-1996	91,715	300	51,845	27,585	695	2,680	7,465
Total	571,785	5,825	308,245	170,855	6,040	21,310	49,765

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

who arrived in the rest of Canada continue to speak only French, and this also applies to those immigrants who came as recently as 1991-1996.

A near majority of immigrants to Quebec are able to speak both English and French. The longer the period of settlement the more likely they are to acquire both languages, particularly if they have advanced knowledge of one. Some 53% of immigrants who arrived in Quebec between 1971 and 1990 declare an ability to speak both languages, a rate that is higher than the overall rate of bilingualism in the province. The proportion of immigrants that know French

only has increased in the past 10 years, reflecting the change in the sources of Quebec immigration and the greater importance attributed to the acquisition of French by the new arrivals. While the percentage of immigrants who arrived in Quebec between 1991 and 1996 declaring knowledge of both English and French (34.5%) is nearly equal to the percentage of persons who speak the two languages in the entire province (37%), in the rest of Canada there is a significant gap between the immigrant population's knowledge of both official languages (4.5%) and that of the population as a whole (10%).

2. *First Official Language Spoken/Initial Contact*

To better understand the linguistic condition of the immigrant population it is essential to consider the knowledge of official languages in conjunction with other aspects of linguistic identification. The data on the immigrant's knowledge of official languages do not tell us about the process of linguistic adaptation upon arrival. Such information is best gauged from the results of the census question on first official language spoken.

From Table 6 we can observe that over the decades there has been a slight increase in the share and real number of immigrants for whom the first official language spoken was French.

It is worth noting the difference between the number of new immigrants who know French and those who actually spoke it first upon their arrival. In the period 1991-1996, some 55,000 immigrants claimed that they knew the French language only, yet it was the first official language of more than 80,000 new arrivals. The difference of approximately 25,000 persons is a function of the extent to which those persons who declared knowledge of both English and French first spoke French when they came to

Canada. This may be related to how many of those who claimed knowledge of both official languages are either Anglophone or Francophone. Another possible explanation for this phenomenon may be under-reporting by recently arrived immigrants.

Quebec takes in some 80% of such immigrants, followed by Ontario, which on average has attracted about 16% of new arrivals who first spoke French. There are distinctions to be made between those who spoke French only upon arrival and those who spoke both English and French as their first official languages. In effect, from 1991 to 1996 some 90% of those who spoke only French as first official language arrived in Quebec, an increase from the 1960s when the figure was 85% (among those who arrived before 1961 it was approximately 80%). Conversely, Quebec had a declining share of those immigrants who declared both English and French as their first official language spoken.

With the exception of the 1981-1990 period, for every three immigrants in Quebec who spoke French only, one spoke both English and French. In the rest of Canada the situation is very different. For every immigrant who spoke French only upon arrival, more than two

Table 6

Total number (in thousands) of immigrants in Canada by first official language spoken upon arrival, to 1996

	Canada	English	French	English and French
Before 1961	1,054.9	963.0 (91.3%)	42.1 (4.0%)	19.4 (2.0%)
1961-1970	788.5	675.7 (85.7%)	52.2 (6.6%)	20.0 (2.5%)
1971-1980	996.1	836.1 (84.0%)	75.3 (7.5%)	29.3 (3.0%)
1981-1990	1,093.4	865.2 (87.6%)	86.8 (7.9%)	50.0 (4.5%)
1991-1996	1,038.9	786.2 (78.6%)	80.7 (7.8%)	41.9 (4.0%)
Total	4,971.0	4,126.3 (83.0%)	337.4 (6.8%)	160.8 (3.2%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

declared that they spoke both English and French. This constitutes a significant shift over time, since before 1971 more immigrants in all the provinces spoke French only upon their arrival than spoke both English and French. Again, this may have less to do with the composition of the immigrant population than with the linguistic environment that they encounter.

3. *Mother Tongue*

From the previous section it is apparent that the classification of immigrants who report their first official language spoken as both English and French is crucial to the determination of the population of official language communities in a given territory. Analysts have tended to allot

half of those who make such declarations to the English-speaking community and the other half to the Francophone community. Before the question on the first official language spoken was introduced in the 1991 census, mother tongue and, to a lesser degree, language spoken at home were the barometers used to assess the number of Francophones in a given area. While first official language spoken is designed to look at the potential number of persons who might use minority language services, and thus includes those persons of neither English nor French mother tongue who use one or both of the two official languages, the category of mother tongue does not include those allophones who used an official language upon arrival. On the basis of the first official

Table 7

Immigration by mother tongue (French) for Canada and selected provinces, to 1996

	Total	Before 1961	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90	1991-96
Canada						
French	173,315	25,045	31,600	42,275	38,765	35,630
English and French	9,060	1,320	1,170	2,215	2,415	1,940
Quebec						
French	134,635	16,930	23,810	33,175	31,030	29,705
English and French	4,935	670	650	1,310	1,285	1,025
Ontario						
French	23,190	4,565	4,720	4,795	4,995	4,115
English and French	2,860	405	355	565	830	710
New Brunswick						
French	2,425	325	345	1,160	445	150
English and French	90	15	-	35	25	15
Manitoba						
French	1,285	360	255	315	250	100
English and French	80	35	20	10	15	-
Alberta						
French	2,995	720	620	800	560	260
English and French	335	80	-	130	55	75
British Columbia						
French	6,915	1,620	1,500	1,630	1,070	1,105
English and French	630	90	120	150	155	110

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

language spoken, some 44,000 Francophone immigrants settled in Canada outside Quebec, while on the basis of mother tongue the figure is about 39,000. The big difference, however, is between the number of immigrants whose mother tongue was both English and French and those who declared their first official language spoken to be both English and French. Based on the way Statistics Canada allocates those who make such dual declarations, there would be another 27,000 immigrants residing in Canada outside Quebec whose first official language spoken was French. If mother tongue were the criterion, then slightly over 2,000 Francophone immigrants would be added to this population.

As indicated in Table 7, over 20% of Canada's French-mother-tongue immigrants reside outside Quebec, and the figure is closer to one-quarter when those of English and French mother tongue are included. This said, the situation has evolved considerably over the past few decades as Quebec has experienced steady increases in the share of immigrants whose mother tongue is French. From approximately 76% in the period 1961-1970, the percentage of such immigrants who settled in Quebec rose to approximately 85% between 1991 and 1996. There have also been fluctuations in the proportion of immigrants with French as a mother tongue who have settled in Ontario. In the 1961-1970 period, some 15% of immigrants settling there had French as a mother tongue. This figure declined in the next decade to about 11%. Although the numbers were small, there was a slight increase during that period in mother-tongue-French immigration to the provinces of New Brunswick, Alberta and British Columbia. In that decade about one of ten mother-tongue-French immigrants settled in places other than Quebec and Ontario. Since 1980, however, Quebec and Ontario have received over 95% of such immigration.

Highlights from the data

- Since 1961, a relatively consistent proportion of immigrants to Canada (16% to 17%) possess knowledge of the French language.
- Over the decades there has been a slight increase in the share and real number of immigrants for whom the first official language spoken was French, especially in the period between 1981-1990.
- Some 96% of immigrants who declare as their first official language a knowledge of French only reside in Quebec, whereas about 54% of those immigrants who declare knowledge of both English and French reside in that province.

4. Settlement Patterns outside Quebec

According to Maurice Beaudin, Francophones in Canada occupy two different worlds (Beaudin, 1998). The first is relatively well-established and rooted in the traditional regions of Francophone settlement. The second, considerably more mobile, lives and works in the larger urban centres where English is very much the dominant language. The pattern of settlement of Francophone immigrants closely resembles that of the vast majority of persons who come to Canada. Apart from Quebec, Ontario takes in the largest number of Francophones (13.4%). The new arrivals tend to settle in Toronto and Ottawa. Although a very small percentage of people living in B.C. are Francophones (1.5%), a relatively large proportion of Francophone immigrants settle in that province (4%). In New Brunswick, by contrast, there is a considerable gap between that province's share of Canada's Francophone population (3.5%) and the

percentage of Francophone immigrants it receives (1.4%).

In short, today's immigrants do not necessarily choose to settle in the areas where Canada's Francophone population outside Quebec is concentrated. The vast majority of immigrants settle in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec, and particularly in the cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal.

Canada's Francophones have for some time been affected by the gradual movement from the less urban centres to the larger metropolises. Like most immigrants,

Like other immigrants, most who speak French settle in the largest cities.

Francophone entrants are mainly concentrated in the country's large urban centres.

For some observers, unless action is taken this movement toward largely English-speaking centres will inevitably accelerate the process of language loss among French speakers.

According to Beaudin (1998) the future vitality of the French language will depend upon such considerations as:

- the economic revitalization of the less urban, more traditional regions of Francophone settlement;
- a stronger network between these areas and the minority Francophones in larger urban centres;
- the presence of Francophones in the big cities. Immigrants represent a strategic link in the evolution of the Francophone economic space.

If Beaudin is correct, Francophone immigrants may play a non-negligible role in the vitality of the French language.

5. *Rootedness*

The effects of the international and interprovincial migration of Francophones have created a mixture in the degree of "rootedness" of French speakers in the biggest cities. The notion of a host or receiving community is increasingly difficult to define in pluralistic societies with a large number of immigrants. It is presumed that the "host" has a certain degree of rootedness in the receiving community. In the larger urban centres, more recent arrivals often constitute a greater share of the population than "hosts." This can affect the dynamics of a community. As we can observe from Table 8 the province of British Columbia has the highest percentage of persons of French mother tongue who were not born in the country. Indeed in that province there are more immigrants of French mother tongue than Francophones who were born there.

Interprovincial migration has an impact on the rootedness of Francophone communities that requires further study. As we can observe, the movement of the Francophone population has meant that, in British Columbia, Newfoundland and Alberta, most Francophones were born outside the province.

In Toronto and Vancouver, Francophone immigrants account for nearly one-quarter of all Francophones, and in Calgary they represent over 10% of the Francophone population.

Thus the estimated number of Francophones in a given area can vary considerably, depending on which criterion is employed: mother tongue or first official language spoken. If the latter, the presence of French-speaking immigrants is the more significant factor. Where immigrants are few, there will be more mother-tongue Francophones than first-official-language ones. Where there are more immigrants, there will be more FOLS Francophones than French speakers in the mother-tongue category.

Table 8**Place of birth of mother-tongue Francophones in provinces of Canada, 1996**

	Total	Born in province	Born elsewhere in Canada	Born outside Canada
Newfoundland	2,300	930 (40.0%)	1,290 (59.8%)	210 (2.1%)
New Brunswick	242,385	216,120 (90.1%)	21,050 (8.7%)	2,475 (1.0%)
Nova Scotia	36,370	24,830 (70.6%)	9,350 (26.6%)	950 (2.5%)
P.E.I.	5,725	3,865 (69.4%)	1,605 (28.8%)	90 (1.6%)
Quebec	5,728,290	5,442,160 (95.0%)	144,280 (2.5%)	134,655 (2.3%)
Ontario	502,725	316,465 (65.3%)	143,710 (29.6%)	23,850 (4.9%)
Manitoba	49,625	38,965 (81.5%)	7,690 (16.0%)	1,285 (2.7%)
Saskatchewan	19,790	14,810 (76.8%)	3,870 (20.0%)	550 (2.9%)
Alberta	55,675	21,670 (40.8%)	28,275 (53.2%)	2,955 (5.5%)
B.C.	57,345	5,170 (9.5%)	41,655 (77.0%)	6,915 (13.0%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Table 9**Place of birth of mother-tongue Francophones in major Canadian cities, 1996**

	Total	Born in province	Born elsewhere in Canada	Born outside Canada
Quebec City	476,590	462,695 (97.0%)	6,775 (1.4%)	6,530 (1.4%)
Sherbrooke	117,320	113,580 (97.0%)	1,585 (1.4%)	1,955 (1.6%)
Montreal	933,235	830,950 (89.0%)	25,935 (3.0%)	71,315 (8.0%)
Ottawa-Carleton	111,530	69,675 (62.0%)	36,315 (33.0%)	5,315 (5.0%)
Toronto-Region	47,290	14,045 (29.0%)	22,695 (48.0%)	10,855 (23.0%)
Winnipeg	26,750	20,910 (78.0%)	4,905 (18.0%)	925 (4.0%)
Edmonton	12,990	5,940 (46.0%)	6,155 (47.0%)	855 (7.0%)
Calgary	11,600	1,580 (14.0%)	8,810 (76.0%)	1,210 (10.0%)
Hamilton	6,425	2,685 (42.0%)	3,075 (48.0%)	615 (10.0%)
Vancouver	24,070	2,505 (10.0%)	16,865 (70.0%)	4,460 (19.0%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada 1996.

Immigration sometimes means the rapid growth of French-speaking minorities, thus favourably modifying the Francophone share of the community population.

Highlights from the data

- Outside Quebec, the province of Ontario takes in the largest number of Francophones (13.4%). The new arrivals tend to settle in Toronto and Ottawa. The number of immigrant Francophones who settle in British Columbia (4%) far exceeds that community's share of the Canadian francophonie (1.5%).
- In some of the larger urban centres there are more Francophones born outside the province than within.
- Immigration can favourably modify the Francophone share of the community population.

- a shift in source countries; and
- growing numbers of people on the move.

Efforts to recruit Francophone immigrants confront similar challenges. French immigrants are considered a relatively minor immigrant group. The three principal sources for such immigration are Western Europe, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa.

The majority of persons with French as a mother tongue are found in Western Europe. Whereas the economic context in Africa offers more of an incentive to move, French is a second language in many countries in that part of the world. Indeed not all immigrants from the countries that are part of la Francophonie learn French as a primary language.

As we can see from Table 10, Europe has been the principal source of French-speaking immigration to Canada. We included both immigrants whose first official language spoken was French and those who spoke English and French (Statistics Canada has generally allocated half to each group to get the estimated total for each linguistic community).

In Quebec, some 40% of all French-speaking immigrants have come from Europe. During the 1990s, however, the majority of French-speaking immigrants arriving in Quebec were not from Europe, and nearly three-quarters of these new arrivals were members of visible minority groups. Between the periods 1990-1994 and 1995-1999 the share of immigrants from Europe and Africa (in particular North Africa) increased, and immigration from the Americas and Asia declined.

During the period 1990-1994 the principal source countries were Lebanon, Hong Kong and Haiti, whereas from 1995-1999 they were France, China and Algeria. The origins of Francophone immigrants who settled in other parts of Canada followed a similar evolution.

B. Francophone Immigration: Attraction and Recruitment

1. Source Countries

The evolving linguistic profile of immigration in recent years is a function of the source countries of new entrants, which have been changing. An immigration policy with some demolingistic orientation will to some extent target recruitment in particular countries. In its most recent immigration plan, CIC (February 2001) refers to a number of international trends that affect its selection programs. Among them are:

- an increase in non-immigrant movement;
- global labour shortages in certain key economic sectors;
- competition in the global market;

Table 10

Number of immigrants by country/continent of origin in Canada, Quebec, Ontario, and the other provinces combined, 1996

	Canada		Quebec		Ontario		Other provinces	
	French	English/ French	French	English/ French	French	English/ French	French	English/ French
Total	337,400	160,815	293,855	105,430	28,210	40,660	15,335	14,725
United States	14,430	990	10,400	625	1,290	225	2,740	140
Central and South America	28,730	14,215	27,680	9,900	705	2,930	345	1,385
Caribbean and Bermuda	47,785	3,155	44,470	2,690	2,960	415	355	50
Europe	140,425	70,020	119,020	45,735	12,415	17,835	8,990	6,450
Africa	52,820	14,415	43,670	8,490	7,190	5,145	1,960	780
Asia	51,910	57,840	46,975	37,850	3,545	14,100	1,390	5,890
West Central Asia and Middle East	25,315	27,055	22,350	18,570	2,290	6,900	675	1,585
Southeast Asia	19,860	15,025	18,520	11,070	810	2,550	530	1,405

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Compared with Quebec, Ontario has lower shares of French-speaking immigrants from Central and South America and the Caribbean and Bermuda. In the province of Ontario, some 25% of all Francophone immigrants are from Africa, whereas immigrants from Africa constitute 15% of Quebec's Francophone immigration. Outside Quebec and Ontario, the United States was the second largest source of Francophone immigrants, the overwhelming majority (1,820) of whom settled in New Brunswick.

Since it has obtained a greater role in recruitment of immigrants, the Quebec government has been more active overseas in areas where more candidates have a knowledge of French. In 1989, an agreement was ratified with authorities in France (l'Office des migrations internationales, OMI) to support the

migration of Francophones. Renewed in 1992, 1995 and 1999, this agreement called for Quebec delegates to organize information sessions in France for prospective candidates for immigration (MRCI, *Rapport annuel*, 2000).

Elsewhere, in 1998 Quebec Immigration Services held numerous information sessions for potential candidates in Brussels; they conducted promotional activities in Lebanon, took out ads to reach French speakers in Bulgaria and Romania, and developed partnerships with the Alliances françaises to recruit skilled workers in Mexico.

Recently the MRCI announced a reorganization of its immigration services overseas by moving its Damascus operations to Beirut and opening an office in Rabat, Morocco, which is described as being at the heart of an important source of Francophone immigration.

The government of Canada does engage in the active recruitment of economic immigrants and has a number of business immigrant coordination centres located in Beijing, Hong Kong, London, Paris, Berlin, Seoul, Singapore, Damascus and Buffalo. This contrasts somewhat with Quebec's selection network abroad. Its immigration services offices are located in Mexico City, New York, Paris, Brussels, Vienna, Damascus and Hong Kong. The federal government does not make any direct effort to recruit French-speaking immigrants overseas (though we saw earlier that, in the case of Manitoba, CIC does seem willing to help local communities do such recruitment).

2. *Canada and the United States*

Quebec makes great efforts to recruit Francophone immigrants and provides a French-speaking environment that is unparalleled anywhere else on the continent. It is therefore not surprising that it attracts the largest percentage of such immigration to Canada. More than four out of five Francophone immigrants settle in Quebec. Nevertheless, French-speaking immigrants have also shown an interest in settling in some of the larger urban centres in the rest of the country and elsewhere on the continent. We can compare the respective numbers of Francophone immigrants who have chosen to settle in Quebec and the rest of Canada; however, it is difficult to identify a framework to evaluate Canada's success in attracting such immigrants.

Despite the differences in the size of Canada and the United States, their policy orientations and their respective capacity to receive new immigrants, we have chosen to compare the extent to which the United States draws immigrants from certain French-speaking countries. Although the United States cannot

offer the services in the French language that Canada does, the strength of its economy is a powerful source of attraction for immigrants from many parts of the world. Between 1990 and 1998, some 220,000 immigrants (approximately 160,000 of them from Haiti) were admitted to the United States from French-speaking countries or ones where French is widely used.

As we can see from Table 11, over the period 1991-96 the United States was able to attract a significant number of immigrants from French-speaking countries (182,029), compared with the number arriving in Canada (33,980). Our neighbour to the south was able to attract immigrants from France despite the fact that Canada offers better socio-cultural conditions for French speakers. Despite assimilation rates that are considerably higher than those in Canada, between 1980 and 1990 the French-speaking population of the United States actually increased, largely due to the influx of persons born in Haiti.

Despite rates of language loss that average 90%, French-speaking immigration to the United States has contributed to an increase in the number of persons who speak French in their homes. (Some of the increase seen in Table 12 is a function of the migration of French Canadians south of the border.) Recruitment of immigrants through overseas offices and the dissemination of information to potential entrants are essential to attract French-speaking immigration. CIC acknowledges that it makes no direct efforts to recruit French-speaking immigrants abroad. It focuses more on the distribution of information as a means of attracting such immigration.

Table 11

Immigration from North Africa, France and Haiti to the United States and Canada (Quebec and the rest of Canada), 1991-1996

	United States	Canada	Quebec	Rest of Canada
North Africa	11,785	10,505	9,080	1,425
France	29,063	11,890	9,890	2,000
Haiti	141,181	11,585	10,435	1,150

Sources: Immigration and Naturalization Services of the United States, 1998 and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Table 12

Language spoken at home for the foreign-born population of the United States five years old and over, 1980 and 1990

Language	1990	1980
French (including Creoles)	543,192	376,060
French (excluding Creoles)	387,915	359,870
French Creole (Haitian)	140,433	14,519

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Census of 1980 and 1990.

Highlights from the data

- Europe has been the largest source of French-speaking immigration to Canada.
- During the 1990s the majority of French-speaking immigrants arriving in Canada were not from Europe, and nearly three-quarters of these new arrivals were members of visible minority groups.
- Between 1991 and 1996 the United States was able to attract a significant number of immigrants from French-speaking countries, compared with the number arriving in Canada.

3. Categories of Immigrants

The government's immigration plan for the year 2000-2001 reflects its commitment to reaping the social and economic benefits of immigration while maintaining Canada's long-standing humanitarian tradition. The plan maintains the current balance between the economic and family class components, ensuring that immigration provides significant economic benefits while at the same time giving priority to family reunification. There are three principle classes of immigrants:

Family class — close family members sponsored by a Canadian citizen or resident, including spouses, fiancés, dependent children, parents, and grandparents.

Independent — selected for their economic contribution, including skilled workers and business immigrants.

Refugee — includes United Nations Convention refugees and other displaced persons resettled from abroad, with government assistance or private sponsorship, and persons who have successfully claimed Convention refugee status in Canada.

In 1978 for the first time the number of persons from the family and refugee categories combined exceeded the number of independent immigrants. Coinciding with this change was the evolution away from the traditional source

countries – the United States, the United Kingdom and Western European nations – to the less developed countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa. These changes are widely viewed as having had an impact on the process of immigrant adaptation.

Overall, in 2000, the country received some 26.6% family class, 13.2% refugee class, and 6% business class immigrants; 51.9% were skilled workers, and other categories totalled about 2%. This breakdown differs somewhat from the pattern of Francophone immigration to the country. There remains a significant difference in the percentage of refugees who spoke French only upon arrival and the overall share of refugees within the total Canadian

immigration. In Table 13 we can observe that there has been a recent decline in the proportion of refugees who speak French only and a large increase in the percentage of French-speaking skilled workers. It is worth examining how Canada's targets for immigration categories affect the overall admission of French speakers.

Table 14 points to important differences in the categories of immigrants on the basis of their knowledge of official languages. While there were considerably more refugees who knew French only upon arrival than those who knew both official languages, bilingualism was far more pervasive among skilled workers.

Regional variations are also notable in the categories of Francophone immigrants who

Table 13

Immigrants who know French only, by category of immigrants and share of total immigration, 1996-1999

Category	1996	1997	1998	1999
Family	2,446 (25.6%)	2,242 (27.6%)	1,830 (22.0%)	2,115 (22.3%)
Refugee	3,363 (35.1%)	2,412 (29.7%)	2,050 (24.7%)	2,672 (28.2%)
Business class	317 (3.3%)	340 (4.1%)	479 (5.1%)	426 (4.5%)
Skilled workers	3,458 (36.1%)	3,125 (38.5%)	4,028 (48.2%)	4,251 (45.0%)
Total	9,584	8,119	8,377	9,464

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures: Immigration Overview*, 1996-2000.

Table 14

Immigrants who declare knowledge of French only and of English and French in Canada, by category of immigrants and share of total immigration, 2000

Category	Overall immigration	French only	English and French
Family	60,517 (30.2%)	2,235 (22.3%)	1,454 (14.8%)
Refugee	30,044 (15.0%)	2,661 (26.6%)	825 (8.4%)
Business class	13,655 (6.8%)	361 (3.6%)	263 (2.6%)
Skilled workers	118,495 (59.2%)	5,072 (50.0%)	7,292 (74.3%)
Total	222,711	10,329	9,834

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures*, 2000.

come to Canada. In 1999, the Montreal region had a higher proportion of skilled workers and investor class immigrants among its Francophone immigration (50.3%) than either Ottawa (30%) or Toronto (39%). Ottawa had a high proportion of refugees (42%) within its total French language immigration, while Toronto had a higher proportion of family class immigrants (33.2%).

Since the introduction of its new selection criteria, the Quebec Ministry of Immigration is better able to select those independent immigrants who can best contribute to economic well-being, participate fully in the society and require less assistance from the state. The MRCI points out that some 60% of independent immigrants know French (80% when one excludes business class immigrants). This proportion drops to 30% for family class immigrants and 25% for refugees.

Highlights from the data

- In the refugee category, the percentage of immigrants who spoke French only was lower than in the other categories.
- While there were considerably more refugees who knew French only upon arrival than those who knew both official languages, bilingualism was far more pervasive among immigrants in the skilled workers category.

C. Integration and Adaptation

1. Canada

The Commissioner of Official Languages has already pointed out that in the large urban centres the linguistic majority communities have developed the structures and services designed to help new immigrants adapt to life in Canada and make them feel at home as quickly as possible (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1989).

CIC regards the successful integration of immigrants as a priority. Both immigrant and non-immigrant generally identify economic insertion as the key to successful integration. It is therefore not surprising that, in surveys of immigrants, they describe this as the main problem they confront upon their arrival in Canada.

According to CIC, successful integration is aided by:

- proficiency in one of Canada's official languages;
- the ability to find and keep a job;
- the ability to transfer, and make use of, previously acquired occupational skills and educational credentials;
- the ability to integrate commonly held Canadian values and attitudes; and
- the ability to access and fully participate in the institutions and associations that are available to all Canadians (CIC, February 2001).

Canada's immigrant settlement programs focus on enabling immigrants to become participating and contributing members of Canadian society as quickly as possible. CIC emphasizes several aspects of the process of immigrant adaptation. Perhaps the five main areas are: employment, housing, education, health, and income security.

A series of integration fact sheets issued by CIC (June 97) alludes to the importance of learning English or French in order to secure employment. The following is a relevant excerpt from the employment section of a fact sheet.

If you practised a profession or trade in your country of origin, you may need to upgrade your skills to meet Canadian requirements. Your qualifications may not be accepted until you have Canadian documents or training, some work experience and good ability in English or French.

CIC regards the ability of immigrants to speak one of the official languages as vital to their economic insertion. But it notes that linguistic requirements will vary by region of settlement.

Several times during the 1990s, CIC opted for arrangements with organizations representing official language communities for the provision of services for immigrants. But determining to whom or what body such support should be extended has not always been simple. In addition to language-based services, many Francophone immigrants also have requirements related to their ethnocultural backgrounds. There has been much discussion over which segment of the linguistic community should be responsible for receiving the immigrants and, depending on the answer, how resources should be allocated.

Orientation services are needed to make immigrants feel part of their new community.

2. *Quebec*

As immigrants were directed to Quebec's French-speaking institutions, the province began to develop expertise on the adaptation of new arrivals. In its 1990 policy document on immigration, the Quebec government adopted the following principles.

- Integration affects every aspect of community life.
- Integration requires the commitment of both the immigrant and the entire host society.
- Integration is a long-term process of adaptation that unfolds at varying rates.

Quebec policy makers add that the linguistic dimension of immigrant integration largely depends on the socio-economic milieu, the level of immigrants' participation in the institutions of the host society, and the quality of the interpersonal relationship between immigrants and members of the host society. All these factors influence both the opportunity to speak the language and the immigrants' attitude toward it. As elsewhere, in Quebec the process of integration has given rise to many questions about the respective roles and responsibilities of the immigrant and the host community.

During the 1990s Quebec's integration strategies for new arrivals were structured around the concept of the Centre d'orientation et de formation des immigrants (COFI). The COFIs' primary function was the delivery of French language instruction and services to non-Francophone immigrants. The COFIs were to be a "single window" for the francization of new arrivals.

In the initial years of settlement, the degree of contact immigrants have with Francophones is considered a critical factor in the acquisition of the French language. A study commissioned by the MRCI describes the absence of contact with Francophones as a major obstacle for the

acquisition of French, and this is particularly true for those who have rapidly entered the workplace.

A working group on the government's integration services recommended more individualized support service for the new immigrant through the process of adaptation that follows francization and social and economic insertion. Thus a counselor would follow the immigrant's integration process and provide support appropriate to the changing condition of the immigrant (MRCI, 1998).

In November 1999, the MRCI reformed the welcoming and integration services offered to new immigrants. The principal measure was the replacement of the Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants (COFIs) with the Carrefours d'intégration. The Carrefours d'intégration offer immigrants a wide range of reception and integration services in their new environment.

Each Carrefour provides the new immigrant with access to services and necessary information regarding:

- his or her first contact; and
- support for the settlement process in Quebec, notably in the areas of health, education and employment.

As to francization, the Carrefours will evaluate the needs of new immigrants and provide access to appropriate training, either on-site or in an institutional or communal setting (MRCI, *Rapport annuel*, 2000).

The reform was designed to bring francization and integration services closer to the institutional mainstream. The ministry will deploy francization services in the college and university network, making available the training that best corresponds to the needs of the immigrant clientele. The opportunity to learn French will be more in line with the level of integration of the immigrant and will be sensitive to the context

within which the new arrival adapts. The integration services will operate in greater harmony with the broader range of services provided in a given territory. The emphasis will be on partnerships with the neighborhood institutions of the general Quebec population, such as the local employment centre, the local health centre, the school, the municipality and the local community organization (the MRCI maintains partnerships with many public, parapublic and community organizations to provide services for new immigrants). Placing the immigrant at the centre of the institutions of the Francophone community, the francization process is believed to be an essential element of integration (MRCI, *Les carrefours...* 2000).

3. Francophone Official Language Minority Communities

All levels of government offer services in both official languages in a number of areas. However, we do not know whether immigrant Francophones are less able to access government services in French than are non-immigrant Francophones. Research in this area would be useful.

Over three decades ago the government of Ontario recognized the need to offer services in French to the province's Francophones. In November 1989 it passed a law that guaranteed the provision of services in French. This permitted all citizens who so request to be served in French in the principal offices of the ministries and provincial government organizations in 23 designated regions.

The government of Ontario's Office of Francophone Affairs estimates that some 85% of the province's Francophone population has access to these services. Larocque's study (1997) reveals that medical and health matters are the services in greatest demand among Francophone immigrants.

The vast majority of Francophone immigrants have sought services in the French language. Nearly one-quarter of those who did were able to obtain the services they sought, about one-third reported they were able to secure them only in part, and just under a third were unable to receive service in French.

Table 15 identifies the services that Francophone immigrants found particularly difficult to obtain in the French language.

Outside Quebec the integration and settlement services for immigrant Francophones are still in development, and adjustments are being made to existing structures depending on the number of such immigrants and their source countries.

It is largely over the past two decades that French-speaking communities outside Quebec have been developing strategies for the reception of new arrivals. Such initiatives coincided with the period when several Francophone communities struggled for the control of schools and other institutions. It is essential for the integration of new immigrants that French schools be managed by Francophones.

Table 15

Services refused in French

	%
Medical	21.3
Legal	14.7
Educational	13.3
Immigration	12.0
Social	10.7
Employment	9.3
All services	8.0

Source: Daniel Larocque, Survey of Toronto Urban Community for CIC, Ontario Region, and Canadian Heritage, 1997.

In 1998 consultations held in Ontario for CIC examined the principal settlement issues of new immigrants and discovered that, independent of ethnic and or/linguistic differences, immigrants shared many basic concerns. In meetings held specifically with Francophone immigrants, they reported needs similar to those of non-Francophone immigrants (Canadian Institute of Cultural Affairs, 1998). Some of their main recommendations can be summarized as follows.

- Sensitize those responsible for integration services offered in English to the existence and importance of the Francophone community and the services it has to offer.
- Ensure that immigrants are aware that services are available in French.
- Support research that helps identify the existing means for integration in French and adapt them to the Franco-Ontarian experience.
- Establish links with French service providers and widely disseminate information to Francophone immigrants.
- Be more flexible with respect to new organizations created by the immigrants themselves.
- Create a resource centre for Francophone immigrants of African origin.
- Establish ways to reflect the diverse needs of the Francophone immigrant population.
- Establish partnerships with employers that may require employees who speak French.

A study on settlement services in Ontario's African community refers to some of the same concerns raised previously about immigrant adaptation. George and Mwarigha (1999) point

to difficulties encountered by immigrants from French-speaking Africa in Toronto because of inadequate bilingual services. According to focus group participants, many agencies that serve newcomers do not have French-speaking settlement staff. Consequently, clients either do not receive service or may endure long waits. Limits to the capacity to speak English and the absence of services in French slow down the resettlement and integration process of these newcomers. Africans who are Francophone often have a difficult settlement experience, even if they possess very desirable professional qualifications and job skills.

Participants in the focus groups stated that there is insufficient information about settlement support services such as health and child care, education and the Canadian legal system. The Francophones consulted expressed a very strong need to have a resource centre or “hub” that would help them obtain badly needed information (George and Mwarigha, 1999).

Similar recommendations have been made in the rest of Canada. In Manitoba, the Société franco-manitobaine (SFM) has defined the main challenges with regard to immigration as follows.

Linguistic

- The majority of Francophone immigrants have very little knowledge of English, and in Manitoba it is necessary to have some knowledge of English to function properly in society and to find a job (it can take from half a year to a full year to attain the level of English needed to join the workforce).
- There are no French language classes offered to immigrants. (Why only ESL classes?)
- The linguistic evaluation for English classes (e.g., the service at reception desks is offered only in English; the

clients must sign a contract that is available only in English).

- Many provincial and federal offices lack bilingual personnel.

Employment

- Provide assistance in the translation of CVs into English.
- Put newcomers in touch with employers.
- Provide evaluation services for professional certification (even when dealing with an exceptional case, the service is available only in English). Often certificates and diplomas are not equivalent to Manitoban ones, and the clients must return to studies.
- Provide training in professional domains.

Housing

- There is a lack of housing in the Francophone neighborhood of St. Boniface or near French language schools.

Schools

- Schools must offer more support services for new students (the SFM is considering a plan of action).
- Programs need to be developed and implemented to sensitize teachers and others in the education sector about immigration (SFM, 2000).

D. Institutional Life

1. National Organizations

Outside Quebec the debate over the impact of Francophone immigration in the established Francophone communities has perhaps been most active in Ontario. Within Francophone communities, there has been very little outreach to immigrants. According to one analyst,

beginning in the 1960s, Franco-Ontarians gradually came to understand the challenges presented by cultural diversity and were concerned that the presence of the immigrants would ultimately throw into question the notion of Canada's two founding peoples (Martel, 1995).

Through immigration, linguistic minorities can grow rapidly, but the character of the community may undergo social and cultural change.

Still, in 1990 the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne (FCFA) du Canada adopted a series of resolutions in response to the phenomenon of pluralism both within and outside the official language minorities. In a declaration of principles on the issue of pluralism and immigration the FCFA highlighted the following.

Whereas:

Canada is facing irreversible demographic changes and in a few years, the "multicultural" population shall be larger than that of the majority Anglophone and Francophone populations of Canada. It is of importance to the Francophone and Acadian communities that:

- Immigrants, new and established, fully and willingly adopt the national ideology of linguistic duality, regardless of the linguistic community into which they wish to integrate.
- Immigrant Francophones as well as immigrants opting to learn French have the opportunity and the means to integrate into the Francophone and Acadian communities.

- The Canadian francophonie can and shall adapt to forthcoming changes so as to increase the number of French-speaking Canadians wishing to participate fully in the development of the Francophone and Acadian communities (Churchill and Kaprielian-Churchill, 1991).

A publication the FCFA commissioned on the issue of pluralism and Canada's francophonie made a number of suggestions to improve the relationship, among them:

- the need for greater outreach by established Francophone community organizations to Francophone immigrants.

Concerning multicultural policies, the following suggestions were made:

- to develop, through the provincial member associations, joint programs aimed at cooperating with different racial and ethnocultural groups to improve mutual understanding and, specifically, to promote the theme of protecting individual rights and the rights of members of minority groups in a pluralist society;
- to pursue discussions on the subject of how Francophone New Canadians can best be integrated within Francophone and Acadian communities across Canada. The provincial Francophone associations should emphasize their desire to develop relationships that, in a spirit of open-mindedness, respect cultural differences of immigrants (Churchill and Kaprielian-Churchill, 1991).

At the national level, Canada's Francophone leadership has moved toward greater openness to immigration and multiculturalism. Indeed the FCFA recently established an initiative called

Dialogue, which seeks to sensitize various segments of the population, including ethnic communities, to the concerns of Canada's Francophones (FCFA, 1999).

With regard to strategies, it is contended that Canadian Francophones and Acadians can demand to be partners in the recruitment and settlement of immigrants who speak French. Opportunities exist for Acadian and Francophone communities to take effective action in conjunction with Citizenship and Immigration Canada via their local organizations and their provincial and territorial associations.

Clearly it is important that the national representative body of Francophone Canadians outside Quebec is reflecting upon the contribution of immigration to the regional and local communities and is pursuing initiatives in that regard. It is essential to find ways to actively involve Francophone immigrants in the national bodies themselves and to ensure that the structures properly reflect their presence.

2. Education

While the right to French language instruction is not automatically conferred upon them, there is little evidence that immigrant children have been turned away from French language schools outside Quebec where the parents expressed a desire for them to receive such instruction. Still, there may be a disincentive to enrol in French language schools where access is difficult.

In Ontario, subject to parental choice and local availability, the provincial *Education Act* provides for a procedure whereby a non-rightsholder can have access if a request is submitted to the French language admission committee of the appropriate school board. Admission is granted in accordance with the board's own set of established criteria, which may include the newcomer's knowledge of

French or the parents' attitude with respect to the mandate of Franco-Ontarian education.

In Saskatchewan, concerns have also been raised about access for the children of Francophone immigrants to French language schools. The problem was illustrated in a recent case involving two immigrant Francophone families that wished to enrol their children in a French language school. To be eligible, they needed permission from the school council of the French school in question, the approval of the local Francophone school board and the agreement of the majority English school in the district.

Although Francophones have control of the French schools, immigrant Francophones need authorization from the Anglophone school sector for student enrolment if they do not fall under the provisions of section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The Francophone school division of Saskatchewan is examining the relationship between the provincial law providing for the management of French language schools in Saskatchewan (Bill 144) and the relevant section of the Charter (Radio-Canada, Saskatchewan, 2001).

To a significant degree, it is in Quebec (notably in the Montreal region) and Ontario (notably in Toronto and Ottawa) that the French language schools have confronted the reality of pluralism. In Quebec, since 1977, the *Charter of the French Language* has obliged nearly all children of immigrants to attend French language schools. In fact, in the Montreal area a number of such schools have a majority of immigrant children. Toronto and Ottawa also have some schools in which most students are children of immigrants, but such institutions are the exception rather than the rule. In only one year, 1989-1990, the percentage of immigrant children in one of Ottawa's large French language high schools rose from 30% to a majority of the student body.

In 1995, the Ontario government's Royal Commission on Learning concluded that "the impatience and frustration experienced by newly arrived Francophones is quite certainly legitimate, but the resistance to change or the slow pace of it among certain elements of the Franco-Ontarian community are also understandable in the provincial educational context." The Commission noted that submissions from most major groups involved in French language education stressed the importance of opening up to ethnocultural Francophone communities.

In the following year a complementary consultation in the province focused on the issues that preoccupied the ethnocultural Francophones. The following recommendations were issued.

- Curriculum and educational programs should respond to the needs of a pluralistic Francophone population. This should be reflected in the teaching of history and geography as well as in the field of literature, which would focus on Canadian as well as international francophonie.
- Teaching and administrative staff in French language schools should reflect the ethnocultural diversity of the student population, in particular in schools with a high concentration of such diversity.
- It is important to instil self-confidence in the students by providing them with role models who have succeeded in their professional lives.
- A credible provincial structure should be put into place to represent the concerns of the ethnocultural Francophones to school boards, regional bodies, the provincial administration and other governmental authorities (États généraux complémentaires, Ontario, 1998).

In minority communities, the school plays a primary role in the integration of immigrants.

A study conducted in 1991 by the Comité canadien francophone pour l'éducation interculturelle shows that much work remains to be done to introduce multicultural education into minority language schools, both within the large urban centres and on a lesser scale in areas where there are fewer ethnocultural Francophones in the school system. For many Franco-Ontarians ethnocultural diversity is a relatively recent phenomenon. Very often the Francophones are dependent on the strategies adopted by the English language sector relative to the presence of ethnocultural pluralism.

In some instances, schools whose ethnocultural composition has shifted rather suddenly feel a need to revisit their mission and adjust to a new path that recognizes the value of French within a multi-ethnic and often within a multilingual context. All this is occurring in a situation where many Francophone institutions are struggling with a rising sense of biculturalism among the Francophone student population (Lafontant, 2000).

In an FCFA publication, Stacy Churchill and Isabel Kaprielian-Churchill (1991) suggest that the national organization "promote actively the role of the French school as a place of welcome and a place for the initial integration of Francophone immigrant children, intended to help newly arriving families identify themselves closely with the local Francophone community."

While attention and resources are primarily focused on Ontario, the challenges described above are by no means confined to schools in that province. In Alberta, despite the

government's support for the financing of French language schools, many believe that not enough is being done to respond to the needs of new immigrants. Apart from the lack of choice of educational institutions in Alberta, there are too few teachers in French language schools to support the number of students (Couture et al., 2001). In 1996 non-sectarian French schools were established in both Calgary and Edmonton in response to the fact that many immigrants sending their children to French language schools were not of the Christian faith and thus ineligible to attend the Catholic schools. According to Robert Stebbins, it is unknown "how Canadian-born Francophones in Calgary and Edmonton feel about these newcomers in their midst, most being racially and religiously different and most having a good command of the French language, though they often speak it with an unfamiliar accent" (Stebbins, 2000).

3. *Pluralism*

Conflicts between established members of a community and new arrivals are not uncommon, especially where the demographic situation evolves rapidly and the community's identity is in flux. Those who believe that the notion of two founding peoples is fundamental to the defence of the rights of French speakers in Canada may encounter difficulty situating immigrant Francophones in this paradigm. Moreover, these immigrants challenge the way many rooted Francophones have traditionally understood the link between language and ethnicity.

As the composition of Francophone minorities in the predominantly English-speaking urban centres becomes more ethnically diverse, the presumed opposition between linguistic duality and multiculturalism begins to wane. Recent public opinion surveys indicate that the presence of multicultural policies has not contributed to any erosion in

support for the French language outside Quebec among non-Francophone Canadians. Moreover, such policies have not deterred non-Francophone Canadians from learning French (Jedwab, *Ethnic Identification...*, 2000). Much more can and should be done in this regard. The phenomenon of multiculturalism in the French language is on the rise. In future the Multiculturalism Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage should be increasingly supportive of the French fact.

Visible-minority Francophones represent a relatively small proportion of the overall French-mother-tongue population: less than 1.5% in Quebec, slightly over 2% in Ontario and about 2.5% in British Columbia. However, as nearly all those defined as visible-minority Francophones reside in the large urban centres, their proportion of the metropolitan minority Francophone population is quite different. When the category used is first official language spoken, there is a modest increase in the proportion of visible-minority Francophones. For example over 12% of Toronto's mother-tongue Francophone population (including York and Peel regions) are defined as visible minorities, and when FOLS is the criterion used their share rises above 20%.

One analyst has identified three types of Francophones in a multi-ethnic school context: one, described as "rooted" (*de souche*), consists of those born in Canada who constitute a minority within the larger English-speaking majority; second, there are the immigrant ethnocultural groups that have joined the rooted Francophone minority, making the latter the dominant group from an interethnic standpoint; the third group consists of those ethnocultural groups and rooted Francophones who together see themselves as a minority community in their interaction with the English-speaking community (Gérin-Lajoie, 1995).

These categories are a reflection of the intersection of linguistic, ethnocultural and ethnoracial identities and the respective importance that the immigrants attribute to such attachments. The cohabitation of students with different cultural baggage gives rise to new questions about membership, community formation and solidarity. For example, one observer points to a contradiction over the rooted Francophones' view of themselves as a group not receiving equitable treatment with English speakers and the ethnocultural Francophones' feeling of inequality within the broader Francophone community. Monica Heller contends that "it becomes increasingly difficult to rally all components of the population to the Franco-Ontarian cause of fighting common oppression when certain groups within that population themselves feel oppressed by others; this is notably the case of immigrant groups who feel shut out of the educational process by the locally-established population" (Heller, 1994).

Much of the growing intercommunal debate among Francophones in a multiethnic environment revolves around the changing definition of the host or receiving society. What are the respective roles and responsibilities of the established Francophone community and the new arrivals? It is difficult to talk about the integration of ethnocultural Francophones into the broader Francophone minority context, since both communities are in their own ways undergoing a process of redefinition.

A number of immigrant Francophones have complained that the co-operation with the established community has been inadequate (Quell, 2000). Initiatives to include ethnocultural Francophones have often been perceived as too limited, and there is a feeling that resources are not adequately shared across the entire community. Therefore the pleas for unity made by some established Francophone

leaders are often looked upon with skepticism by ethnocultural and ethnoracial Francophones. For the latter, this failure to have a communal meeting of the minds has culminated in the distinction made between the ethnoracial and the rooted Francophones. The debate about these identity questions and how they get translated into an equitable formula for resource distribution is a good deal more complex, given that neither party within the language community is monolithic.

Robert Choquette acknowledges that traditional Franco-Ontarian institutions did not always greet French-speaking immigrants with open arms and, as a consequence, a whole range of associations were created by the ethnocultural Francophone communities. He points to one source of such tension in noting that it was the tenacity of the rooted Franco-Ontarians that resulted in the strengthening of the institutional network that the province's French speakers possess. Choquette believes that dialogue between immigrants and non-immigrants is essential and that rapprochement will require compromises from all in order to pursue joint projects and develop common strategies (Choquette, 2000).

A linguistic community can include many expressions of ethnicity, just as an ethnic group can function in more than one language. However, as noted previously, the federal government's commitment to promote the linguistic vitality of official language communities does not imply support for the ethnocultural expression of the group identities. Such support may be available under the Multiculturalism Program, although the latter no longer offers significant funding for mono-ethnic groups. Thus it is hard to justify support for the promotion of ethnic identification within the support for official languages. On the other hand, it is essential that those who receive government aid for the promotion of official

languages be inclusive and reflect the diversity of the communities they represent.

For its part the Multiculturalism Program can support dialogue among Francophones of different origins. Partnerships have been attempted in Ontario between the provincial French language organizations and the ethnocultural and ethnoracial Francophones. Although they have not all met with success, it is important that efforts continue to support such co-operation. Too much fragmentation may not be compatible with the objective of fostering vitality, since it may make it difficult to determine all the needs of the Francophone population and in what areas service may be remiss. The common desire for services in French is a strong reason for pooling efforts. The ethnocultural and ethnoracial communities may be able to enhance support for such goals among the broader non-Francophone ethnic minority population. In addition to reinforcing the French language in Ontario, ethnocultural and ethnoracial Francophones may create opportunities for greater participation in the international Francophonie.

Attempts have been made to establish a structure for community dialogue based upon the values and identity of the Francophone community. Without cooperation and a sense of inclusion in the Francophone community, there is a risk that ethnic and racial attachments will lead immigrants to pursue their integration in such a way that, in some cases, they will identify primarily as a linguistic minority within their broader ethnocultural or ethnoracial community. For many such immigrants, however, the French language is an important expression of their cultural identity. For example, many African Francophones want to preserve their linguistic distinctiveness. By not pursuing the objective of full participation, immigrants risk further language loss, and this is not conducive to creating conditions of vitality.

The Multiculturalism Program can support dialogue among Francophones of different origins.

A number of the organizations that address the needs of ethnocultural Francophones are supported by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Department of Canadian Heritage. The Ontario branch of Canadian Heritage has shown interest in assisting ethnocultural Francophones in the development of an institutional model to accommodate their needs. Members of Ontario's ethnoracial Francophone community have drawn the provincial government's attention to the following challenges:

- mistrust of various national and provincial Francophone organizations and a questioning of their leadership;
- the difficulty of assessing the impact of ethnoracial Francophone organizations with respect to the needs of community members, notably in the areas of employment and training; and
- inadequate access to information from various government ministries and departments.

In 1994 the Department of Canadian Heritage met with representatives of Ontario Francophone organizations to discuss new ways of distributing funds to language minorities in the province. A new structure was to be established that was to be called the Coalition for the Development and Expansion of the Franco-Ontarian Community and the Ethnic Francophone Groups of Ontario. Some ethnocultural Francophone groups that participated in the meeting felt they were being obliged to accept that the traditional organizations would control both the funding and the distribution of services.

In 1996 Canadian Heritage included the development of racial minority Francophones as part of its multi-year agreement to support the official language minority communities of Ontario. In fact the Minister committed to paying special attention to this issue. A recent report looked at the needs of the Francophone ethnoracial communities in Ontario. These communities make a vital contribution to the diversity of Ontario's Francophone population. The Canada-community accord for the province of Ontario has recognized the ethnic and racial minorities as part of the francophonie of Ontario, and in concrete terms this required that a plan of action be established to give substance to this recognition.

One of the principal questions regarding integration involves the type of co-operation between non-immigrant and immigrant Francophones that is best suited to address the needs of the new arrivals. Three types of partnership have been envisaged for the groups: (1) partnerships between organizations representing racial and ethnocultural minorities to better harmonize their efforts and avoid duplication of services; (2) partnerships with existing Francophone organizations and institutions, which should not be limited to the appointment of one ethnocultural or ethnoracial representative on boards or committees of such organizations but should aim for equitable representation of members of these communities; (3) partnerships with different levels of government and with the private sector. Government officials do not believe that such initiatives have been explored to their full potential (Muse et al., 1999).

E. Mobility

1. Employment and Income

Earlier we looked at the importance Citizenship and Immigration Canada places on immigrants' knowledge of official languages in determining their eligibility for entry to the country. The relevance of such knowledge is frequently based on an evaluation of the economic adaptation of immigrants over several years. Research conducted by CIC reveals that knowledge of an official language generally results in higher earnings. In fact a skilled worker lacking such ability earns less on average than someone with lesser skills who is able to speak an official language. Furthermore, individuals who have the highest levels of language proficiency are most likely to be employed throughout their working careers. In each case, however, there is variation across the country depending on the economic circumstances of each region and the official language in question. Thus knowledge of French, for those who reside in most parts of the country outside Quebec, will not measurably enhance their situation without some knowledge of English as well.

The relationship between language knowledge and economic insertion can be assessed in a variety of ways, and the conclusions drawn often depend upon what the analyst chooses to emphasize.

Over the past four decades one of the major developments on the language front has been the considerable economic progress of French speakers throughout the country.

Although immigrants have a lower income upon their arrival than non-immigrants, many analysts maintain that the new arrivals will catch up over time. But the estimated time it takes to achieve a certain degree of economic parity has a profound influence on policy makers as they develop selection criteria

sensitive to the country's perceived economic needs and its humanitarian obligations.

According to the study of Francophone immigrants in Toronto referred to previously, some 94% of the new arrivals had no prearranged employment upon their arrival in the country.

Of those seeking employment, some 30% secured a job within one month. For about 12% it took over a year, and 9.6% were unable to find employment. This approximates the national unemployment rate at the time of the study. Nearly one person in four (24.7%) did not receive help finding employment, while others obtained such assistance from family, friends, newspapers, employment offices, and members of their ethnic community.

A number of empirical studies have furnished evidence of a deteriorating labour market experience among recent immigrants. The results are consistent with the observation that a shift in the composition of new arrivals around the 1980s has brought about a decline in immigrants' economic adaptation as measured by average income and employment rates. Nonetheless, the reasons for such erosion are not always adequately explained, and perhaps some have been too quick to attribute the situation to the overall lower skill level of immigrants.

In Quebec there have been important changes in the income differentials between immigrants and non-immigrants, largely depending on how long an immigrant has been established in Canada. Overall, immigrants who arrived in the country between 1971 and 1981 have an income closer to that of the Canadian-born population than those who arrived more recently. If the overall income gap between immigrants and non-immigrants is greater, this is due to the lower earnings of non-European immigrants.

Looking at the situation across Canada, we observe that immigrants who knew French only upon arrival had income levels only slightly

higher than those who knew neither official language and had unemployment rates higher than other immigrants, although fewer reported welfare benefits than entrants who knew neither English nor French. But there is considerable variation among the major urban centres. As we shall observe, settling outside Quebec does not result in a greater economic penalty for immigrants who knew French only upon arrival.

Several factors that contribute to the varying employment and earnings condition of immigrants merit further inquiry. Our purpose here is confined to reviewing the findings generated from the data. Further research is required to better understand the economic adaptation of French-speaking immigrants in the various regions of the country.

The leaders of ethnoracial Francophone groups in Toronto insist that members of their group have difficulty finding employment that corresponds to their level of education. Whether they are English-speaking or French-speaking, non-European immigrants tend to have a much lower income than do European immigrants. According to some analysts, the growing variance between visible minority and European groups (as measured by the unemployment rate and lower employment income) may arise from the following factors.

- Increasingly, more immigrants from different ethnocultural groups have come to Canada and they bring different socio-economic attributes (such as education and language proficiency) that provide the "basis" on which to build their socio-economic status.
- More ethnocultural groups came from non-traditional sources.
- Declining settlement support for immigrants means that more recent immigrants lack the proper knowledge/skills and organizational

Table 16

Socio-economic conditions of immigrant taxfilers 18 and over upon arrival, by years since admission and knowledge of official languages, Canada, 1995

Years since admission	Average annual employment earnings				Percentage reporting Unemployment Insurance income				Percentage reporting welfare benefits			
	English	French	Both	None	English	French	Both	None	English	French	Both	None
1	16,423	12,798	18,865	10,498	10%	16%	11%	14%	10%	29%	20%	12%
5	23,418	16,028	23,878	17,023	15%	20%	16%	20%	11%	21%	11%	18%
10	28,242	21,961	33,599	21,108	13%	17%	13%	17%	12%	25%	9%	20%
15	36,158	25,446	39,187	24,995	9%	15%	9%	14%	8%	14%	5%	18%

Source: CIC and Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database, 1998.

Table 17

Percentage of immigrant taxfilers 18 and over upon arrival who reported receiving Unemployment Insurance benefits, by years since admission and knowledge of official languages, 1995

Years since admission	British Columbia				Quebec				Ontario			
	English	French	Both	None	English	French	Both	None	English	French	Both	None
5	15%	19%	18%	26%	17%	20%	16%	21%	15%	18%	16%	18%
10	13%	19%	9%	21%	16%	18%	16%	20%	12%	13%	11%	14%
15	10%	14%	8%	18%	9%	15%	11%	17%	9%	12%	7%	13%

Source: CIC and Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database, 1998.

Table 18

Average employment earnings of immigrant taxfilers 18 and over upon arrival, by years since admission and knowledge of official languages, 1995

Years since admission	British Columbia				Quebec				Ontario			
	English	French	Both	None	English	French	Both	None	English	French	Both	None
1	16,648	15,088	18,461	10,438	14,264	12,633	17,182	9,383	16,618	14,292	21,729	11,077
5	23,828	20,242	25,148	15,147	18,420	15,383	21,028	13,380	24,158	17,617	28,228	18,597
10	28,414	23,593	32,663	18,232	25,305	20,852	31,877	17,187	28,998	28,862	36,023	23,481
15	34,878	24,971	35,995	23,473	34,612	24,223	37,193	20,116	37,567	31,461	42,377	27,512

Source: CIC and Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Immigration Database, 1998.

supports for better socio-economic integration.

- Immigrants from ethnocultural groups that have strong community support networks do better than those without them; thus the socio-economic gaps widen.

Highlights from the data

- Comparing Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, immigrants who knew French only upon arrival had the lowest levels of unemployment in the province of Ontario.
- Those French speakers with the highest annual earnings were in Ontario, although earnings were slightly higher in British Columbia for the most recently arrived immigrants who knew French only.
- Immigrants who knew both official languages made major gains in employment over the 15-year period and, in the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia, had the lowest levels of unemployment.
- Immigrants who knew only French upon their arrival had somewhat higher than average rates of unemployment in all three provinces but have fared better than those who knew neither of the two official languages.

Daniel Larocque explored whether jobs landed by immigrant Francophones reflected their previous training. In his survey, the answers to this question were evenly divided. Some 48.7% responded that their work did not correspond to their abilities, and the same percentage felt that their jobs did indeed reflect their training (including 1.3% who reported their jobs were better than they expected).

Immigrants from Asia were more likely to say their jobs reflected their previous training (50%). Not far behind this group were immigrants from Europe (46.5%). The numbers decline precipitously for immigrants from the Americas (23.1%), from Central and Southern Africa (20.6%), and from North Africa/Middle East (5.3%).

CIC data indicate that immigrants who knew French only upon arrival had lower levels of education than did those who knew English only. Those who knew both English and French upon arrival tended to possess higher levels of schooling. The gap between those with greater education who knew French only upon arrival and those with lower levels of education has nonetheless narrowed somewhat since 1980. In general the majority of immigrants who knew both official languages upon arrival had university degrees or some equivalent. Educational differences may explain in part the employment and income differentials among the two linguistic groups. In Toronto a high proportion of immigrants had trade certificates and non-university diplomas.

This situation of underemployment is in part attributed to the non-recognition of training and diplomas received outside Canada, the requirement for Canadian work experience, and the state of the economy (many Canadians, whether they were born here or elsewhere, have difficulties in finding work that reflects their abilities and training). When considering issues of employment it is important to bear in mind

that the state of the provincial economy in a given period undoubtedly has an impact on the overall situation of the labour force.

2. *Language Transfers*

The phenomenon of language loss has a profound impact on most Francophone communities outside Quebec. Language loss is widely viewed as the principal challenge to the linguistic vitality of French-speaking communities in Canada outside Quebec. It is a phenomenon that affects all Francophones, non-immigrant and immigrant alike. Language transfers experienced by Francophone immigrants are a reflection of the phenomenon

in the overall Francophone population. In Table 19 we can see that language shifts vary in different parts of the country. In New Brunswick and Quebec there appear to have been few language transfers among mother-tongue Francophone immigrants, and the Francophone population benefited from a certain number of new arrivals whose mother tongue was neither English nor French and who ultimately adopted the French language at home.

There has been a significant rate of language transfer among immigrants in the provinces west of Quebec, particularly following a decade of settlement. In part this is due, in the earlier period, to the vast majority of immigrants

Table 19

Immigrants with French mother tongue and French as a home language in selected provinces, to 1996

	New Brunswick			Quebec			Ontario		
	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)
Before 1961	320	320	0.0	16,115	22,915	+40.0	3,920	1,515	-61.0
1961-70	330	360	+9.8	22,205	30,695	+37.1	4,160	2,170	-48.0
1971-80	1,150	1,290	+12.5	29,150	44,525	+40.0	3,970	2,395	-40.0
1981-90	430	480	+11.0	25,110	41,905	+60.0	4,035	3,005	-23.7
1991-96	150	175	+16.8	24,415	36,290	+50.0	3,040	2,805	-6.7
Total	2,380	2,625	+10.3	116,995	176,330	+52.0	19,120	11,890	-37.5
	Manitoba			Alberta			British Columbia		
	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)
Before 1961	340	115	-66.2	615	185	-70.0	1,460	470	-68.0
1961-70	230	130	-43.5	575	240	-57.9	1,350	460	-66.0
1971-80	260	195	-25.0	720	280	-61.2	1,470	570	-61.3
1981-90	225	175	-20.5	430	185	-57.0	955	600	-37.2
1991-96	85	85	0.0	205	195	-5.0	975	625	-35.9
Total	1,150	710	-38.3	2,545	1,090	-57.1	6,220	2,730	-56.2

(MT) Mother Tongue
(LSH) Language Spoken at Home
(DIFF) Difference

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Compilation, Census of Canada, 1996.

including those of French mother tongue being drawn to English-speaking institutions. They had limited opportunity to participate in the institutional life of those Francophone minorities that were struggling to secure their status. For those who arrived more recently, the rates of language transfer are considerably lower. To curb language transfers among Francophone immigrants, however, it will no doubt be vital to draw them to French language institutions.

It is worth noting that the recent trends vis-à-vis language shifts in Ontario have been more intense outside the Ottawa and Toronto areas. In Ottawa the arrival of Francophone immigrants has actually generated net

population gains, largely a function of the shift of certain allophones to the French language.

Table 20 provides data on the phenomenon of language transfer by source country or region, with a focus on immigrants whose mother tongue was French. For comparative purposes we chose the country of France and the regions of North Africa and continental Africa. As seen in the previous tables, an acceleration of language transfer can occur after ten years and, in Canada outside Quebec, about half of Francophone immigrants make such a transfer. Clearly, for those who do retain the French language at home in much of Canada outside Quebec, there is little difference based on the immigrant's country of origin.

Table 20

Language transfers of Francophone immigrants, by region of origin

Canada

	France			North Africa			Continental Africa		
	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)
1981-85	3,525	3,060	-13.2	1,375	1,120	-18.5	705	505	-28.4
1986-90	4,830	4,185	-13.4	2,100	1,710	-18.6	1,720	1,240	-27.9
1991-95	10,875	10,370	-4.6	2,255	1,835	-18.6	3,570	2,950	-17.4

Quebec

	France			North Africa			Continental Africa		
	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)
1981-85	2,800	2,725	-2.7	1,115	995	-10.8	415	370	-10.8
1986-90	3,835	3,690	-3.8	1,885	1,615	-14.3	1,010	865	-14.4
1991-95	9,345	9,140	-2.2	2,035	1,740	-14.5	2,365	2,135	-9.7

Rest of Canada

	France			North Africa			Continental Africa		
	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)	MT	LSH	DIFF (%)
1981-85	725	335	-53.8	260	125	-51.9	290	135	-53.4
1986-90	1,000	500	-50.0	215	95	-55.8	710	375	-47.2
1991-95	1,540	930	-39.6	220	95	-56.8	1,205	815	-32.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Compilation, Census of Canada, 1996.

About half of Francophone immigrants settling west of Quebec tend to switch to speaking English, a phenomenon known as language transfer.

3. Interprovincial Migration

Mobility or interprovincial migration has had an important impact on the demographic situation of Francophone communities. It is fair to view the absence of significant interprovincial migration of immigrants as an important component of successful adaptation. One analyst who tracks such patterns has found

that between 15% and 20% change province of residence within six years after arriving in Canada (Dougherty, 1994). Further, immigrants seem quite sensitive to economic conditions in choosing their destination. Dougherty's findings suggest that the link between the regional income and unemployment differentials of immigrants will imply higher mobility if immigrants' initial choice of location was determined by other factors.

Table 21

Interprovincial mobility of immigrants, by knowledge of official languages and province where immigrants landed, 1980-1995

Destination at landing		Arrivals	Out-migration	In-migration	Net change	Net %
Atlantic	English	14,180	5,820	1,945	-3,875	-27.3
	French	320	150	70	-80	-25.0
	Both	1,020	355	215	-140	-13.7
Quebec	English	56,965	19,320	5,515	-13,805	-24.2
	French	47,175	2,750	1,020	-1,730	-3.7
	Both	31,865	3,905	1,760	-2,145	-6.7
Ontario	English	393,795	22,655	37,135	+14,480	3.7
	French	6,180	910	2,335	+1,425	23.1
	Both	14,215	2,160	3,725	+1,565	11.0
Manitoba	English	21,900	6,505	1,645	-4,860	-22.2
	French	250	85	35	-50	-20.0
	Both	505	220	100	-120	-23.8
Saskatchewan	English	8,000	3,920	1,160	-2,760	-34.5
	French	95	60	10	-50	-52.6
	Both	285	155	60	-95	-33.3
Alberta	English	61,480	15,560	8,585	-6,975	-11.3
	French	780	250	185	-65	-8.3
	Both	1,850	615	415	-200	-10.8
British Columbia	English	101,975	10,025	27,150	+17,125	16.8
	French	815	130	655	+525	64.4
	Both	3,250	520	1,545	+1,025	31.5

Source: CIC, Longitudinal Immigration Database, 2000.

Highlights from the data

- There has been a significant rate of language transfer among immigrants in the provinces west of Quebec, particularly following a decade of settlement.
- An acceleration of language transfer can occur after 10 years and, in Canada outside Quebec, about half of Francophone immigrants make such a transfer.
- For those who do retain French at home in much of Canada outside Quebec, there is little difference based on the immigrant's country of origin.
- In large urban centres outside Quebec there is a reasonable degree of retention of French-speaking immigrants. The smaller centres have experienced major losses of those French-speaking immigrants who first arrived there.

From 1980 to 1995 some 1,020 immigrants who spoke French only upon arrival and initially settled elsewhere in Canada ended up moving to Quebec; meanwhile, some 2,750 who first settled in Quebec moved to another part of Canada. The data suggest that in large urban centres outside Quebec there is a reasonable degree of retention of French-speaking immigrants. On the other hand, the smaller centres have experienced significant losses of those French-speaking immigrants who first arrived there.

Finally, we can see that about one-third of those who knew English only upon their arrival in Quebec left in the ensuing years.

Discussion/Policy Implications

Recruitment of Francophone Immigrants

The demographic data presented in this chapter (see Table 2) point to a significant disparity between the number of English-speaking and French-speaking immigrants: 3.6% who spoke French only compared with 78.8% who spoke English only. The upward shift since 1961 in the percentage of immigrants who spoke French only upon arrival in Canada (5.4% in 1991-1996 compared with 73.3% of immigrants who spoke English only) is related to Quebec's recruitment of more Francophone immigrants to support the vitality of the French language. Unlike Quebec, the federal government does not make any direct effort to recruit French-speaking immigrants overseas: CIC can do much more in this area. Delegations of Francophones from official language communities should visit source countries of potential immigrants and provide information about conditions and opportunities in their communities. Resources can be put in place in countries where there is potential for recruitment, and arrangements can be made with international organizations that are involved in the migration process. CIC should develop benchmarks relative to the annual numbers of Francophone immigrants that Canada receives and should annually review the progress achieved. It is essential to plan for the arrival of immigrants and establish structures to meet their initial needs. This should be done in close co-operation with the official language communities and, where possible, be based on submissions from them. Such submissions should describe the settlement needs involved in the process of adaptation.

Settlement and Integration

The pattern of settlement of Francophone immigrants closely resembles that of the majority of persons who come to Canada; in short they do not necessarily choose to settle in areas where Canada's Francophone population outside Quebec is concentrated. A broader national survey of the needs of Francophone immigrants would be of considerable value in determining the needs and gaps in service that the new arrivals confront in different parts of the country. Eventual integration into the minority communities is linked to the institutional vitality of these communities. The capacity to receive immigrants is greatly affected by the resources, institutions and structures in place to respond to their needs. We need to give the communities the tools they require to fully develop, including the instruments they need to favour the integration of immigrants. An immigrant from an official language minority not only requires the means to be a full participant in the broader society but may also wish to contribute to the life of the minority community. The absence of institutions aimed at meeting the latter objective no doubt constitutes a major obstacle to community participation and runs counter to the commitment to promote vitality.

Attracting immigrants to the traditional institutions of the Francophone community is an important challenge. Many Francophone immigrants have expressed disappointment with their initial experiences in Canada. Immigrant insertion depends greatly on the knowledge of available services and the initial contacts

that are made upon arrival in the new environment. The Carrefour model as developed by Quebec and examined in section C2 of this chapter may be employed by Francophone communities outside that province to draw immigrants to the communities. OLM Francophone communities have requested that centres or hubs be created to facilitate the adaptation of immigrants.

Barriers to entry to French language schools for the children of Francophone immigrants should be eliminated. For many of Canada's Francophone communities, the French school provides the only milieu outside the family where there is contact with the French language. As such, to a considerable extent, the linguistic integration of the children of immigrants is conditioned by the language of instruction chosen by the parents. While a number of studies have looked at the socio-cultural impact of the presence of Francophone immigrants in French language schools outside Quebec, to date no study has looked at their attraction and retention rates of the children of Francophone immigrants. Such a study would help us understand both the desire of immigrant Francophones to send their children to such schools and the profile of those persons who do choose such instruction.

It is also important to ensure that the professional credentials of immigrants are properly recognized. The role of professional bodies composed of doctors, engineers, psychologists and other professionals in accrediting professionals wishing to immigrate to Canada is important. More thought and adjustments are still required to fully recognize the training of potential immigrants.

Language loss among French-speaking immigrants is similar to the pattern in the wider Francophone community. Efforts to draw immigrants to the Francophone community will help both immigrant and non-immigrant Francophones deal better with the phenomenon of language loss.

Integration is a two-way process that ultimately implies a change in the identity of the host community as well as of the new arrivals. French-speaking immigrants often introduce ethnic diversity into rooted linguistic communities. Moreover, during the past four decades there has been a growing emphasis on regional/provincial identities as well as local/municipal attachments. The presence of Francophone immigrants invites consideration of the defining elements of Canada's French language communities of the future, notably as regards the ethnoracial dimension. It will be essential to enhance the presence of Francophone immigrants in the local and regional and national organizations of the francophonie. French language institutions will confront the need to accommodate the diverse needs of ethnoracial Francophones. Programs aimed at sensitizing service providers in French-language institutions to cultural pluralism should be expanded. There is expertise in this area across the country that can be employed for such purposes. Initiatives should be developed that contribute to further harmonizing the policies of multiculturalism and the promotion of official language communities. Those responsible for the Multiculturalism Program should support the vitality of Francophone communities through cross-cultural initiatives involving immigrant and non-immigrant Francophones as well as other communities. The FCFA program Dialogue is a good example of such an intercultural initiative.

IV. QUEBEC ANGLOPHONES: IMMIGRATION AND VITALITY

Few studies have looked at what support for the linguistic vitality of Anglophones in Quebec might entail. There is no doubt that the loss of Anglophones from interprovincial migration has meant that the flow of new arrivals takes on greater importance in maintaining conditions of vitality. Immigration of English speakers, along with allophones who ultimately adopt the English language in their homes, has not only had a profound demographic impact on the community but has also affected the identity of the Anglophone population.

Despite this, the impact of immigration on Quebec's Anglophone community in the past 20 years has rarely received much attention. In part this is because the focus has been on those who have left the province and the consequences of such departures on the community's demographic and institutional life. It also reflects the shift of responsibility for receiving new immigrants from Anglophone to Francophone institutions. Below, we examine the demographic impact of English-speaking immigration to Quebec and look at several aspects of their linguistic, economic and social integration.

A. Immigration and Demography

From 1945 to 1970, the growth of the Anglophone community in Quebec was primarily attributable to the influx of immigrants from Europe who, for the most part, adopted the English language and were integrated—however partially—by English language institutions. The English-speaking population benefited greatly from the influx of immigrant children who, in overwhelming numbers, were educated in the English school system. With the changing pattern of immigration that began in the early 1970s and the introduction of the *Charter of the French Language*, which obliged almost all subsequent

immigrants to send their children to French language schools, immigration has become a less important source of population growth for the Anglophone community. With the transfer of selection and integration services for immigrants to the Quebec government, the Anglophone community has played a very limited role in immigrant insertion.

Between 1996 and 2000, those immigrants to Quebec for whom English was the only official language spoken represented some 20% of the total provincial immigration. This proportion exceeds the share of Quebec's English-mother-tongue population, which stands at just under 10%. Indeed, as the vast majority of immigrants settle in the Montreal region, the per capita arrival of immigrants relative to the Montreal Anglophone population is even greater. It is worth examining whether more Anglophone immigrants would consider settling in regions outside Montreal, whose communities might benefit from such an infusion.

The immigrant presence in the English-speaking community is reflected in the number of language transfers of persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French. While there were over 586,000 persons in Quebec whose mother tongue was English in 1996, over 700,000 persons declared that they spoke English only in their homes. If we add multiple declarations that include the use of English in the home, the Anglophone population rises to nearly 820,000. Using the criterion of first official language spoken (FOLS), the number of Anglophones rises to 900,000.

1. Knowledge of Official Languages

In the 1970s the number of immigrants who spoke only French significantly exceeded the number that spoke only English. In recent years the pattern has been quite consistent, with just over one-quarter of immigrants declaring that

Table 22**Number of immigrants by knowledge of official languages, Quebec, to 1996**

	Total	%	English	%	French	%	Both	%	Neither	%
Before 1961	113,870	17.6	34,860	25.6	19,255	10.9	54,270	17.6	5,485	12.7
1961-1970	109,510	17.0	22,000	16.1	22,560	12.8	57,840	18.7	7,105	16.5
1971-1980	132,370	20.5	20,820	15.3	33,825	19.2	71,050	23.0	6,675	15.5
1981-1990	137,830	21.3	26,515	19.4	47,845	27.1	73,240	23.7	10,235	23.7
1991-1996	150,915	23.4	32,755	24.0	52,740	29.9	51,845	16.8	13,570	31.5
Total	644,495		136,950		176,220		308,250		43,075	

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

they spoke only French, nearly one-fifth only English, and about one-sixth speaking both official languages. In pursuit of the goal of bringing more French speakers to Quebec, the provincial government combines the number and proportion of those who speak French and those who speak both English and French. The number of immigrants who speak French has risen between 1997 and 2000; so too has the number of new arrivals who speak English. Indeed, a majority of immigrants that settle in Quebec do have a knowledge of the English language.

Anglophone immigration has largely compensated for the movement of English-speaking Quebecers to other parts of Canada.

From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, the English-speaking population witnessed an increased influx of candidates to join the community. This is less the result of a rise in the share of Anglophone immigration than of the increase in the total number of immigrants who came to Quebec during those years. While in the mid-1970s a larger Anglophone

population received fewer potential Anglophone candidates, a decade later a smaller Anglophone community received twice as many English-speaking immigrants. The impact of immigration on the community is thus far more significant than it was two decades ago. More recently, however, there has been a decline in the real number of immigrants who knew English only upon arrival (some 28,000 persons between 1996 and 2000 compared with over 45,000 persons in the previous five years). In Table 23 we can observe that the share of immigrants for whom English was the only official language spoken upon arrival dropped from approximately 23% to 20%.

Table 23**Knowledge of English only and English and French among immigrants upon arrival in Quebec, 1991-1995 and 1996-2000**

	Total	English only	English and French
1991-1995	200,258	46,293 (23.1%)	27,937 (13.9%)
1996-2000	145,619	28,841 (19.8%)	20,297 (13.9%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

2. *Mother Tongue/First Official Language Spoken/Rootedness*

Most Quebec immigrants are of neither English nor French mother tongue, as from 1996 through 2000 allophones have represented about 85% of new arrivals. In the year 2000, persons of French mother tongue represented about 13.5% of immigration and those of English mother tongue about 2.5% (down from 3.8% in 1996). As regards the first official language spoken, Table 24 shows that, between 1991 and 1996, over one-third of immigrants spoke English upon arrival.

Whether measured by mother tongue or first official language spoken (FOLS), immigrants represent a very significant share of Quebec's Anglophone community. As we can see in Table 25, some 28% of the FOLS Anglophone population are immigrants and nearly 15% of the mother-tongue-English population are immigrants.

Table 24

Number and percentage of immigrants with English as their first official language spoken, Quebec, to 1996

	Overall Number of FOLS Immigrants	FOLS English	%
Total	664,495	275,000	41.4
Before 1961	113,870	66,510	58.8
1961-1970	109,510	50,800	46.6
1971-1980	132,370	50,500	38.2
1981-1990	157,830	55,400	35.2
1991-1996	150,910	53,250	35.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Table 25

English speakers by first official language spoken and mother tongue, Quebec, 1996

Status	FOLS English	Mother tongue English	FOLS English and French	Mother tongue English and French
Total			842,105	602,865
Non-immigrant			603,665 (71.6%)	514,485 (85.6%)
Born in province of residence			492,345 (58.4%)	410,245 (68.3%)
Born outside province of residence			111,320 (13.2%)	104,240 (17.3%)
Immigrant			223,855 (28.4%)	83,670 (14.4%)
			167,460	56,345
			57,960 (34.6%)	51,145 (90.8%)
			54,320 (32.5%)	44,780 (79.5%)
			3,645 (2.1%)	6,365 (11.3%)
			105,430 (63.1%)	4,940 (8.7%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Highlights from the data

- From 1945 to 1970, the growth of the Anglophone community in Quebec was primarily attributable to the influx of immigrants from Europe.
- Between 1996 and 2000, those immigrants to Quebec for whom English was the only official language spoken represented some 20% of the total provincial immigration.
- In the 1970s the number of immigrants who spoke French significantly exceeded the number that spoke only English. Recently just over one-quarter of immigrants declared that they spoke only French, nearly one-fifth only English, and about one-sixth spoke both official languages.
- There was a decline over the 1990s in the number of immigrants who spoke English only upon arrival.
- Over one in four people in Quebec's Anglophone community are immigrants.

3. Settlement Pattern: Montreal and the Rest of Quebec

In the years 1991-1996 there was an increase in the concentration of English-speaking immigrants in the Montreal area. The share of new arrivals settling in the rest of Quebec has been on the decline. The settlement pattern of Anglophones differs little from that of other immigrants to the province. Immigrants settling outside the Montreal area are, for the most part, in such places as Laval and the Montérégie. In these two regions, the geographic proximity to the Montreal region and the critical mass of Anglophones makes for a considerable degree of institutional depth. In the Laurentians, Quebec City, Outaouais and the Eastern Townships, the situation is different since there is, on one hand, a reduced number of immigrants and, on the other, a lesser degree of Anglophone community organization.

Anglophone minority communities outside Montreal face different challenges.

Table 26

Settlement pattern of immigrants of English mother tongue in Quebec, Montreal, and the rest of Quebec, to 1996

	Province of Quebec	Montreal Urban Community	Rest of Quebec
Total immigrant population by period of immigration	83,670	58,690 (70.2%)	24,980 (29.8%)
Before 1961	19,495	12,450 (64.1%)	7,045 (35.9%)
1961-1970	17,215	11,640 (67.6%)	5,575 (32.4%)
1971-1980	19,770	13,640 (69.2%)	6,130 (30.8%)
1981-1990	15,730	11,600 (73.8%)	4,130 (26.2%)
1991-1996	11,460	9,360 (82.1%)	2,100 (17.9%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

Table 27**Category of immigrants by knowledge of official languages, Quebec, 1996-2000**

	Independent	%	Business	%	Family	%	Refugee	%	Total
French only	17,633	34.5	1,618	10.1	8,735	22.3	11,032	29.0	39,018
English and French	14,542	28.4	639	4.0	3,068	7.8	2,048	5.3	20,297
English only	8,491	16.6	2,121	13.2	8,408	21.5	9,821	25.8	28,841
Neither English nor French	10,677	20.9	11,904	74.3	19,568	50.1	15,314	40.2	57,463
Total	51,4343		16,282		39,779		38,215		145,619

Source: MRCI, Tableaux sur l'immigration au Québec 1996-2000, March 2001.

4. *Categories of Immigrants*

We can see from Table 27 that more business class immigrants spoke only English upon arrival than spoke only French. Some 7.5% of all immigrants who knew English only upon arrival were in the business class, while the comparable figure for those who spoke only French is slightly over 4%. It is in the category of immigrants who spoke neither official language that the percentage of business class immigrants is highest.

Immigrants who spoke English only or both English and French upon arrival tended to have higher levels of education than did new arrivals who spoke only French. In the years 1990 and 1995, of those who spoke English only, some 23% and 27% respectively possessed university degrees. The percentage was even higher in 1995 among immigrants who declared knowledge of both languages upon arrival. Among immigrants who spoke French only upon arrival, fewer than one in six had a university degree in the same years.

5. *Origins*

Unlike the Francophone minorities in other parts of Canada, the Anglophone population in Quebec has benefited from significant experience in the integration of members of

ethnocultural communities. The source countries of immigrants in the Anglophone community have changed considerably over the past 30 years. Increasingly English-speaking immigrants emanate from the Caribbean and Bermuda, Asia and the Middle East. This evolution has significantly modified the composition of the Anglophone community.

Overall, nearly 50% of Quebec's English-speaking immigrants come from countries from which new arrivals are generally identified in the census as visible minorities. Recently the

Table 28**Persons declaring visible minority membership and English mother tongue, Quebec, 1996**

	Province of Quebec	Montreal
Total English	586,430	426,600
Total visible minority	62,585 (10.6%)	60,015 (14.0%)
Black	34,430 (5.8%)	33,335 (7.8%)
South Asian	10,080 (1.7%)	9,705 (2.2%)
Chinese	3,955 (0.7%)	3,660 (0.8%)

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

number of English-speaking immigrants from visible minorities has further increased. During the 1991-1996 period they represented nearly three-quarters of all English-speaking immigrants as defined by first official language spoken (FOLS).

The growing diversity in the source countries of the English-speaking population will likely increase the significance of the ethnoracial dimension of the Anglophone community. As we can see from Table 28, in 1996 over 10% of Quebec's mother-tongue-English population were members of visible minorities, and the figure in Montreal rises to 15%. When the criterion used is first official language spoken, the proportion of visible minority members jumps to about 23% of Montreal's English-speaking population and a little over 18% for the province of Quebec. In the 2001 census, Montreal's FOLS-English visible minority population will likely be between one-quarter

and one-third of the total group. This will no doubt have a major impact on the community's self-definition and its future institutional needs.

B. Mobility

1. Employment and Income

Quebec immigrants who knew either English only or both English and French upon arrival fare reasonably well in terms of economic integration. For example, tracking immigrants over the years 1980-1995, one finds that immigrants who knew English only upon arrival had the lowest unemployment levels of any of the linguistic groups. They also ranked nearly as low in the collection of welfare benefits as those immigrants who knew both English and French at the time of arrival. Much of this success has to do with the profile of those immigrants who spoke English only upon arrival, in particular between 1980 and 1990. A study conducted by Quebec's Conseil de la langue française found that at least 80% of mother-tongue-English immigrants operate primarily in English in the workplace, while over 10% use mostly French (Béland, 1999).

Highlights from the data

- In the years 1991-96 there was an increase in the concentration of English-speaking immigrants in the Montreal area and a decline in the share of new arrivals settling in the rest of Quebec.
- There were more business class immigrants who spoke only English upon arrival than those who spoke only French.
- Overall, nearly 50% of Quebec's English-speaking immigrants come from countries where new arrivals are identified as visible minorities in Canada.
- Close to a quarter of Montreal's English-speaking population are members of visible minorities.

Table 29

Did the extent and quality of French language instruction that you received prepare you to be successful in Quebec?

	Born in Canada (%)	Born outside Canada (%)
Yes	39	28
More or less	10	8
No	44	32
Did not learn French	6	30
DNK / Refusal	1	2

Source: CROP-Missisquoi Survey of anglophones, 2000.

In sum, the experience of Anglophone immigrants is quite similar to that of the broader Anglophone community with respect to the situation in the workplace. But when asked about the support extended to Anglophones relative to the acquisition of the French language, both immigrants and non-immigrants express concerns. In a sweeping attitudinal survey of Quebec Anglophones, half the non-immigrants indicated some degree of satisfaction, but only a little over one-third of Anglophone immigrants responded positively. The major difference is in the extent to which Anglophone immigrants declare that they did not learn French (Table 29).

2. *Language Transfers*

The transfer from English mother tongue to French spoken in the home is quite infrequent among Quebec immigrants. Some 6% of all such immigrants have made such a language shift. This rate is somewhat less than the overall percentage of language transfers among

non-immigrants whose mother tongue is English. But these shifts were offset by the transfer from French to English that took place among immigrants whose mother tongue was French. Such immigrant shifts from French to English have recently diminished. More than half the approximately 4,700 mother-tongue-English immigrants who switched to speaking French at home were from the United States.

3. *Interprovincial Migration*

The factors that motivate the departure of Quebec's English-speaking immigrants for other provinces are generally similar to those of the broader Anglophone population. We noted earlier that since 1980 Quebec has experienced a net loss to the other provinces of nearly 25% of all immigrants who spoke English only upon arrival. As Table 31 shows, immigrants report that they are more inclined to leave for educational and economic opportunities, while non-immigrant English speakers more

Table 30

Transfers of English-mother-tongue immigrants to French spoken at home, to 1996

	Number of transfers	Transfer rate (%)
Before 1951	475	5.9
1951-1960	590	5.9
1961-1965	340	6.2
1966-1970	470	4.7
1971-1975	720	6.8
1976-1980	595	7.7
1981-1985	400	6.7
1986-1990	515	6.6
1991-1996	570	6.2
Total	4,685	6.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Compilation, 1996.

Table 31

Main reasons identified by immigrant and non-immigrant English Quebecers in a potential decision to move to another province

	Born in Canada (%)	Born outside Canada (%)
Educational opportunity	7	13
Economic opportunity	24	31
Politics	26	15
Feeling of discrimination	5	15
Family reasons	13	11
Retirement	3	4
Other / no reason	22	10

Source: CROP-Missisquoi Survey of Anglophones, 2000.

frequently cite political considerations. A greater share of Anglophone immigrants cite discrimination as a factor in the decision to leave the province.

The various institutions of the Anglophone community may be able to play a greater role in the efforts to retain English-speaking immigrants in the province if they are provided with mechanisms to support this objective. Another matter that merits attention is the perception of Quebec society that Anglophone immigrants have prior to their arrival. According to an SOM/La Presse/Radio-Canada survey, about 50% of Anglophones who chose to settle in the province saw no differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada.

Highlights from the data

- Tracking immigrants who arrived between 1980 and 1995, one finds that immigrants who knew English only upon arrival had the lowest unemployment levels of any of the linguistic groups.
- The transfer from English mother tongue to French spoken in the home is quite low among Quebec immigrants. Some 6% have made such a language shift.
- Quebec's English-speaking immigrants report that they are more inclined to leave the province for better educational and economic opportunities, while non-immigrant English speakers more frequently cite political considerations.
- Quebec's English-speaking community has become more diverse over the past 30 years due to a considerable change in the source countries of immigrants in this period of time.

Shortly after their establishment some 80% changed their view, approximately one-third for the better and one-third for the worse. It is worth noting that some 80% of Anglophones say that they have made efforts to reach out to the Francophone population (SOM/La Presse/Radio-Canada, October, 2001).

4. Role of the Community in Immigrant Integration and Retention

From a qualitative standpoint it would be fair to argue that the English-speaking population, particularly in the Montreal area, has historically enjoyed and continues to benefit from a significant degree of institutional depth. Still, the important demographic changes to the community have modified its institutional needs. For the most part English language institutions do not aim at the integration of new immigrants. Under the education provisions of the *Charter of the French Language*, English language schools no longer focus on immigrant integration. Yet there are a number of social agencies toward which English-speaking immigrants gravitate.

C. CIC's Action Plans and Quebec Anglophones

CIC has recommended a number of initiatives in its action plans regarding its section 41 obligations with respect to Quebec's English speakers, namely:

- maintaining co-operative relations and the communication of departmental information to organizations representing Quebec's linguistic minority;
- raising awareness of official language minority communities about the department's citizenship and immigration program;
- participating in joint advisory panels whose members include organizations

- representing Quebec's Anglophone minority;
- developing objectives for the Regional Management Committee with regard to Part VII of the OLA;
- consulting on issues of common interest with representatives of organizations representing Quebec's Anglophone community;

- improved understanding of common objectives, identification of avenues for further co-operation, and development of projects for the next three years.

CIC must ensure that its action plans are implemented effectively to promote the harmonious integration of immigrants to Quebec's English-speaking community.

Discussion/Policy Implications

The demographic data presented in this chapter underscore the critical role that immigration plays in supporting Quebec's Anglophone communities. These data show that a very significant share of the Anglophone population was not born in Canada and that the current share of English-speaking immigrants exceeds the share of the Anglophone population within Quebec. The overwhelming majority of these immigrants settle in Montreal, where the Anglophone community is very diverse in its ethnic composition and possesses considerable experience in the integration of Anglophone immigrants. The situation is different in the Laurentians, Quebec City, Outaouais and the Eastern Townships since there are fewer immigrants and a lesser degree of Anglophone community organization.

From an economic standpoint, the performance of English-speaking immigrants has been reasonably good. Moreover the data suggest that the workplace values bilingualism and many Quebec immigrants claim knowledge of both official languages. Still, Anglophone immigrants complain of inadequate French language training.

The principal challenge in the relationship between immigration and the promotion of the vitality of the Anglophone community is the retention of the new arrivals. There is a very high rate of interprovincial migration of English-speaking immigrants, and it is important to provide the organizations of the communities with the ability to counteract this phenomenon by instilling in immigrants a sense of community.

V. CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the 21st century, immigration is the single most important factor contributing to the real growth of Canada's population; in the past 15 years alone, it has accounted for approximately 50% of this growth.

Historically, immigrants helped strengthen the position of the English-speaking population while the Francophone population relied primarily on natural increase for population growth. When the Francophone birth rate declined around the 1960s, immigration became important to Francophone population growth as well. Subsequent Quebec government initiatives are an example of the way immigration policy can support the demographic vitality of linguistic communities: between 1968 and 1999, some 310,000 French-speaking immigrants have entered the province. Francophone immigrants will undoubtedly continue to play an important role in the demographic renewal of the French-speaking population of Quebec.

In addition to a low birth rate, a significant rate of language transfers to English among Francophones outside Quebec makes the situation particularly acute for these official language communities. The 1996 census indicated that language loss or transfers rose from 30.1% to 31.3% outside Quebec (persons for whom French was the first language they had learned and still understood but for whom English was the language they used most often in their home). While the situation varies from community to community, immigration is as important a component of demographic renewal for Francophone communities outside Quebec as it is for the majority.

The demographic data presented in chapter II point to a significant disparity between the number of English-speaking and French-speaking immigrants who come to Canada: 3.6% French-only speakers compared with 78.8% speakers of

English only. Although the percentage of Francophone immigrants relative to Anglophone immigrants has shifted slightly upward since 1961, this is mainly due to Quebec's recruitment of French-speaking immigrants. Unlike Quebec, the federal government does not make any direct effort to recruit French-speaking immigrants overseas. CIC can do much more in this area: the department should develop benchmarks to increase the number of Francophone immigrants who will settle in regions outside Quebec and these benchmarks should be reviewed annually to measure progress in this area. Government regulations and policies must support these goals.

The situation with respect to Quebec's Anglophone communities is somewhat different. While immigration has contributed to their growth, the very unfavourable rates of interprovincial migration culminated in significant population losses from 1971 to 1986. Most English-speaking immigrants settle in Montreal where the Anglophone community is very diverse in its ethnic composition. The principal challenge for the Anglophone communities is the retention of new arrivals. In order to counteract the very high rate of interprovincial migration, it is important to ensure that Anglophone institutions have the ability to counteract this phenomenon by instilling in immigrants a sense of community.

There are problems for minority official language communities with respect to settlement and integration issues as well. The capacity of the official language communities to integrate Francophone immigrants who do settle in communities outside Quebec is often quite low. The Commissioner of Official Languages observed in a report in 1996, which proposed an action plan for implementing Part VII of the *Official Languages Act*, that Canada's minority official language communities, with the exception of English Montrealers, frequently lack the

resources to create the institutions and structures needed to help immigrants adapt to their new environment. This study confirms this finding and goes further, proposing that minority official language communities must be supported by the federal government at all levels of the process, from planning to settlement and integration activities. There is definitely a need to reach out to Francophone

immigrants outside Quebec who may be unaware that Francophone institutions exist and that many services are available in French. As far as integration is concerned, it is a two-way process that ultimately implies a change in the identity of the host community as well as of the new arrivals.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Policies and Principles

- Governments must clearly recognize that immigration plays an important role in modifying the demographic character of Canada and of its official language communities and is thus critical to the promotion of vitality.
- An integrated approach must be enunciated by the federal government and objectives, regulations and policies with respect to demographic renewal of official language communities put in place and acted upon, in close collaboration with the affected communities.
- As to immigration policy, any modifications to the point system should support knowledge of official languages and not limit the importance of the knowledge of the second official language relative to the first. To do so would be inconsistent with the objectives of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* with respect to linguistic duality.
- With respect to the recent federal-provincial immigration agreements, the provincial authorities must be sensitive to the obligation to support the linguistic vitality of official language communities and should work with the communities in this regard. Where such agreements exist, federal-provincial action plans for the promotion of linguistic vitality should be developed jointly by the federal and provincial governments, in consultation with official language communities.
- There should be greater harmonization between the official languages and multicultural policies in support of the intersection of official language and ethnocultural communities.

Recruitment and Promotion

- A strategy with regard to Francophone recruitment should be developed; benchmarks should be established to increase Francophone immigration to minority language communities and reviewed annually to ensure progress in this area.
- The recent introduction of a number of federal-provincial immigration agreements should result in initiatives that involve cooperation between the linguistic communities and federal and provincial authorities.
- As to promotion, CIC should provide more information about support for the linguistic vitality of official language communities and the availability of services. Potential candidates should be made aware of the important historic and contemporary contribution of official language communities to Canada. Federal and Quebec authorities should work together to ensure harmonization in the information issued to immigrants by CIC and the MRCI.
- The federal government should support efforts to attract immigrants from official language communities in missions abroad. Leadership from official language community organizations should be invited to join missions to recruit immigrants and inform them about resources available in the communities.

Settlement and Integration

- In order for minority official language communities to play their role in encouraging immigrants to come to their areas, welcoming them and helping them integrate into Canadian society, they must be supported by the federal government at all levels of the process, from planning to settlement and integration activities.
- CIC, Canadian Heritage and HRDC (Human Resources Development Canada) should support the creation of hubs or centres in the various official language communities along the model of the Carrefours d'intégration in Quebec. These centres should be used to draw immigrants from official language communities into closer contact with the members of the linguistic community.
- The existing service organizations of Quebec's English-speaking community should develop a more formal mechanism to address the needs of immigrants. CIC and Canadian Heritage should assist Quebec's Anglophone institutions outside Montreal to ensure that they have adequate resources to serve new arrivals who are Anglophone and help them integrate into their communities.
- Improved French language training should be provided for English-speaking immigrants to Quebec.
- There should be increased outreach to involve ethnoracial Francophones in national organizations that represent official language communities. As an interim measure a national advisory body should be established that reflects the diversity of the official language communities. The objective of this advisory body would be to propose measures to ensure greater inclusion of the ethnoracial minorities in the institutions of the community.
- The Multiculturalism Program of Canadian Heritage should support cross-cultural initiatives in official language communities and programs aimed at sensitizing service providers to the needs of ethnoracial Francophones.
- Where relevant, intercultural sensitization programs should be expanded in the school system to help school personnel confront the challenges of diversity. The Department of Canadian Heritage should provide greater support for the development of such programs.
- CIC and Canadian Heritage should work with HRDC to expedite the recognition of immigrants' educational and employment credentials. The relationship between language knowledge and the recognition of credentials should be examined.

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