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Francophone Immigrants outside Quebec and Anglophone Immigration in Quebec: A Comparatative Statistical Data Analysis

In this article, French-speaking immigrants who settle outside Quebec are referred to as “French-speaking immigrants”, similarly, “Francophone immigration” refers to the arrival of French-speaking immigrants in Canadian provinces and territories other than Quebec. The statistical data analysis shows that there are strong distinguishes between immigrants, who speak French as their first official language and those who speak both English and French as their first official language. According to the statistics, there are differences between these two groups in terms of their demographic and socio-economic characteristics. This article also marks English-speaking immigrants who settle in Quebec are referred to as “English-speaking immigrants”, similarly, “Anglophone immigration” refers to the arrival of English-speaking immigrants in Quebec.

Keywords: Anglophones, Francophones, immigrants, Canada, statistics.

Франкомовні іммігранти за межами провінції Квебек та англомовна імміграція в Квебеку: порівняльний аналіз статичних даних

Демографічні зміни в канадській федерації під впливом імміграції спричиняють дискусії довкола моделі мовної двокультурності. Для франкомовної громади, ідентичність якої історично базувалась на традиційних наріжних каменях парафії та церкви, перехід від французько-канадської громади до різномовної франкофонської громади є сучасним чималим викликом. Ця спільнота переживає період переосмислення. Їй необхідно бути готовим як до приїзду новопрібулих, так і до міграції в за межі провінції Квебек.

У той же час життєздатність офіційних мовних спільнот Канади внаслідок приїзду франкомовних іммігрантів є спонукою для франкофонії. Питання імміграції, різноманітності, інтеграції та розміщення важливі як для Канади в цілому, так і в Квебеку зокрема, але вони іноді витлумачуються як загроза тому, що усвідомлюється як сутнісний виклик національній ідентичності.

Важливість імміграції для англомовних громад у Квебеку є вагомою проблемою. Перешкоди, котрі стоять перед англомовними новопрібульцями у місті Квебек-сіті є критичним елементом в активізації англомовних громад у вказаній провінції.

У цій статті франкомовних іммігрантів, які поселяються за межами Квебеку, названо «франкомовними іммігрантами», аналогічно, «франкофонна імміграція» стосується приїзду франкомовних іммігрантів до канадських провінцій та територій, окрім Квебеку. Статистичний аналіз даних вказує на чіткі відмінності між іммігрантами, які розмовляють французькою як їх першою офіційною і рідною мовою, та тими, хто розмовляє англійською та французькою мовами як лише офіційними мовами. Відповідно до аналізу наведеної статистики, існують відмінності між цими двома групами з точки зору їх демографічних та соціально-економічних характеристик. У цій статті також зазначено, що англомовних іммігрантів, які поселяються в Квебеку, означено як «англомовні іммігранти», аналогічно, «англомовна імміграція» означає прибуття англомовних іммігрантів у провінцію Квебек.

Ключові слова: англофони, франкофони, іммігранти, Канада, статистика.

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Although the vitality of Canada's French-speaking communities varies significantly from Canadian region to region, these communities have made major strides over the past few decades. However, if French-speaking communities were able to attract more French-speaking immigrants, they would be more likely to grow, thus fostering the personal and professional development of Canadian society.

According to Statistics Canada, these communities have received little benefit from immigration, given the strong propensity of immigrants to integrate into the English-speaking majority community.

"Statistics Canada's Statistical Portrait of the French-speaking Immigrant Population Outside Quebec (1991 to 2006)" contains the recent census data on demographics as well as on geographical distribution and socio-economic characteristics. According to the study, in 2006, 70% of French-speaking immigrants lived in Ontario. Furthermore, two thirds of French-speaking immigrants lived in Toronto, Ottawa and Vancouver. Compared with other immigrants, a large proportion of French-speaking immigrants came from Africa. French-speaking immigrants were a relatively young population compared to non-French-speaking immigrants, with a large proportion of the 0- to 19-year-old age group. French-speaking immigrants also had higher education levels than Canadian-born Francophones and non-French-speaking immigrants. However, the study also found that French-speaking immigrants were more likely to be unemployed than non-French-speaking immigrants. Major factors in employment included the period of arrival in Canada and the continent of birth. African immigrants appeared to be at a particular disadvantage². Although challenges exist, there are ways to narrow the demographic gap between English- and French-speaking immigrants outside Quebec and to address their linguistic, cultural and social integration in order to ensure that immigration becomes the same powerful development tool for French-speaking communities that it is for Canada's two majority language communities. As will be seen later on in this section, this will happen only if the federal government ensures strong leadership on this issue. In 2003, the federal government established a minimum target of 4.4% for French-speaking immigrants who arrive in Canada and settle outside Quebec, so that French-speaking communities could maintain their relative demographic weight. At the time, it was expected that this target would be reached by 2008, but it was pushed back to 2023³.

There are a number of reasons why French-speaking communities are having difficulty attracting and retaining immigrants. Lacking the proper information, too many French-speaking immigrants are unaware before they arrive that there are French-speaking communities all across Canada into which they can easily integrate. As a result, the idea of settling in those communities is not even on their radar.

Furthermore, English-speaking and bilingual organizations that have been established in the provinces and territories to provide support to immigrants do not always inform newcomers of the option of settling in a local French-speaking community and receiving certain key services in French instead of English. For example, these organizations sometimes tend to refer French-speaking immigrants to English-language schools, even when there are French schools in the community. Or, for lack of knowledge, they do not disabuse many French-speaking newcomers who "think they must register their children in an Anglophone education system in order to learn English" and, as a result, "settle in Anglophone regions or neighbourhoods"⁴. However, when support is offered by French-speaking organizations, French-speaking newcomers tend to forge strong ties with their new communities.

Government and socio-economic decision-makers are not always fully aware of the advantages of having French-speaking communities in their province, territory or municipality, or of new French-speaking immigrants arriving in their region. Consequently, they are not doing everything they can to recruit more French-speaking immigrants. However, all Canadians benefit from vibrant French-speaking communities. According to a study commissioned by the "Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité du Canada", "knowledge of French plays a key role in the... vitality and productivity" of the country's economy and "bilingual citizens generate added value in terms of business performance"⁵.

²Statistical Portrait of the French-Speaking Immigrant Population Outside Quebec (1991 to 2006), URL: www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-641-x/2010001/chap8-eng.htm.

³Seizing the Opportunity: The Role of Communities in a Constantly Changing Immigration System, URL: www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/412/ollo/rms/02Dec14/Report-e.htm.

⁴Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, URL: www.parl.gc.ca/content/sen/committee/412/OLLO/07EV-51481-e.HTM.

⁵Canada promotes bilingualism as an asset for national and international trade, URL: www.rdee.ca/index.php/

Francophone immigration is not a new phenomenon. However, it was not until the 1990s that communities undertook their first major study on the subject: *"The Future of Francophone and Acadian Communities in a Pluralistic Society: Facing Pluralism"*. In 1999, the "Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada" continued this analytical process by embarking on a cross-Canada "Dialogue" tour. Following that initiative, a working group recommended that the Fédération and its members establish a national committee responsible for developing an immigration action plan.

In 2002, Citizenship and Immigration Canada implemented the recommendation, creating the Citizenship and Immigration Canada-Francophone Minority Communities Committee. The committee would identify strategies for increasing the number of French-speaking immigrants and work to facilitate their reception and integration. In 2003, the Citizenship and Immigration Canada-Francophone Minority Communities Committee published the *"Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities"*. In its first five-year action plan on official languages, the federal government also signaled its intent to earmark \$9 million for projects to promote immigration to French-speaking communities⁶. The year 2003 also saw the launch of "Destination Canada"⁷, an event aimed at promoting Canada and its French-speaking communities to prospective immigrants from Europe, Africa and the Middle East. Provinces, territories and community associations are involved in organizing the event, described in 2010 by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Official Languages as a best practice.

In 2008, in its *"Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality 2008-2013: Acting for the Future"*, the Government of Canada announced its intention to continue encouraging immigration to French-speaking communities. The Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency received \$10 million over five years to attract more French-speaking immigrants to New Brunswick⁸.

However, concerns over immigration began to emerge in the early 2010's. The government subsequently adopted the *"Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages 2013-2018: Education, Immigration, Communities"* which gave Citizenship and Immigration Canada nearly \$30 million to spend in support of immigration to French-speaking communities⁹. But, at the same time, Citizenship and Immigration Canada closed some of its regional offices and cut funding to French-speaking communities for travel to Europe and Africa to participate in "Destination Canada". Furthermore, the federal government has adopted a brand-new immigration policy focused on economic development.

The main goal of the federal government's new immigration policy is to make it easier to recruit immigrants with job skills that are in demand in Canada. It is based in large part on the creation of the Express Entry system, which allows the federal, provincial and territorial governments, as well as employers, to select economic immigrants who are most likely to integrate successfully, instead of choosing the ones at the top of the waiting list. The policy also sets new rules for temporary workers, foreign students and refugees.

The changes could have a positive impact, depending on what steps the federal government, its partners and the French-speaking communities take in coming years.

Businesses will also be playing a greater role than in the past in sourcing skilled workers eligible to immigrate to Canada. According to a study commissioned in 2013 by the Ministerial Conference on the Canadian Francophonie, French-speaking communities will therefore "have to switch from a reactive approach to the reception and settlement of immigrants who go to organizations and institutions within the community to a proactive strategy"¹⁰. In other words, they will have to establish close partnerships with English- and French-speaking employers in the area to encourage them to give priority to hiring French-speaking immigrants. In addition, French-speaking communities will have to per-

en/actualites/rdee/177-le-rdee-canada-fait-valoir-que-le-bilinguisme-est-un-atout-pour-le-commerce-national-et-international.

⁶ *Annual Report. 2014/2015. of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Ottawa, Minister of Public Works Government Services Canada, 2015, p. 20.*

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, p. 21

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ *Analysis of Reforms to Canada's Immigration System and Its Implications on Communities of the Canadian Francophonie*, URL: www.cmfc-mccf.ca/docs/publications/Final%20Report%20%20Analysis%20of%20impacts%20.

suade businesses and business support organizations to add French-speaking countries to the list of countries – currently mainly English-speaking – where they have been recruiting new workers.

The new immigration policies target foreign students who have been in Canada for a few years and are therefore more likely to integrate successfully. Governments will have to give post-secondary institutions in French-speaking communities and their partners more resources if they are to attract and retain more French-speaking foreign students. According to the “Association des universités de la francophonie canadienne”, these institutions will have to take measures that include making orientation services in French more readily available for foreign students and offering programs that teach skills that are in demand in the students’ host communities¹¹.

French-speaking communities must be invited to take part in the discussions on immigration in order to help them adapt to the new reality. Citizenship and Immigration Canada has established a new Official Languages Secretariat and for enhancing the operation of the Citizenship and Immigration Canada-Francophone Minority Communities Committee. The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration announced consultations in order to identify and define ways or practices for increasing the number of French-speaking immigrants settling in French-speaking communities. However, a few days after the announcement, Citizenship and Immigration Canada then abolished the Francophone Significant Benefit program. The program sought to facilitate the temporary immigration of French-speaking professionals and skilled workers outside Quebec.

Clearly, French-speaking communities will not be able to attract and retain the immigrants they need unless the government adopts a Francophone perspective on immigration issues and implements programs that meet the specific needs of the communities.

Quebec is, as it always has been, the cradle of French-speaking America. No other place in North America is home to as many Francophones. In 2011, 86% of Quebecers, or close to 6.7 million people, were French-speaking¹². No other place in North America has French as its sole official language.

While there is no denying that French language and culture make Quebec unique, it would be wrong to think that English is a foreign language and culture there. English speakers have been present in Quebec for more than 250 years, a consequence of the signing of the Treaty of Paris, which made New France a British colony.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s Statistical Portrait of English-speaking Immigrants in Quebec is based on data from the 2006 Census and contains the most recent information on English-speaking immigrants. In 2006, just over half (53%) of Canadian-born English-speaking Quebecers and nearly three quarters (73%) of English-speaking immigrants lived in Montreal. High proportions of English speakers, both immigrants and nonimmigrants, also lived in Monteregie (11% and 16%, respectively), Laval (8% and 7%, respectively) and Outaouais (3% and 8%, respectively)¹³.

Statistical data also examined immigrants who spoke English as their first official language and those who spoke both English and French as their first official language. It found that those who spoke English as their first official language were more likely to be older and better established and less likely to know both official languages or have a mother tongue that is neither English nor French. They were also more likely to be of South Asian or Chinese origin, whereas those who spoke both English and French as their first official language were more likely to have Latin American or Arab origins. While keeping mind that there are various factors that can affect socio-economic status, it appears that immigrants who spoke both English and French as their first official language in 2006 were more highly educated and had higher employment rates, although their median employment income was lower¹⁴.

The study highlighted the diversity of English-speaking immigrants in Quebec as a whole and in its different economic regions. For instance, significant differences were observed in the rates of English-French bilingualism among English-speaking immigrants in various regions¹⁵. Given that immigrants

¹¹ *Proceedings of the Senate Standing Committee on Official Languages*, URL: www.parl.gc.ca/content/sen/committe/412/OLLO/06EV-51383-e.HTM.

¹² *French and the Francophonie in Canada*, URL: http://www.12statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-X/2011003/tbl/tbl3_1-2-eng.cfm.

¹³ *Statistical portrait of English-speaking immigrants in Quebec (1991 to 2006)*, URL: www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/research/english-quebec/section8.asp.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

can acquire a knowledge of both official languages over time, it is interesting to observe that among English-speaking immigrants, more than half immigrated before 1991, a quarter between 1991 and 2000 and a fifth between 2001 and 2006¹⁶.

“Only in Quebec was there-relatively steady growth in the rate of bilingualism in each period from 1961 to 2011”¹⁷. In 2011, English-speaking Quebecers had a bilingualism rate of 61 % (compared with 6% for English speakers in the rest of Canada), while French speakers outside Quebec had a bilingualism rate of 87% (compared with 38% for French-speaking Quebecers)¹⁸.

To a certain extent, the challenges facing Quebec’s English-speaking communities in terms of immigration are similar to those in French-speaking communities outside Quebec. Some are having difficulty attracting a sufficient number of English-speaking immigrants to offset low birth rates and the exodus of their young people, and to revitalize their institutions over the long term. For example, taken together, the English-speaking communities in eastern and northern Quebec account for 5% of the province’s English speakers, but only 1 % of English-speaking immigrants have settled there¹⁹.

However, the province’s English-speaking communities face four other challenges that are not strictly demographic in nature. These challenges are hindering their revitalization and undermining their vitality.

Firstly, the contributions of English-speaking Quebecers and English-speaking immigrants do not always receive the recognition they should in Quebec. In reality, English speakers are helping the province hold its own in every sector of activity.

For example, Quebec has 2,2 times more English-speaking entrepreneurs than French-speaking entrepreneurs²⁰. Five of the ten chief scientific discoveries in Quebec in 2013 were made by researchers who speak English as their first official language²¹. And English-speaking immigrant artists such as David Homel and Rawi Hage are showcasing Quebec culture and Quebec as a whole through their translations and original works.

Secondly, too many English-speaking Quebecers are leaving the province each year to settle elsewhere in Canada or abroad. One out of every eight is an immigrant²². Their leaving deals a substantial blow to the English-speaking communities from which they came and to Quebec as a whole, as many of them are younger and more educated than the average Quebecer, and a greater proportion of them: are bilingual.

Thirdly, the English-speaking communities have organizations that can provide effective support to English-speaking immigrants. However, those organizations are not officially recognized by the Government of Quebec. Consequently, they do not have all the resources they need to provide English-speaking immigrants with the support that would help them to improve their knowledge of French and of Quebec, and to take part fully in its advancement.

Lastly, although Citizenship and Immigration Canada provides fairly significant and stable funding for research on Francophone immigration, this is not the case for Anglophone immigration. As a result, we know relatively little about the subject, which makes it difficult for concerned parties to make informed decisions.

The federal government’s recent changes to Canada’s immigration system will not apply to Quebec. Under the 1978 Cullen-Couture Agreement and the 1991 Canada-Québec Accord relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, Quebec has sole jurisdiction over the selection and reception of most of the immigrants who settle in the province, as well as their linguistic and cultural integration. It also has sole discretion as to the number of immigrants it admits each year.

The objectives of the Cullen-Couture Agreement were to preserve Quebec’s demographic weight within Canada and to integrate immigrants into Quebec society in a manner that respects its distinct

¹⁶ *Statistical portrait... Op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Insights of Canadian Society*, URL: www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-006-x/2013001/article/11795-eng.htm#a.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Statistical portrait... Op. cit.*

²⁰ *Indice entrepreneurial québécois 2011: La culture entrepreneuriale au Québec*, URL: http://blogue.entrepreneurship.qc.ca/index.php/actualitésJond-ation/_devoilement-de-lindice-entrepreneurial-quebecois-2011.

²¹ *Les 10 découvertes de l’année 2011*. URL: www.quebecs-cience.qc.ca/de-couverte2013

²² Quebec’s English-Speaking Communities: From Myth to Reality, URL: www.parl.gc.ca/Content/SEN/Committee/411/ollo/rep/rep02oct11-e.pdf.

character. Although those objectives have been attained for the most part, the fact remains, according to the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, that “the legislation and policies in place limit the recruitment and retention of immigrants and newcomers in Quebec’s English-speaking communities”²³.

To resolve the issues noted above, all those involved in and affected by the issue of Anglophone immigration will have to work together. The case of Québec City provides insight into what has to be done to ensure that English-speaking communities and English-speaking immigrants can thrive in Quebec society and contribute fully to it.

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²³ *Quebec’s English-Speaking Communities... Op. cit.*