

**IMMIGRATION AND MINORITY GROUPS:
TRENDS IN THE MULTICULTURAL POLICIES OF QUEBEC**

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CERTIFICATE

It is certified that the Dissertation "**Immigration and Minority Groups: Trends in the Multicultural Policies of Quebec**", submitted by **Miniya Chatterji** for the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is a bonafide work to the best of our knowledge and may be placed before the examiner for their consideration. No part of this dissertation has been published or presented for the award of any degree to any other university of India.

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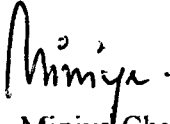
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PREFACE

Preface

Immigration is a major issue, among others, for demographic balance and the future of linguistic duality in Canada. Over the past fifteen years, immigration has accounted for approximately fifty per cent of Canada's population growth. Fifteen years ago in 1988, the government of Canada adopted legislation through its Official Languages Act that reaffirmed linguistic duality as a fundamental element in Canadian identity. Part VII of the Official Languages Act of 1988 commits the federal government to take measures to enhance the vitality of the official language minorities and support their development; and foster the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society. Consequently, in the 2001 census, 17.7 per cent of Canada's population was bilingual. On the other hand, 22.7 per cent of Canada's population was French language speaking – they were called Canada's francophone people as opposed to the anglophones who were the English language speaking people. Today amongst Canada's ten provinces, it is in Quebec and adjacent parts of Ontario and New Brunswick that eighty six per cent of all bilingual and most of Canada's francophone population live.

The francophone province of Canada, viz. Quebec, calls itself a 'distinct society' due to its distinct language, culture and history. Thirty three per cent of Quebec's population speak French at home, while nine per cent are English speaking. Quebec having a total population close to seven million, representing about twenty five per cent of Canada's total population of thirty million, is also one of the most affected by Canada's changing ethnic and linguistic patterns. The reasons could be traced down to the fact that the status of the majority population in Quebec – that of the francophones – is somewhat peculiar. Analysts do agree that when the Quebecers are seen in the larger context as part of the population of Canada, the French Canadians themselves are a minority in the mostly anglophone Canada. But, the question of calling the Quebecers as a 'minority' is a complicated proposition. Quebecers like to believe that they are one of the three 'founding nations' of Canada, -- the other two being the indigenous people and the Anglophones. It is ironic that the three founding nations are also called 'national minorities'. It brings in the complexity of the definition of minorities in the context of Quebec. It also brings in the case of the minority immigrant groups in Quebec. When the

francophone Quebecers themselves are a minority in Canada, what is the status of minority immigrant groups entering Quebec? How does one define the status of these immigrant groups in Quebec? Are they then minorities within minorities? What is the definition of a minority group in this context? Understanding the position of the immigrant groups in Quebec would hence lead to an understanding of what is the status, problems, challenges, and factors leading to government policies for the immigrant groups in Quebec. It is imperative at this stage to first define a minority group in the context of Quebec.

From the very first days of its existence, the question of how to define a 'minority' was on the agenda of the United Nations Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, established in 1947.¹ Since then, numerous attempts have been made to reach an agreement on this question. Although no definition of a minority is universally recognized and not one of the normative instruments dealing with the rights of persons belonging to minorities adopted by the United

¹ Michael Banton and William Safran, *Multiculturalism: A Policy Response to Diversity*, (Ottawa, 1995), p. 9.

Nations or UNESCO contains any formulation in this respect, nevertheless one can observe that draft definitions, despite concrete formulations, repeat certain elements: (a) a group that is numerically inferior; (b) is in a non-dominant position; (c) has certain characteristics (identity), of culture (ethnic, religious, linguistic) which distinguishes it from the rest of the population; and has (d) a sense of solidarity or will to safeguard their characteristics.

It is to be noted here that some of these elements are subjective and, as such, open to various interpretations and understandings, as the various studies carried out by the United Nations on this question show. As is the case with the adoption of the General Assembly Resolution 47/135 contained in the 1992 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, notably normative instruments may regulate questions of the rights of persons belonging to minorities without containing any definition of this notion.

The notion of 'minority', as implied by normative instruments, is a restrictive one and it applies only to national, ethnic, religious, linguistic groups and is not related to other disadvantaged groups such as women, children, aged, etc.; neither for that matter, does it cover indigenous people.

Applying the above definition, the perspective that French Canadians are a minority group in Canada, is supported by all the elements of the above definition. (a) The francophone Quebecers are a group numerically inferior to the anglophones; (b) They are in a non-dominant position politically and, as Quebec nationalists would claim, they are culturally dominated too; (c) Quebec has certain characteristics of French language, a distinct culture and a set of values, which distinguish them from the rest of the population; (d) Last but definitely not the least, Quebecers have a strong sense of solidarity and will to safeguard their characteristics. The last element of the definition is important, where the solidarity amongst Quebecers seems to lie in two factors: the French language and its preservation; and the French Canadian culture and its protection.

Having defined the Quebecers as a minority, it would be important to now examine the question of immigrants. What is the status of the immigrants in Canada? This leads one to ask what then is their status in the already a 'minority' society of Quebec? The status of immigrants in Canada and Quebec respectively is briefly examined below. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) -- set up in 1964 to study and recommend solutions to problems in relations between the 'two founding nations' of anglophones and francophones in Canada, -- had observed that the proportion of Canadians who are neither of British nor French descent had risen from eleven per cent in 1881 to twenty six per cent in 1961; and that 'other' ethnic groups could in future eventually constitute a majority of Canadians. The 'other' ethnic groups most definitely implied the immigrants to Canada. Since the focus here is largely on linguistic issues, it is important to note that most new immigrants have 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 recognised the importance of immigration to the continued growth of the country, it had noted in its 1969 report that this disproportionate growth could lead to a relative decline of the French-speaking community, as a

proportion of the whole population. Accordingly, in the decades since the Royal Commission, immigration has continued to grow and revitalise Canadian society, but its impact has continued to be felt predominantly among the English-speaking community. Today, of the nearly five million immigrants who live in Canada, some 3.8 million speak English only, about 0.18 million speak only French, and nearly 0.6 million speak both the 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 Quebecers are not very optimistic about the evolving situation of the French language in Canada, and for that matter about the entire process of immigration.

What then is the reaction of the Quebecers to this situation? A minority in Canada and North America, French Canadians have always feared assimilation. It is a natural impulse, and it flavours many aspects of their French society. The Quebecers hence, as many critics state feel 'threatened'. Secondly, the electoral principle of 'representation by population' in its operation means that the decline in the demographic

weight would naturally lead to proportionally fewer members in the House of Commons.² Worse, it portends the loss of political weight for the Quebecers. Hence, both culturally and politically, the Quebecers feel threatened by the possibility of its assimilation into the anglophone Canadian society.

It is for this reason that Quebec needs to boost the number of francophone immigrants into Quebec. For this, firstly Quebec needs to encourage immigrants into the province, and secondly it also needs to integrate them. What is integration? Cultural integration has been traditionally interpreted as assimilation, which is defined as the adoption of a dominant national culture by minorities. This notion is strongly anchored in nationalist thought which has been described as a dynamic movement of cultural homogenisation. On the other hand, pluralistic cultural integration can be defined as mutual acceptance of cultural differences plus shared democratic norms. How pluralist is Quebec's policy of integration of its immigrants is a question of much debate, but what can be clearly said is that the special thrust of Quebec's policies remains linguistic integration.

² Stevenson Garth, *Canadian Politics: Past, Present and Future*, (Ontario: 1992), p. 56.

The hypothesis finds that Quebec follows a policy of integration of its immigrants through the propagation of the French language. This means that it is primarily through language that Quebec attempts to integrate its immigrants to become 'Quebecers'. However a researchable question here is that can Quebec's immigration policy help Quebec to meet its goals? Following makes a modest assessment of the current immigration initiatives, which address Quebec's commitment which are designed to strengthen these objectives in the areas of immigration and linguistic integration of its minority immigrant groups. Immigration and linguistic issues being a vast and one of the most widely researched subject, the present study restricts itself to studying the linguistic integration of immigrants in Quebec focussing on issues particularly in the fields of education and employment.

Some of the questions asked are, that given the particular cultural and political situation of Quebec, what is the nature of Quebec's integration policies for its immigrants? How can the government promote education and also welcome more immigrants, yet urge them to move into the francophone linguistic domain? What are the problems and challenges that

immigrant students face in the education system in Quebec? What are the employment issues immigrants face?

The monograph is a modest effort in seeking answers to the questions raised. Being a preliminary effort, the monograph is largely descriptive. Since not much of primary source material could be made available, the reconstruction of events is largely based on secondary source material of books and periodicals and newspapers such of those that are available in India. The conclusions drawn on the basis of the account are by no means definitive. What is attempted is an analytical survey of the policies and explanations offered by scholars on Quebec's immigration and integration policies.

The chapterisation scheme in the monograph is as follows: The first chapter outlines some crucial social and demographic factors which highlight Quebec's need for control over its immigration policies. Some relevant aspects of Quebec's nationalism is traced in an attempt to understand Quebec's needs to proclaim itself as a 'distinct society'. Through this, firstly it is found that French language propagation amongst

the immigrants is a useful tool to preserve Quebec's distinct society. The language propagation requires Quebec to have control over the immigrant 'integration' policies in Quebec. Secondly, the study moves on to briefly study Quebec's dwindling population graph. This again points to Quebec's incentive to exercise control over immigration matters so as to boost its sagging demographic situation.

The first chapter having established Quebec's need to control its immigrant intake, the second chapter wholly concentrates on the consequent evolution of Quebec's immigration policies. For this, it first outlines Canada's federal multicultural policy. Quebec's own perception of the Canadian multiculturalism – or 'Interculturalism' – is introduced. It then traces how this led to the various intergovernmental agreements between Quebec and Ottawa, thereby allowing Quebec considerable control over immigration matters. Finally, through a brief overview of some of Quebec's concerns and policies about immigration, the significance of language propagation is emphasised.

The third chapter studies some of the issues pertaining to the integration of immigrants in Quebec. The previous two chapters having already introduced Quebec's emphasis on the significance of language propagation amongst its immigrants, this chapter focuses only on Quebec's linguistic integration policies. It examines the integration practices for immigrants in the domains of education and employment, thereby proving the hypothesis that in order to support the survival of its 'distinct society', and to retain its political and social status in Canada, Quebec's practice of French language propagation is the principal tool for linguistic integration of minority immigrant groups into the francophone fold.

CHAPTER I

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN QUEBEC

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN QUEBEC

The very need for immigrants in Quebec arises first and foremost out of the province's incapability to naturally reproduce itself. Amongst other factors, this demographic need has played an important role in shaping Quebec's immigration policy trends. Secondly, Quebec which proclaims itself as a 'distinct society' in Canada, emphasises upon the French whose presence was in Canada before the English made its conquest in 1756. Quebec asks for special status on grounds that the majority population of Quebec which is the French, is thus one of the three 'Founding Nations' of Canada -- the other two being the indigenous people and the English. A number of factors primarily arising from Canada announcing its multicultural policy and opening its gates to welcome large number of immigrants, Quebec fears dilution of its culture amongst the diverse culture of the large number of new immigrants. For this reason and many more, Quebec hammered for special rights to decide its demographic composition, finally succeeding in the passing of the Bill 75, which created the Quebec Ministry of Immigration. This was a major earmark in Quebec's struggle to retain its linguistic and cultural distinction. The chapter traces some of the major factors, which led to Quebec's clamour for control over immigration and the integration of its immigrants in the

province. It first examines some aspects of the nature of Quebec nationalism thereby highlighting the significance of language issues in Quebec – which are further elaborated upon in the second section of the chapter, while the third section studies certain aspects of Quebec's demography. The three sections thus lead to the conclusion that immigration is significant to maintain Quebec's social, linguistic and demographic profile. In outlining these social and demographic factors, the chapter serves as a background for the following chapters of this study.

The Nature of Quebec Nationalism

One could perhaps trace much of Quebec's present day needs, policies, and demands vis-à-vis the federal government, to the peculiar nature of its nationalism. At the core, to a large extent, is the federal-provincial issue: Quebecers feel a need to protect their culture and language, so as to avoid dilution of their identity in the midst of the large number of other ethnic groups entering Canada. Yet, they also claim that they have always tried to come to an agreement with their partners in the Canadian federation, in the form of a pact between 'peoples'. They believe that one can belong to the Quebec people and also be part of a

multinational Canadian state. On the other hand, the federal government, it is felt, does not support a 'multinational' state. Quebec's insistence at various points of time for establishing itself as a 'distinct society' has thus created ripples in its federal-provincial relationship with Canada.

Contrary to popular belief, Quebec nationalism is not merely sovereignist in nature – which means that Quebec nationalists do not only comprise of Quebecers clamouring for its separation from Canada. Quebec nationalism is a complex subject comprising of varied political stands. For the purpose of the present study, only select observations of Quebec nationalism, relevant to the theme of this study, shall be examined.

The nature of Quebec's nationalism is often observed by critics to be twofold: While for the Quebecers the nationalism is based on protection, often there are the nationalists who do stress more on political separation. The following section of the study shall first examine nationalism as a social process by tracing the development of nationalism amongst the Quebecers. The latter section shall study the

Quebec nationalism as a political process, focusing on the political developments, referendums, significance of the referendum results and the political reasons and implications behind it.

The development of nationalism as a social process amongst the Quebec people first demands a brief outline of the pre-1840 nationalism, then followed by an examination of some of the aspects of the post-1840 Quebec nationalism. Prior to 1840, the Quebec region had been 'la nation canadienne'. A new self-definition was soon needed because the francophones here wished to continue their separate course of existence. Hence the nation of the 'French Canadians' was born. The expression did not merely say that there existed Canadians that spoke French. It affirmed the existence of a separate people, of a nation. Thus, the 'we' shifted from 'Canadien' to 'French Canadian'. The very change of the description of the nation is a powerful signal of the desire of the nation to distinguish itself, to affirm its separate identity, to be wary of its integration and assimilation to the rest of the continent or the country.

The stages and factors leading to this development could be traced. From 1830 to 1930, the emigration of between 0.8 million to one million French Canadians -- forty per cent of the population of Quebec -- was one of the most traumatic events to have fallen upon the nation.¹ In practice, what it did was to remove precise borders around the nation. The scattering of the nation to different parts of the continent like New England, the American Midwest, in Ontario or Northern New Brunswick, as well as in Quebec, raised difficulties in the creation of a nation-state and also raised the question of its survival. According to Claude Bélanger, a Quebec historian at the Marianapolis College, “survival is a constant theme that runs through the period. The survival of the community against the assimilation plans of the Union Act; the survival of the French minorities in the rest of Canada or in the ‘little Canadas’ of the United States; the survival of a small nation, ‘*un petit peuple*’ against the incredible pressure of the North American environment. The theme of ‘*la survivance*’ cannot be divorced from the realisation of the minority position of the nation. French Canadians were not only a nation. They were a minority nation...”²

¹ Claude Bélanger, *Events, Issues and Concepts of Quebec History*, (Marianapolis: 1999), pp. 1-5.

² Ibid.

The theme of survival hence begun, was a constant current flowing in the years ahead. However, after 1840, debates were found to be focused on the three pillars of survival. The first of these pillars was Catholicism. The nation was a Catholic nation, with a Catholic mission, on a Protestant continent. Next came the French language as the second pillar, important as a cultural heritage inherited from the ancestors. Language was important because it was deemed that '*la langue est la gardienne de la foi*' (language is the guardian of the faith). The third pillar was the institutions that served to distinguish the nation and separate it from the rest. These were the legal (French civil law), familial (large family system based on the traditional role of the mother) or institutional elements (seigniorial system, classical colleges, co-operative movement) that characterised the nation and had to be preserved if the nation was to last.

After the 1840s, a second major component of discussion amongst the nationalists appears to be the embattled nature of the nation. In their mental universe, the nation was under constant attacks or threats. For example, firstly was the threat posed by the Union Act -- The Act had

united Quebec with Ontario, and by this process removed even the small measure of self-government that the nation had had previously. As French Canadians were increasingly scattered throughout the continent, including in various parts of Canada, they now faced the real threat of assimilation. The 'threat' was increased by the *les autres* (others) as they annulled French-Catholic minority school rights in several areas. Thirdly, the Anglosaxon victory in the eighteenth century over the erstwhile French settlers in Canada, sparked off the birth of certain Anglosaxons who felt themselves to be superior to the remnant French population. The Quebec nationalists added fuel to fire by feeling threatened and "hounded" by these "white Anglosaxon racialists"³. Worse, they lost no time in trying to spread this message amongst the francophone Canadians. For example, Belanger's writings have a nationalist streak in describing this period in Quebec history:

"Throughout Canada, French-Catholic minorities were systematically attacked one after the other in an attempt to make them conform to the White, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant mould. Everywhere, outside of Quebec, minorities, racial, ethnic or linguistic, were hounded. French-Catholic minorities stood as a symbol: their presence said that difference was acceptable and good, that diversity was welcomed. Their eradication would give to all the same message: conformity was what was desired. Even arguments that rested on the nature of

³ Ibid.

Canada, the protection of the Constitution, and the evidently special position of the French-Catholics as one of the founding people of Canada fell on deaf ears. In New Brunswick, in Manitoba, in the Northwest and in Ontario their rights were curtailed. If the nationalists were so unsuccessful in spreading the idea of an embattled nation, of a nation under siege, and of portraying *les autres* as a threat, it was because it was so patently a reality.”⁴

A fourth threat that the Quebec nationalists felt came from war, and their natural extension: conscription. Conscription meant going to fight the war. When the French in Quebec were asked to adhere to the conscription for war, the rising Quebec nationalists at this time described the Anglosaxons as imperialists who they felt were invariably most opposed to French Catholic rights. The Quebec nationalists felt that conscription denied the basic equality of French Canada with English Canada. How far the nationalists represented the opinion of the larger Quebec people is debatable. Further how far even the accusations of the nationalists are justified has been a question of great debate too.

⁴ *ibid.*

As the end of the nineteenth century was reached, Canada and its French speaking province of Quebec entered a feverish phase of industrialisation. This led to the birth of another form of threat to Quebec nationalists: Even though industrialisation improved the standard of living of the population and eventually, slowed down considerably the emigration of French Canadians to the United States, but industrialisation also led to urbanisation. In sharp contrast to urbanisation, the nationalists were often strong believers in agriculturalism. Agriculturalism in opposition to the growing industrialisation, stood for traditional means of agrarian production, indigenous source of production and favoured an agrarian society. This also led inevitably to the proletarianisation of the nation, where the problem lied in the fact that the French Canadians did not enter the phase of industrialisation as captains of industry but as lowly, unskilled, and dominated workers. They were a vast working-class people dominated by Anglo-American capital.

Finally, industrialisation and urbanisation also brought the French Canadians for the first time in their history in close contact with the anglophones. As the English completely dominated the economy of the

province, except for agriculture, the English language became the primary language of business. French was largely immaterial to economic success in the province. “French was a second class language, easily discounted, almost irrelevant. Those who wished to rise had to learn English and shed their French ways. In the meantime, the language of the French people deteriorated, and became peppered with anglicisms. This aspect also provided endless opportunities for the nationalists to write and preach.”⁵ One of the most prominent nationalist organisations was the *Société du bon parler français* (Society for good spoken French), which emphasises the importance that the nationalists gave to the protection of the French language.

As the twentieth century advanced, factors contributed to move the federal system of Canada toward centralisation. In centralisation, the nationalists found another great ‘threat’. When Confederation was established in 1982, a division of powers was effected between the federal and the provincial governments. In general, at the insistence of Quebec to a large extent, the powers with the greatest incidence on culture, language and society were given to the provinces. In this

⁵ *ibid*

manner, the social institutions of Quebec were put beyond the grasp of the anglophone majority. The Quebec nationalists believed that only a francophone majority in Quebec could be trusted to handle them in a manner that would not injure the culture of the people. These powers defined the extent of the self-government put in the hands of the nation. To accept to transfer powers to Ottawa, where francophones were in minority, was to reduce the extent of the self-government possessed by the nation, and to threaten the integrity of the cultural and social institutions that characterised it. Clearly, this could not be allowed, even when the federal government proposed measures that would have alleviated great problems in Quebec. So, the nationalists mounted campaigns against centralisation, and stood squarely behind provincial autonomy. However, with provincial autonomy, it was not so much the sphere of jurisdiction of the provincial government that they sought to protect but, rather, the control over the educational, health and social services that the Roman Catholic clergy exercised in Quebec. Provincial autonomy was necessary so that the pillars of survival would remain unaltered and unchallenged.

The last but not the least of the great dangers that some nationalists felt menaced the nation, was the growing immigration in Canada. One observes once again a nationalist spirit in Claude Belanger's writings,

“On this point (of immigration in Quebec), we touch one of the most sensitive elements of the nationalist thinking of the ultramontane period. When studying the attitude of the French Canadian nationalists toward immigration in general, it should be remembered that at no time in the period under question was there ever a desire in the federal government to present immigration to the people of Quebec in such a manner that it would appear that immigration made a positive contribution to the preservation of their nationality. On the contrary, the federal government conducted its immigration policy oblivious to the goals of the people of Quebec. This is especially striking when, otherwise, it is very evident that it reflected very well the desires of English-speaking Canadians on immigration. Thus, it is not surprising that there was not a very positive response to immigrants in Quebec.”⁶

Belanger voices the nationalists point of view, but the common man's concern about immigration in Quebec was that every time an immigrant landed in Canada, the proportion of French Canadians in the country decreased accordingly. Therefore, immigration was an important issue to the common Quebecer. As Belanger later also says, “...in analysing the attitude of Quebec...to immigration, the minority situation of the nation should be kept in mind.” However, in spite of some strong sovereignist nationalists, Quebecers in general showed a

⁶ Ibid.

good deal of tolerance and acceptance of those who came and settled among them. In fact in many respects immigrants were less discriminated against here in Quebec than they were elsewhere in Canada. For example immigrants who were blacks, were subjected to segregated schools in Ontario and Nova Scotia, but they suffered no discrimination in Quebec. Nationalism in Quebec was thus primarily borne out of the 'threat to the survival of the Quebec identity and its distinct society'. Apart from the fierce sovereignists, Quebecers generally put forth an accommodating attitude towards immigration, yet due to the factors explained above in this chapter, Quebec also wanted to maintain its distinct cultural identity in Canada. For them, even though most were clearly averse to Quebec's distinct culture and society getting submerged amongst the large numbers of immigrants to Canada – still this did not necessarily mean they wanted Quebec's separation from Canada. The political processes of referendums in the recent years clearly proved this.

The political nature of the process of the growth of Quebec nationalism is based in large part on referendums held in the 1980s and 1990s.

These are the culmination of long negotiations which have been going on for the thirty years between the 1950s to the 1980s. The transformation of French-Canadian nationalism into Quebec nationalism took place during the 1960s. The 1960s marked the 'Quiet revolution' in Quebec. One result of this process has been a series of platforms adopted by various Quebec governments since the 1960s. A few examples of these are the 1962 government's request that Quebec be granted special status; the position of the Daniel Johnson government, based on the principle of 'equality or independence'; the 1967 position of the Liberal party, which proposed a framework between 'associated states'; and the position of the 1970 Robert Bourassa government -- reiterated in 1973 and 1976 -- which requested that Quebec be granted a 'distinct society' status.

However, Quebec's demands for political autonomy met with failure. For example, Quebec's rejection of the Fulton-Favreau's 1964 proposal regarding the constitutional amending formula which granted a veto to all the provinces; the rejection of the report issued by the 1967 commission on bilingualism and biculturalism which recognised Canada's bicultural status; the failure of the 1971 Victoria Conference

which did not propose a sharing of powers compatible with the structure proposed by Quebec and the rejection of the P  pin-Robarts Commission report⁷ which proposed an asymmetrical federalism.

All of these fruitless negotiations led to the election of the sovereignist Parti Qu  b  cois in 1976, which promised to hold a referendum on Quebec sovereignty. This referendum, which took place in 1980, was to conclude a process of national affirmation that had begun in the 1960's. Its purpose was to give Quebec a mandate to negotiate political sovereignty and an economic association with Canada. A victory for the 'yes' side would give rise to a second referendum in which the Quebec people would be given a chance to ratify such an agreement. This referendum resulted in defeat for the sovereignists, who won forty per cent of the vote, as opposed to sixty per cent for the supporters of federalism.

In 1981, the repatriation of the constitution took place, which essentially enabled Canada to modify its own constitution. The Quebec

⁷ P  pin Jean-Luc and Robarts, John, *Task Force on Canadian Unity*, (Ottawa: 1978).

nationalists claimed that this was done without reaching a preliminary agreement among the provinces concerning a new sharing of powers between the levels of government, as Quebec had been demanding. While the federal government tried to incorporate Quebec's demands as much as possible, the Quebec nationalists were not happy. When this new constitutional law took effect in 1982, they complained that the people had not been consulted about the law. In addition, according to these nationalists, the federal government ignored a resolution put forward by Quebec's National Assembly, which rejected the new constitution which they felt contained several new clauses which limited Quebec's power over matters of language and culture. Therefore, the constitution which has governed Canada since 1982, was not signed by Quebec.

Following this repatriation, Quebec tried to negotiate constitutional amendments to its favour. However, once again it did not succeed in its efforts. On June 1987, it asked Canada to adopt five clauses, contained in the Meech Lake Accord that would fulfil the conditions for Quebec's signature. The five conditions were: Recognition of Quebec as a distinct society; Increased powers over the selection and settling of immigrants; Participation in appointing Quebec judges to

the Supreme Court of Canada; Limitation of the federal government's spending power; Recognition of a veto right for Quebec over constitutional amendments. This attempt failed in 1990, since legislatures of two provinces refused to ratify the accord.

Immediately, the government of Quebec in power formed a commission on the political and constitutional future of Quebec. This was the Belanger-Campeau Commission which after hearing the testimony of people recommended in 1991 that the Quebec government begin preparation for a second referendum on sovereignty to be held the following year, if no formal offer was made by Canada. The Canada-wide referendum on the Charlottetown Accord was proposed in 1992. It was basically a rehash of the Meech lake Accord. The Canada Clause which protected ethnic duality, rather than bilingual characteristics, was revoked. It included a 'Triple-E' Senate which meant a senate whose representative numbers were equal by Province. Besides, it also included a commitment to negotiate right to self-government of First Nations, and included a social charter to complement the Canada Clause. On October 26, 1992, separate referenda in Canada and in Quebec rejected the accord.

Between 1980 and 1995, Quebec was thus witness to the repatriation of the Constitution, the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, the Belanger-Campeau Commission and the failure of the Charlottetown Accord. At the time of the 1993 federal election, the *Bloc Québécois*, a new federal party working to advance Quebec sovereignty, appeared. The party won fifty-four out of Quebec's seventy-five seats in Parliament. On the other hand, in Quebec in the 1994 provincial election, the Parti Québécois regained power in the Quebec National Assembly by promising to hold a referendum on sovereignty the following year. This referendum took place in October 1995.

The referendum question of 1995 proposed that Quebec would become politically sovereign with a political and economic partnership with Canada. If the 'yes' side were victorious, the process leading to sovereignty would begin, after allowing one year for an agreement concerning the offer of partnership to be reached with the rest of Canada. The referendum took place on 30 October 1995. Quebec once again was defeated. The results were 50.6 per cent for the NO side and 49.4 per cent for the YES side, with a record voter turnout of 93.5 per cent.

The close result of the referendum meant that this issue is far from being resolved. The anglophone Quebecer's opposition is clearer since most anglophones want to remain in their country, Canada, and do not wish to see themselves become a linguistic minority in a new country called Quebec. As for the opposition by new immigrant Quebecers and those whose first language is neither English nor French, several other factors come into play. For example, some immigrants believe that it is more economically advantageous to integrate into North America's majority anglophone linguistic community. Language thus playing a clearly significant role in Quebec nationalism, the following chapters of the present study, shall examine some of the factors related to linguistic issues in Quebec.

To conclude, the above examination of Quebec nationalism shows that, Quebecers in general, while protecting their distinct identity, are open to the idea of belonging to Canada. However, they are still confronted with long-standing friction between the federal-provincial tussle, which has witnessed the Quebec nationalists accusing Canada to have refused to acknowledge its multinational character in the constitution.

It accuses Canada to have refused to grant Quebec full power over cultural (language, culture, communications) and economic (manpower training, unemployment insurance, regional development) matters. According to nationalists, within Quebec territory these responsibilities should be under the control of the Quebec government. They complain that the federal government also refuses to limit its own spending power and continues to interfere, most notably by imposing so-called 'national standards', in sectors which are under exclusive provincial control, such as education and health. The nationalists also claim that the Canadian government also refuses to explicitly recognise a genuine asymmetry in the sharing of powers, which would reflect the fact that Quebec is one of the founding peoples of the country. According to them, these constitutional, political and administrative impasses occur because Canada refuses to recognise the existence of the Quebec people and its own wide-ranging diversity. They opine that instead, Canada is engaged in a process of nation building. For example, nationalists say that the federal government imposed a Constitution which enshrines a Charter of Rights and Freedoms that essentially recognises individual rights, and remains silent on the subject of collective rights, most notably the existence of the Quebec people. In addition, this Charter limits Quebec's power over language and

education. The nationalists point out that taken collectively as a nation or a people, Quebec is not represented within the sovereign state of Canada, since Quebec has not signed the Constitution in 1982. Finally, nationalists add that constitutional documents make no mention of the Quebec people and that delaying the implementation of a bilingual Constitution by approving French translations of constitutional laws is interpreted as one more way in which the federal government rendered the Canadian Constitution invalid within Quebec territory.



The federal government at its end have tried to as far as it has been possible, to accommodate Quebec's demands. A question that Canadians often ask is "What does Quebec really want?": The popular consensus being that the Quebecers are a tough people to please. The results of the two referendums in 1988 and 1995 could be considered as a fairly conclusive observation of the nature of the nationalism of the citizens of Quebec. The results of both the referendums prove that because of the many close, mutually advantageous economic, political and social ties already existing between Quebec and Canada, separation of Quebec from Canada is not desirable by the citizens of Quebec themselves.

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Therefore the referendums have been a quantifiable opinion of the Quebecers on this issue. The choice of the people against sovereignty show that the strong grudges against the federal government must mostly emanate from the Quebec nationalist group alone, which does not necessarily in any way represent the opinion of the Quebec people. For the Quebecers, their interest lies in protecting their identity and distinct society, a continuation of their quest for survival against the 'threats' imposed by the dominant anglophone society. Political independence is less important to them, as long as the French Quebec identity is preserved. The French language being a predominant factor of the Quebec identity, the preservation of the French language thus holds utmost importance.

Significance of Language Issues in Quebec

Today, Quebec as one of Canada's ten provinces has a total population close to seven million, representing some twenty five per cent of Canada's total population of thirty million. Thirty three per cent of Quebec's population is French speaking -- viz. people speaking French at home most of the time -- whereas, nine per cent are English speaking, a further seven per cent speak neither French nor English as

their primary language, and the eleven native nations within Quebec territory total about sixty five thousand people.⁸ For these statistics, the Census of Canada is no doubt the single best source of data. Pertaining to official languages, the long form of the Census, asks three questions as listed below. Various other statistics, such as language continuity and transfer rates, are all derived from these data. The 1996 Census asked the following three language questions:

Table 1

<p>LANGUAGE</p> <p>Can this person speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?</p> <p><i>Mark one circle only.</i></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> English only</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> French only</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Both English and French</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Neither English nor French</p>
<p>What language does this person speak most often at home?</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> English</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> French</p> <p>Other – Specify</p>
<p>What is the language that this person first learned at home in childhood and still understands?</p> <p><i>If this person no longer understands the first language learned indicate the second language learned.</i></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> English</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> French</p> <p>Other – Specify</p>

Source: Statistics Canada (Ottawa: 1996).

⁸ Statistics Canada, (Ottawa:1996).

According to these reports of the Census, the French language is most definitely largely concentrated in the province of Quebec at about 2.31 million francophones, with the other provinces recording much lesser numbers. This is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Language Continuity Index – French				
Province/Territory	1971	1981	1991	1996
Newfoundland	0.63	0.72	0.47	0.42
Prince Edward Island	0.60	0.64	0.53	0.53
Nova Scotia	0.69	0.69	0.59	0.57
New Brunswick	0.92	0.93	0.93	0.92
Ontario	0.73	0.72	0.63	0.61
Manitoba	0.65	0.60	0.49	0.47
Saskatchewan	0.50	0.41	0.33	0.29
Alberta	0.49	0.49	0.36	0.32
British Columbia	0.30	0.35	0.28	0.29
Yukon	0.30	0.45	0.43	0.46
Northwest Territories	0.50	0.51	0.47	0.43
Canada less Quebec	0.73	0.72	0.65	0.64

Source: Censuses of Canada, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996.

In contrast to the other provinces, Québec's 2.31 million francophone population makes French language as a strong identifying factor to mark Quebec as a 'distinct society'. However the fact that French as a minority language throughout North America also makes the position of French extremely insecure on the continent. This makes linguistic issues an important point of emphasis for Quebec. This section of the chapter shall elaborate upon Quebec's immigration policies, and in what ways, if true, have they been based on the need to defend the French language and promote Quebec's distinct culture.

Two sets of language laws seem to be at work in Quebec. Firstly on one hand, the Canadian government promotes countrywide bilingualism. On the other hand, in the province of Quebec, the government tries to promote the French language, specifically by promoting French in education, in the workplace and on public signs. Some of these issues would be briefly examined.

French is Quebec's official language. Even if Quebec claims that its English speaking community has always had the right to maintain and develop its own institutions, especially in the fields of health and

education, many citizens have regarded the measures taken by Quebec to protect French, as excessive.

Secondly, another indicator of the French language's significance in Quebec's immigration policies has been the degree of ability of the French majority to integrate immigrants. In Quebec, the assimilation rate of immigrants is 40 per cent -- this is a rate lower than that in other provinces. The reason being that the assimilation rate records 'overall integration' which means integration of an immigrant in all spheres of public life. Quebec's specific emphasis is on linguistic integration in lieu of 'overall integration', hence this explains the low rate recorded of immigrant assimilation in Quebec. But what this also indicates is Quebec's priority of emphasising on linguistic integration rather than overall integration.

Thirdly, inter-provincial migration of immigrants from Quebec to other provinces is an important issue for Quebec today. There is the issue of the English-speaking Quebecers' mobility towards the other provinces. But some researchers find that it perhaps is a direct result of Quebec's emphasis on the French language that drives the immigrants away to other anglophone provinces where they would find a lesser push to

learn the French language and would find English as a language that is economically more viable.

Quebec's propagation of the French language is thus credible. Quebec's policies aim at integrating immigrants through language, which means promoting their use of French as a common language in public and at work. This needs to be done carefully because on one hand integration of its immigrants is necessary for Quebec, yet if not carefully handled, it would drive the immigrants to other anglophone provinces, or worse still it would lead to the Anglicisation of existing francophones. For example, research finds that there are many more anglicised French-speaking Quebecers than there are francised English speakers. Does this mean that many original francophone Quebecers are now joining the anglophone block? For the Quebecers, this could well lead to a disastrous situation of even lesser francophones than the ones existing now. Therefore the policy of 'promotion of use of French in education and workplace' has been emphasised. It has met with some degree of success, since a number of non-French speakers have adopted French as their language outside their home. But are their numbers sufficient to ensure Quebec's goals? If so, then to what degree has it been successful?

The adoption of the 1969 Official Languages Act marks a clear watershed in public policy towards francophone communities throughout Canada. For the first time, the federal government and gradually, the provinces took an active role in supporting the development and vitality of francophone communities. Also, one of the most important developments from a policy perspective was the adoption of the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Not only did it give constitutional status to the declaration of English and French as the official languages of Canada, but it also guaranteed access to minority language schooling and required that provinces put in place the minority school governance structures. Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms is thus undoubtedly one of the most crucial policy initiatives in terms of its potential impact on minority community vitality. Finally, it was the 1988 Official Languages Act which highlighted the broader vision of French and English languages within Canadian society.

The Federal government claims that Canada is a fairly decentralised federation in its language policies towards its provinces.⁹ Thus, it believes that many of the government services and policies that impact most directly the vitality of minority language communities are in areas of provincial jurisdiction. The federal government further says that it has traditionally supported the expansion of provincial services through the use of the federal spending power.

On the other hand, for Quebec, language issues are undoubtedly extremely important. The Quebecers do bear a constant grudge against the federal government of 'not having done enough' to protect Quebec's distinct language and society. Thus as pointed out earlier, they take it upon themselves to protect their language and culture from assimilatory threats. Some of the recurrent questions that have emerged are: Has Quebec's language policy made a difference? Is Quebec's language policy worth the political and financial cost?

The Quebec government's view point vehemently reasons this linguistic integration as necessary not only for the survival of the

⁹ Michael O' Keefe, *Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*, (Ottawa, 2003), p. 224.

French-speaking community but also for the welfare of the immigrants themselves, who, "by mastering the language of their new community, will be able to participate in civic life as full-fledged citizens and avoid becoming ghettoised. A common language allows people of various cultures to coexist in mutual understanding, instead of living uneasily side by side, divided by barriers to communication."¹⁰ Yet, perhaps what really lies at the core of the provincial Quebec government's stress on the French language, is its need for politically fortifying its identity in Canada. To this question, various opinions exist.

According to Jean-Maurice Simard, the New Brunswick senator, assimilation of linguistic minorities is a form of cultural 'cleansing', leading to the 'balkanisation' of Canada.

"With the current inaction in regards to assimilation, the eventuality is that the francophone population...concentrated in Quebec and New Brunswick, therefore creating poles of cultures in Canada. This would mean the deterioration of the fabric, which built this nation. We could even say it is a form of 'cleansing'."¹¹

Another point of view comes from Alberta Reform MP Cliff Breitkreuz, who sat on the House of Commons Joint Standing Committee on Official Languages for several years. He agrees that

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Kate Jaimct, *The Ottawa Citizen*, Newspaper 11 June 1999, p. 2.

assimilation of francophones is an undeniable fact. But, Breitreuz argues, it's not something the government should interfere with. Breitreuz says, "The 'two founding nations' notion, I think, is ridiculous,"¹². He believes that Simard's sketch of a Canada where francophone communities are concentrated in Quebec, New Brunswick and Eastern Ontario is not a horror scenario, but simply a description of reality. He thinks Canada's language policy should be changed to conform to that model. He supports recommendations made in previous government reports, which include: creating a Secretary of State for official languages; protecting the principle of bilingualism as the federal government transfers services to the provinces and the private sector; and creating a sixty million dollar fund to support projects in anglophone and francophone minority communities. But Mr. Breitreuz stresses on the fact that people would get along better if the government kept out of language issues, "...once you start enacting legislation -- and the federal government comes down with heavy hands and starts handing out money left, right and centre -- that doesn't sit too well with a lot of Canadians."¹³

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *ibid.*

Most critics however do agree that linguistic assimilation of immigrants does seem to enjoy a high priority for the Quebec provincial government, and that various measures adopted by successive Quebec governments -- both sovereignist and federalist -- have slowed down the tendency of immigrants to integrate into the English-speaking community. However, this is constantly counteracted by the economic, political, cultural and linguistic pressures to which new Quebecers feel themselves constantly threatened.

According to some experts, Quebec's precarious language situation is worsened by the fact that some of its nationalist leaders harp on the fact that Canada fails to recognise the national character of the French language, understood as the common language of all Quebec citizens. Furthermore, the Quebec nationalists complain that the Canadian government is engaged in a process of nation building. Nation building means developing a single civic identity which obscures the country's multi-national character: Then, in a multicultural country like Canada, the citizens may certainly adopt a common civic identity, but such an identity could only be viable if the existence of the state's various component nations were recognised. Therefore the process of nation-building in Canada results in the recognition of the culture of every

new immigrant in the country. This threatens the position of Quebec as a distinct culture and society.

However, the Canadian government stand on this issue is that, firstly it implements a bilingualism policy, which states that the entire country is officially bilingual; secondly its multiculturalism policy which is based on the principle that all cultures within Canadian territory are equal, officially promotes the integration of immigrants into either one of its two official linguistic communities; -- Then how can the federal government be accused if most immigrants to Canada integrate into the English-speaking community?

It can be concluded in this section of the chapter that the evolution of Quebec's nationalism played a role in building the spectre of assimilation which has haunted some francophones within Canada for at least two centuries. However, it was observed that most Quebecers have always accepted cultural diversity and the enrichment it brings and have long considered it as an advantage to identify with both Quebec and Canada. Consequently, as the results of the two referendums demonstrated, they prefer to have Quebec's specific needs taken into account within the federal system. Therefore, choosing to

remain a part of Canada, linguistic integration of Quebec's immigrants increases the population of French speakers in Quebec, while strengthening its position as a distinct society within Canada.

Demographic Dynamics in Quebec

The motto "*Je me souviens...*" (I remember...) shows that since the 1759 conquest of the English over the French in Canada, Quebec has wanted to maintain a French-speaking society surrounded by the English speakers in the North American continent. It was in the backdrop of the American revolutionary movement against the British in the southern thirteen colonies, that the 1774 Quebec Act gave the French a much debatable autonomy to preserve their unique economic and cultural life pattern so that they would choose to stay within the British Empire. After the Quebec Act, as briefly described in the first chapter of this study, Quebecers struggled hard for survival as an integral unit, avoiding the constant threat of their assimilation into the majority anglophone population. To carry the discussion forward, the following traces the demographic dimensions of Quebec and its linkage with the role of language propagation in the question for identity.

In the 1760s, Quebec had recorded the highest birth rate ever at 65.3 per thousand persons in the history of any white race. It has been described as the very beginning of the 'revenge of the cradle'. Quebec's population went on increasing. But in contrast, the situation today seems to be much different. In fact, Quebec is currently threatened with the possibility of a surrender to eroding demographic forces. In a parliamentary system in which the principle 'representation by population' is in operation, the decline in the demographic weight naturally leads to proportionally fewer Members of Parliament in the House of Commons. In the Charlottetown constitutional round, this long-standing anxiety caused Quebec to demand that twenty-five per cent of Members of Parliament be guaranteed to them permanently, regardless of future population change.¹⁴ Quebec's worries are aggravated by the fact that its birth rate has declined rapidly after the 'Quiet Revolution' in the 1960s. The revolution brought about secularization, urbanization, and modernization in Quebec society resulting in the Catholic Quebecers using birth control measures and having smaller families. The population began to decrease and as a consequence, Quebec realized the importance of immigrants to strengthen the decreasing French society. Therefore, a once self-

¹⁴ Stevenson, n.2.

contained French Canadian society in Quebec now would need immigrants to prevent a gradual numerical decline, or at worst an eventual disappearance within the North American continent.

The Quebec government has two principal demographic objectives: Firstly, the maintenance of Quebec's proportion within the confederation; and secondly, improving the ratio of francophones to anglophones within Quebec. The first objective requires a strong flow of immigration in to Quebec. The following table compares the number of immigrants landing and settling in Quebec with Ontario and other provinces of Canada.

Table 3

Number of Immigrants by Country/Continent of Origin in Canada, Quebec, Ontario, and all Other Provinces Combined, 1996

	Canada		Quebec		Ontario		Other provinces	
	Fr	Eng	Fr	Eng	Fr	Eng	Fr	Eng
Total	337,400	160,815	93,855	105,430	8,210	40,660	15,335	4,725
U.S.	14,430	990	10,400	625	1,290	225	2,740	140
Central and South Amer	28,730	14,215	27,680	9,900	705	2,930	345	1,385
Carib and Brmuda	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
W. Cent Asia & M. East	25,315	27,055	22,350	18,570	2,290	6,900	675	1,585
South East Asia	19,860	15,025	18,520	11,070	810	2,550	530	1,405

Source: Statistics Canada, (Ottawa: 1996).

The Table also describes the language spoken by the immigrants upon arrival in Quebec. Quebec attracts the largest number of francophone immigrants. Even though immigrants who are francophone upon arrival greatly help Quebec further its goals, the Quebec government wishes to further strengthen the francophone character of Quebec.¹⁵

Quebec's demographic concerns are fed on a large number of factors. In the first place, the fact that along with all other advanced, industrial countries, Canada has undergone a rapid decline in the birth rate in the post-war period, results in its birth rate now hovering around only 1.7 per cent, which is far below a replacement level of 2.1 per cent.¹⁶ But the province of Quebec has recorded an even sharper drop in its birth rate, in comparison to Canada as a whole. While Quebec used to boast of the highest rate among the Canadian provinces, in the 1980s it slipped to the lowest rung of the population ladder. With remunerative baby bonuses offered by the provincial government, it has risen enough to be placed at least above some Atlantic provinces.¹⁷

¹⁵ R jcan Lachapelle, Jacques Henripin, *The Demolinguistic Situation in Canada: Past Trends and Future Prospects*, (Montr al: 1982), pp. 50-53.

¹⁶ Statistics Canada (Ottawa: 1996).

¹⁷ Jacques Henripin, *Na tre ou ne pas  tre*, (Qu bec: 1989).

However, Quebec's province fertility rate is still running around 1.6 per cent below the national average.

Secondly, in addition to its low birth rate, Quebec suffers a net loss in inter-provincial migration. Residents' mobility rights within Canada are guaranteed under the 1982 Constitution. The primary factor, which affects the population movement is economic. Economic prosperity attracts people from sluggish or depressed areas. For example, Alberta's magnetic power during the oil boom drew the Quebecers to Alberta. On the other hand, the movement of Quebecers to British Columbia is often influenced by its stronger social welfare system while the movement to Vancouver Island, especially to Victoria, can be explained mainly by climatic factors. Quebec has thus always been a great population loser in inter-provincial migration.¹⁸

Canada accepts the largest number of immigrants on a *per capita* basis in the world. Immigrants who come to Canada can choose their particular areas of settlement. Although the federal government has

¹⁸ Jean Dumas and Alain Bélanger, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1995: Current Demographic Analysis*, (Ottawa: 1996), p. 86.

tried to avoid concentration of immigrants in large cities and to spread them out in rural areas, immigrants are provided with a mobility right, once on Canadian soil. Federal government's concerns are more with their distribution along urban-rural lines than with patterns of settlement among the provinces. Quebec loses a fair number of newcomers to the other provinces.¹⁹ The government of Quebec has thus taken various measures to fight the problem of a sagging population ratio vis-à-vis the rest of Canada. One of these measures entails offering financial incentives to couples to have more children. However, such a policy has only a small effect on Quebec's population change. In effect immigration has become a more attractive policy option. Gradually over the years Quebec policy-makers have found it in their interest to increase the number of immigrants who go to Quebec and wish to live there permanently. This also brings in the question of economic disparity. The immigrants' main reasons for moving to a new country include improvement of economic prospects. It raises some problems, as a high percentage of immigrants to Quebec, or for that matter to any developed country originate in the developing countries. Further, a consequence of Quebec's racially neutral immigrant selection system is that a large number of newcomers are

¹⁹ Jean-Pierre Rogel, *Le défi de l'immigration*, (Québec: 1989), pp. 58-59.

poor, non-white immigrants mainly from developing countries. Besides these immigrants, a significant number of Natives living in the northern part of the province also need to be recognized as Quebecers not only in form but in substance. How to integrate these people successfully into a Quebec society, is a major challenge for Quebec.

However, according to a more optimistic scenario, it may be hoped that the population of Quebec at 7.3 million in 1996, will slowly increase until settling around 8.6 million beginning in 2041. On the other hand, a pessimistic scenario also forecasts a population decline beginning in 2011, with a total of 5.63 million being projected for 2051 -- that is, a decrease of twenty three per cent.²⁰ For either of the two scenarios to materialize, three major factors influence demographic growth in Quebec: birth rate, immigration, and inter-provincial migration. If the optimistic scenario is to materialize, the three factors must continue to remain on average at levels equal to the best performances recorded in the early 1970s. Quebec's future, not only as a geographic and demographic unit, but also as a full-fledged, French-speaking society, cannot be viewed optimistically unless successive

²⁰ Population Index, (Ontario), Volume 54, Number 4, 1988.

generations are constantly reproduced. Without conscious efforts, their declining population size in relative terms could very possibly lead to the decline in absolute terms as well. Statistics show that this would certainly happen well before any equivalent decline across Canada as a whole. Immigration is thus needed to boost Quebec's population.

To summarise, it was found in the first section of the chapter that one of the most significant consequences of the evolution of Quebec nationalism has been to unite the Quebecers. The solidarity amongst the Quebecers developed because of many factors examined in the chapter, of which the most important were, firstly the instigations of some nationalists that aroused the Quebecers to unite; and secondly the Quebecers gradually beginning to feel 'threatened' and 'dominated' by the growing anglophone language and culture in Canada. This led to Quebec's struggle for preservation of its 'distinct society' and its need to protect it from being assimilated into that of the anglophones.

Quebec realising that the French language was a principal component of its distinct society, it felt that the propagation of the French language could be used as a tool to preserve the francophone culture. Quebec needed to increase the number of French speakers in an

anglophone dominated Canada. The second section of the chapter thus found that Quebec needed to propagate the French language amongst the immigrants entering the province, and to do so, provincial control over immigrant integration policies became important for Quebec.

In the third section of the chapter it was observed that besides needing French speaking immigrants to enter Canada, the overall number of immigrants was also becoming increasingly important to Quebec. It was because, Quebec's population would drastically decrease, if dependent on natural means of self-procreation alone. Since large numbers of immigrants were needed to boost Quebec's dwindling population, it became imperative for Quebec to hold provincial control over immigration to optimise the number of immigrant intake.

The first two sections of the chapter highlighting Quebec's need for exercising control over integration policies, while the third section briefly explaining the need to boost overall population numbers in Quebec, it can be concluded that Quebec faced a difficult task of needing to, firstly formulate its own selection criterias for prospective immigrants to meet its specific needs of attracting French speaking immigrants; secondly it needed to strive to achieve the optimum

number of selected immigrants; and lastly it needed to develop its own specific immigrant integration policies for the non francophone immigrants entering Quebec. To achieve the goals, provincial control over immigration policies was felt necessary -- because in this way it could succeed in boosting the proportion of the francophone population in Canada, thus ensuring the survival of the special status of the francophone society in Canada.

CHAPTER II

MULTICULTURALISM AND IMMIGRATION POLICIES IN QUEBEC

MULTICULTURALISM AND IMMIGRATION POLICIES IN QUEBEC

It was observed in the previous chapter that Quebec needs immigrants to maintain its demographic balance, yet for many political and social reasons above others, it cannot undermine the need for linguistic integration of these immigrants into the Quebec society, either. Quebec has always displayed concern on issues pertaining to the ethnic and linguistic composition of immigrants of the province which brings with it a linguistic and ethnic diversity which, according to some Quebecers has the potential to submerge the Quebec 'distinct society' into its 'folds of multiculturalism'. This chapter briefly outlines the Canadian multiculturalism and its impact on Quebec. It traces some of the important milestones of the federal provincial intergovernmental agreements pertaining to the transfer of control over immigration from Ottawa to Quebec, and finally the consequent concerns resulting from this power transfer.

Federal Multicultural Policies and Quebec

Canada's Multicultural policy states that under Canadian law, equality is the right and privilege of any person, and ensures that they may participate as a member of the society, regardless of racial, ethnic,

cultural, or religious background. Multiculturalism promotes gaining an understanding of people from all cultures, despite language, religious beliefs, political and social views, or national origins. It does not require people to shed their own values and beliefs, in order to accept one another.

Canada was the first country in the world to set up a Multicultural policy. Many factors influenced the introduction of the policy. The mid 1960s were marked by troubled English-French relations in Canada resulting in the government appointing a Royal Commission to study this issue and recommend solutions to these problems. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism held hearings across Canada, and in 1969 the Bicultural and Bilingual law was established. Unlike the melting pot model of the United States, the preferred idea was that of a 'cultural mosaic'- unique parts fitting together into a unified whole. The Commission presented the government with this idea and recommendations which would acknowledge the value of cultural pluralism to Canadian identity and encourage Canadian institutions to reflect this pluralism in their policies and programs. The policy was accepted in 1971 while Pierre Elliot Trudeau was Prime Minister.

When the policy was announced, it was one of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. Multiculturalism affirmed English and French as the two official languages of Canada. But ethnic pluralism was declared worthy of preservation and development. Many other provinces followed by introducing multiculturalism policies in their areas of authority. In 1982 it became a law and later in 1988 Bill-C-93 was passed as the Multicultural Act.

As defined by Marc Leman, a Political and Social Affairs specialist of Canada,

“Multiculturalism in Canada refers to the presence and persistence of diverse racial and ethnic minorities who define themselves as different and who wish to remain so. Ideologically, multiculturalism consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada’s cultural mosaic. Multiculturalism at the policy level is structured around the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial and municipal domains. Finally, multiculturalism is the process by which racial and ethnic minorities compete with central authorities for achievement of certain goals and aspirations.”²¹

²¹ Marc Leman, *Canadian Multiculturalism*, (Ottawa: January 1994).

This section of the chapter shall examine the multicultural policies at the federal level, and then move on to outline Quebec's own interpretation of Canada's multicultural policy.

Canada is often described as a multicultural society with various expressions of its racial and ethnic diversity. Firstly, some analysts suggest that Canadian society can be divided into three major 'forces'. The first force consists of aboriginal peoples and includes status Indians, non-status Indians, Métis and Inuit. In 1991, a total of one million two thousand six hundred and seventy five persons reported their origin as aboriginal or part aboriginal, representing about 3.7 per cent of the total population. The second force consists of the colonising groups who eventually defined themselves as the founding members of Canadian society. Known as the Charter groups, both the French and English-speaking communities constitute this force. The third force in Canadian society comprises those racial and ethnic minorities who fall outside the Charter groups; that is, native and foreign-born Canadians with some non-French and non-British ancestry.

Secondly, Canada's cultural diversity is manifested at the level of ethnic and immigrant composition. At the time of Confederation,

Canada's population was mostly British at sixty per cent and French at thirty per cent of the total population. By 1981, the combination of declining birth rate and infusion of non-European immigrants saw the British and French total decline to forty per cent and twenty seven per cent, respectively. The 1991 figures are even more revealing. Of Canada's total population of 26,994,045, more than eleven million (11,252,335) or 41.7 per cent reported having some non-British or non-French ethnic origins. By way of contrast, the proportion of those with British-only ancestry declined -- to 28.6 per cent, down from 33.6 per cent in 1986; as did the French-only category -- 22.9 per cent, down from 24.4 per cent in 1986. Those reporting both British and French backgrounds totalled four per cent. In the 1996 census, at least one ethnic origin other than British, French or Canadian, was reported by forty four per cent of the Canadian population. Canadians of German, Italian, Aboriginal, Chinese, South Asian and Filipino origins were among the top fifteen largest ethnic groups. Moreover, 3.2 million persons, representing 11.2 per cent of the total population of Canada, identified themselves as members of a visible minority.²² Chinese, South Asians and Blacks represented two-thirds of this visible minority

²² Ibid.

population. These statistics clearly mark the growing ethnic diversity of immigrants in Canada as a whole.

Thirdly, language diversity is found to be at the core of Canadian pluralism. According to the 1991 census, English dominates as the first language or mother tongue of 60.6 per cent of the population, French comes next at 23.8 per cent, while the Other category has thirteen per cent. When people with more than one mother tongue are included, these proportions stood respectively at 62.9 per cent, 24.9 per cent and 14.9 per cent respectively. The degree of diversity is somewhat diminished with regard to the language that is used at home. Census figures point out to the predominance of English in the homes of 68.5 per cent, compared with French at 23.5 per cent, and 'other' at eight per cent. With respect to the other languages, census statistics reveal that Italian and German are the most frequently reported known non-official languages, with approximately seven lakh speakers each. Next come the more than five lakh fifty thousand Chinese speakers, more than four lakh Spanish speakers, and more than two lakh fifty thousand Portuguese speakers. When home languages are taken into account, the order is Chinese, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and German. "The facts speak for themselves: Canada is a multilingual society at the level of

empirical reality.”²³ These statistics once again reveal the diversity in Canada, but this time a linguistic diversity owing to the growing numbers and diverse origins of its immigrants.

Taking into account some of these aspects of ethnic and linguistic diversity in Canada, it would be important to move on to trace the growth of Canadian multiculturalism. Analysts generally agree that the nature and characteristics of federal multiculturalism have evolved through three developmental phases: incipient (pre-1971), formative (1971-1981), and institutionalisation (1982 to the present).

The Incipient Stage was the era preceding 1971. It can best be interpreted as a time of gradual movement toward acceptance of ethnic diversity as legitimate and integral to Canadian society. Initially, nation building in the symbolic and cultural sense was oriented toward the replication of a British type of society in Canada. At that time, central authorities dismissed the value of cultural heterogeneity. It was only the massive influx of post-Second World War immigrants from Europe which prompted central authorities to rethink the role and status of ‘other ethnics’ within the evolving dynamics of Canadian

²³ Ibid.

society. Other events and developments during the 1960s paved the way for the eventual demise of assimilation as government policy and the subsequent appearance of multiculturalism. Gradually pressures for change stemmed from the growing assertiveness of Canada's aboriginal peoples, the force of Québécois nationalism, and the increased resentment of ethnic minorities towards their place in society.

The Formative Period of Canadian multiculturalism is said to be during the period 1971 – 1981. Book Four of the report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B&B) of the late 1960s, dealt with the contribution of other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and recommended the 'integration' -- not assimilation -- into Canadian society of non-Charter ethnic groups with full citizenship rights and equal participation in Canada's institutional structure. The recommendations of the Commission hastened the introduction of an ethnocultural policy. The key objectives of the policy announced in October 1971 and elaborated upon over the years were, to assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity; To assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in

Canadian society -- thus, the multiculturalism policy advocated the full involvement and equal participation of ethnic minorities in mainstream institutions, without denying them the right to identify with select elements of their cultural past if they so chose; To promote creative exchanges among all Canadian cultural groups; And finally to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages.

The year 1982 to the present marked the stage of a growing institutionalising of the multicultural policy. The government first concentrated on promoting institutional change in order to help Canadian institutions adapt to the presence of the new immigrant groups. Another shift was the introduction of anti-discrimination programs designed to help remove social and cultural barriers separating minority and majority groups in Canada. In 1982 multiculturalism was referred to in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Section 27 of the Charter states that "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians."²⁴

²⁴ Beaudoin, Gérald, and Errol Mendes, *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, (Toronto: 1996).

In 1984, the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities produced its well-known report *Equality Now!*²⁵, and in 1985 a House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism was created. The Committee, in an extensive report in 1987, called for the enactment of a new policy on multiculturalism and the creation of the Department of Multiculturalism.

A new multiculturalism policy with a clearer sense of purpose and direction came into effect in July 1988 when the *Multiculturalism Act* was adopted by Parliament. Canada was the first country in the world to pass a national multiculturalism law. The Act recognises the need to increase minority participation in Canada's major institutions by bringing diversity into these institutions as a natural, normal, and positive component of decision-making, resource allocation, and the setting of priorities. All government agencies, departments and Crown corporations -- not just the ministry responsible for multiculturalism -- are currently expected to provide leadership in advancing Canada's multicultural mix and to take part in the design and implementation of plans, programs, procedures and decision-making strategies that

²⁵ House of Commons, *"Equality Now!" Special Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society*, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada), 1984.

enhance the full and equal participation of minorities within institutional structures. Legislation creating a full-fledged Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was introduced in Parliament in the fall of 1989 and adopted in its final form in early 1991. The institutionalised programs established under the newly created Department were: Race Relations and Cross-Cultural Understanding; Heritage Cultures and Languages; and Community Support and Participation. Where early multicultural policies concentrated on cultural preservation and inter-cultural sharing through promotion of ethnic presses and festivals, the rejuvenated multiculturalism program emphasised cross-cultural understanding and the attainment of social and economic integration through removal of discriminating barriers, institutional change, and affirmative action to equalise opportunity.

However, the new department was short-lived. In the fall of 1993 it was dismantled and the multiculturalism programs were integrated into the larger Canadian Heritage Department, which also combined responsibility for official languages, arts and culture, broadcasting, national parks and historic sites, voluntary action, human rights, amateur sports, State Ceremonial and the National Capital Commission. Moreover, a Secretary of State of Multiculturalism was

appointed within the portfolio of the Minister of Canadian Heritage. The citizenship activity which took care of citizenship registration and promotion was amalgamated in the newly established Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Soon, the Department launched a comprehensive review of its multiculturalism programming activities in 1995, following increased criticisms of the multiculturalism program voiced by various groups and individuals from different parts of Canadian society.

However, criticisms of multiculturalism amongst the Canadians exist even today. Various publications and polls suggest that many Canadians are supportive, yet a large number are unsure of what multiculturalism is, what it is trying to do, why, and what it can realistically accomplish in a liberal-democratic society like Canada. However, the *Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future*²⁶ established in 1991 also reported uneasiness about the Canadian public's attitude to multiculturalism policy. Overwhelmingly participants said that reminding them of their different origins is less useful in building a unified country than emphasising the things we have in common. The

²⁶ Spicer Commission, *Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future*, (Ottawa: 1991).

fear that the multiculturalism policy is promoting too much diversity at the expense of unity has been voiced increasingly in recent years.

In fact, some reports suggest that Quebecers have expressed uneasiness about, or even resistance to federal multiculturalism policy since its inception. This uneasiness is largely explained in terms of their perception of it as another intrusion by federal authorities into their province's internal affairs. Many Quebecers are inclined to view multiculturalism as a ploy to downgrade the distinct society status of Quebecers to the level of an ethnic minority culture under the domination of English-speaking Canada. Multiculturalism is thus seen by some as an attempt to dilute the French fact in Canada, weakening francophone status and threatening the dual partnership of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. For many Quebecers, the idea of reducing the rights of French-speaking Canadians to the same level as those of other ethno-racial minorities in the name of multicultural equality is inconsistent with the special compact between the two founding peoples of Canada.

In his book *Selling Illusions: the Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*²⁷, published in 1994, Trinidad-born novelist Neil Bissoondath explains this uneasiness saying that,

“The government’s encouragement of ethnic differences leads immigrants to adopt a psychology of separation from the mainstream culture...isolating ethno-racial groups in distinct enclaves by fostering an inward-focused mentality that drives a wedge between Canadians of different ethnic backgrounds.”²⁸

Other prominent authors, such as Richard Gwyn, in his book *Nationalism without Walls*²⁹, and Jack Granatstein, in his essay *Who Killed Canadian History*³⁰, have criticised what they see as the negative impacts of the multiculturalism policy. Gwyn argues that the political elite was mistaken in rationalising that the backlash against multiculturalism was caused by temporary ‘employment anxiety’ in the early 1990s, rather than a widespread fear that Canadians were becoming ‘strangers in their own land’.

In spite of continued debates on the federal policy of multiculturalism, all provinces and several municipal governments have adopted some

²⁷ Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: 1994).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Richard Gwyn, *Nationalism without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian*, (Toronto: 1995).

³⁰ J.L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History*, (Ottawa: 1998).

form of this multiculturalism policy. At present, six of the ten provinces -- Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia -- have enacted multiculturalism legislation. In four provinces -- Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec -- multiculturalism is implemented by an advisory council that reports to the Minister responsible for the Act. In Nova Scotia, the Act is implemented by both a Cabinet Committee on multiculturalism and advisory councils.

Quebec designates its policy as interculturalism.³¹ Interculturalism is mainly concerned with the acceptance of, and communication and interaction between culturally diverse groups or cultural communities without, however, not implying any intrinsic equality among them. Diversity is tolerated and encouraged, but only from within a framework that establishes the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Quebec. Here, a brief evolution of Quebec's interpretation of the federal multiculturalism is traced.

³¹ Daniclic Jutcau, "A historical and comparative analysis of Canadian multiculturalism and Quebec interculturalism", *Multiculturalism and Diversity in Canada - Voices from Central Europe*, (Montreal: 1998).

In 1981, the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Integration set out its inter-cultural objectives by publishing a plan of action entitled *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* (Québécois. Each and Everyone)³². The plan talked about the development of a strategy to: a) Develop cultural communities and ensure maintenance of their uniqueness; b) Sensitise francophones to the contribution of cultural communities to Quebec's heritage and cultural development; c) Facilitate the integration of cultural communities into Quebec society, especially those sectors historically excluded or underrepresented within institutional settings.

In 1984, the National Assembly passed legislation creating the *Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration* (Council of Cultural Communities and of Immigration). The Council advises the Minister on the planning and implementation of government policies related to cultural communities and immigration. It also commissions studies and undertakes research on relevant issues.

Quebec's inter-cultural orientation toward immigrants and diversity was further confirmed with the release at the end of 1990 of the White

³² n. 23.

Paper, *Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration*. Here, three principles were reinforced in the government's policy: a) Quebec is a French-speaking society; b) Quebec is a democratic society in which everyone is expected to contribute to public life; c) Quebec is a pluralistic society that respects the diversity of various cultures from within a democratic framework. To meet these obligations, the White Paper proposed a formal moral contract between immigrants and native-born Quebecers. Quebec would declare itself a francophone, pluralistic society, yet one that is mindful of cultural differences. Immigrants would subscribe to Quebec's *Charter of Rights* and contribute to Quebec nation-building in co-operation with native-born Quebecers. Quebec's 'interculturalism' lies in the fact that Quebec declares itself first as a 'francophone' and 'distinct' society, while also recognising the existence of several other languages and cultures of its immigrants. Quebec's interculturalism marks a distinction between Quebec's 'native born Quebecers' and 'immigrants'. This differs from the federal model where every immigrant ethnic group is equal before the Canadian multiculturalism. Quebec's own interpretation of the federal multiculturalism was in a way a result of Quebec's emphasis to protect

its distinct society. This, combined with the province's demographic need to boost its population and its linguistic integration practices, as seen in the previous chapter, led to Quebec's need to hold control over immigration issues.

Intergovernmental Agreements between Quebec and Federal government

The relationship between the federal and Quebec authorities represents a tacit acknowledgement of the importance of linguistic issues and immigration in a country like Canada. Under the 1867 BNA Act, immigration had a shared jurisdiction between the two levels of government, although the initial reason for this arrangement was very different from the present: In the middle of the nineteenth century, a strong majority of immigrants went into rural areas for farming and seldom moved across provincial boundaries. This is how immigration was made a co-jurisdictional matter together with agriculture. The provinces' long-term dormancy in immigration activities was put to an end by Quebec in the 1960s. Initially during the early years of the century up till the 1960s, some 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. It was at this point that inter-governmental interaction started to take place in the field of immigration.

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. Quebec reached a series of bilateral agreements concerning immigrant intake with Ottawa. The 1971 Lang-Cloutier agreement permitted Quebec to install its own agents in Canadian immigration offices

overseas so that they could inform prospective immigrants of Quebec's advantages as a place of settlement. The 1975 Andras-Bienvenue Agreement enabled the Quebec officials to advise and promote immigration by potential candidates to Quebec. The 1978 Cullen-Couture Agreement went even further on immigration and selection of foreign nationals, to the extent that Quebec now has its own selection points system. Immigrant selection officers working at Quebec's immigration offices outside Canada apply this numerical test to those interested in immigrating to Quebec. Article II, 3, of the Cullen-Couture Agreement of 1978 established a Joint Committee of federal and Quebec immigration officials to provide a forum to develop cooperative policies on such matters as immigration objectives which may be economic, demographic and socio-cultural; immigration levels; processing priorities; information exchange; and requirements for sponsors. The agreement provides a detailed criteria for the following five categories of persons seeking admission to Canada. (a) Independent immigrants: Quebec is given a leading role with regard to independent immigrants, that is, those selected on the basis of economic and social factors designed to assess their ability to adapt and to contribute to Canada. The Agreement in its Article II, A (1)(a), also provides that the selection of independent immigrants will be on a

joint and equal basis, according to separate sets of criteria for Canada and for Quebec. It further provides in its Article III, A (2)(b), that the landing of an independent immigrant requires Quebec's prior agreement. In effect, both parties have a veto. Immigrants not passing Quebec's assessment may not proceed to Quebec. Although if they meet Canada's criteria, they could proceed elsewhere if they wish. These independent immigrants selected by Quebec may still be rejected by federal officials applying the statutory criteria of the Immigration Act, 1976 relating to medical, criminal and security requirements.

In 1981, this first ever provincial department of immigration of 1968 in Quebec was transformed into the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Immigration, to further promote the successful settlement and integration of immigrants in the French community. 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 1987 immigration accord between Quebec and Canada, expressly states in its Section 95B(3), that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms applies to an agreement having the force of law and to anything done by the Parliament or government of Canada. A major practical effect of this provision is to assure the rights of immigrants in any part of Canada to move to any other part of Canada -- because, this section 95B(3) brings in its train section 6 of the Charter, which among other things, gives every person lawfully resident in Canada the right "to move to and take up residence in any province" and "to pursue the gaining of a livelihood in any province", subject to "such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society". Subsection 95B(3) of the 1987 Accord, not only guarantees mobility rights but also guarantees the exercise of other rights and freedoms such as freedom of religion, freedom of conscience and the legal rights guaranteed by sections 7 to 15 of the Charter. The mobility rights

given to an immigrant led to issues about inter-provincial emigration from Quebec to other provinces in Canada.

Later, both the Meech Lake accord of 1988 and Charlottetown accord of 1992 contained a part which concerns immigration to strengthen the legal basis of these bilateral agreements. Also, Quebec had immigration as one of the five minimum conditions to sign the 1982 Constitution. Although the accords could not take effect, the 1978 Cullen-Couture Agreement between Quebec and Ottawa survived the debacle and it developed into the McDougall-Gagnon-Tremblay Agreement in 1991, which further strengthened Quebec's position in immigration policy. On 5 February 1991, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, federal Minister of Employment and Immigration, and Madame Monique Gagnon-Tremblay, Quebec's *Ministre des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration*, signed the Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens. It came into force on 1 April 1991. The agreement came on the heels of the failure of the Meech Lake Accord and largely accomplished what would have taken place in the area of immigration had Meech Lake been passed.

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. 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 clear the extent to which the 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 seem to deter Quebec from establishing such goals.

Now, in the case of independent immigrants, only Quebec can decide whom to take for Quebec. The federal government can reject candidates whose immigration to Quebec has been approved by Quebec's selection officers only on account of their health and security risks. In addition, with the financial compensation from the federal government, now the provincial government is solely responsible for integration of immigrants settling in Quebec. Both the Quebec and

federal governments have developed a point system used to select independent immigrants. Both grids have many of the same features, with points for education, employment, specific vocational preparation and so on. There are, however, several significant differences between the two. The Quebec grid rewards knowledge of French more significantly than knowledge of English. An applicant can receive up to fifteen points for French and up to two points for English. The Quebec grid awards a potential number of points for adaptability that is more than double that available in the federal system and includes two points for knowledge of Quebec.

The Quebec grid also contains a number of factors not present federally. First Quebec applicants can receive five points for relatives or friends who reside in Quebec in the settlement area; and two points if they reside elsewhere in Quebec. Second, spouses can boost an applicant's points -- four points each for the ability to speak French fluently and to follow an occupation in Quebec in which there is at least an average demand. Finally, there are points available for families with children under twelve years of age, with a maximum of four points for three children.

Quebec has agreed to receive approximately one third of Canada's refugee commitment, currently twelve thousand refugees selected abroad. The Article III, C of the agreement states that refugees and those in a 'similar situation' -- that is those belonging to designated classes or special programs -- will be selected jointly and that Quebec will contribute to their adaptation to the Quebec environment. In effect, refugees destined to Quebec are selected by Quebec, as are the independent applicants.

The family class is not 'selected' in the same sense that independent and refugee applicants are selected. Provided family class applicants can prove the relationship required by the Immigration Act, 1976 -- which is that of parent, child under twenty one, spouse, fiancé(e) -- and pass the health, criminal and security checks, their entry is assured. Quebec's role is thus necessarily limited here, although its officials often interview applicants and provide counselling. The province does play a role in evaluating sponsors.

In the case of temporary or seasonal workers, the Agreement states that Quebec will express its views on the merits of each offer of employment made by a Quebec employer to foreign workers. In the

first instance, the offer to foreign workers may be submitted for approval to either federal or provincial officials. The proposal will be refused if either Quebec or Canada can show that the jobs in question could be filled within Canada. Except for students coming to Quebec under a program of assistance to developing countries, Quebec must approve all student visas. The same rule applies to teachers at college and university levels.

These federal provincial agreements examined above had clear implications. It brought in large number of French-speaking immigrants. Between 1968 and 1989 -- the period during which major Quebec-Canada immigration agreements like the Cullen Couture Agreement 1979 were signed -- close to one lakh eighty thousand French-speaking immigrants entered the province, approximately thirty five per cent of the entire flow of new arrivals to Quebec. Another one lakh thirty thousand immigrants arrived between 1990 and 1999, which was nearly thirty seven per cent of total immigration. Moreover, the knowledge of French among Quebec's immigrant population increased from slightly over fifty per cent in 1971 to approximately seventy three per cent in 1996. Thus, over the years, there showed a direct impact of

these federal-provincial agreements on the linguistic composition of immigrant flow into Quebec.

Immigration and the significance of Quebec's concerns

Ethnic and linguistic diversity of immigrants has often led to some of Quebec's prime concerns. Tracing back immigrant ethnic origins, it is found that in addition to the arrival of the French and English during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Quebec experienced several waves of immigration since the nineteenth century too -- A brief outline of the immigrant composition during this period shows that the Irish Catholics immigrated during the second half of the nineteenth century and helped shape the face of many regions in Quebec. At the turn of the twentieth century, most immigrants were from Europe. According to the 1911 census, in addition to the Irish, there were approximately eight thousand people who had come from Germany. In the 1920s, immigrants began arriving from Eastern Europe. In 1931, the Jewish community already numbered sixty thousand and there were some twenty thousand Italians, ten thousand Poles and one thousand Germans.³³

³³ Lautenschlager, Janet, *Voluntary Action Program: Volunteering a Traditional Canadian Value*, (Ottawa: Dover publications), 1992.

During the 1990s, however the trend seemed to change. 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.³⁴

Table 4
Immigration from North Africa, France and Haiti to the United States, 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 Naturalisation Services of the United States, 1998 and Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996.

³⁴ Ibid.

The above table shows that Quebec has a large immigrant population from source francophone countries like North Africa, France and Haiti. But increasingly the immigrants came from a wide range of source countries. Quebec struggled with the impact of the growing ethnic diversification introduced into a French language milieu. Therefore, 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*. 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 -- which is also referred to as demographic recovery; economic prosperity; the perennial reality of the French fact; and 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.

French language preservation in Quebec therefore remained of prime importance for the province. Hand in hand with emphasis on immigration to sustain its demographic vitality, Quebec insisted on the knowledge of the French language amongst its immigrants. Table 5 shows the emphasis of the French system in the point system for selecting independent workers as established by Quebec immigration authorities. Section 95 of the Constitution Act, Section 108 of the Immigration Act as well as the 1991 McDougall-Gagnon-Tremblay Accord set this authority.

Table 5

Training: education, 11 points; 2 more for second specialty; 4 for specialised 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.

Source: Statistics Canada (Ontario: 1996).

In the point system, the points awarded for the French language are two-and-a-half times those for English. Approximately 19 per cent of the total selection grid is accorded to language knowledge. This way, eligible candidates who know both French and English can earn about one-third of the points needed for admission.

Further, the Quebec government has been more active overseas in areas where more candidates would have a knowledge of French. In 1989, an agreement was ratified with authorities in France³⁵ to support the migration of francophones. Renewed in 1992, 1995 and 1999, this agreement called for Quebec delegates to organise information sessions in France for prospective candidates for immigration.³⁶ Elsewhere, in the year 1998, Quebec Immigration Services held numerous information sessions for potential candidates in Brussels; they conducted promotional activities in Lebanon, took out advertisements to reach French speakers in Bulgaria and Romania, and developed partnerships with the *Alliances françaises* to recruit skilled workers in Mexico. Recently the *Ministre des Relations avec les Citoyens et de l'Immigration* (MRCI) announced a reorganisation of its immigration services overseas by moving its Damascus operations to

³⁵ *L'Office des Migrations Internationales*, (Quebec: 1989).

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 also 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. But this contrasts somewhat with Quebec's selection network abroad. Canada's 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. Quebec makes great efforts to recruit francophone immigrants and claims that it 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.

However, inter-provincial migration is an issue of importance in Quebec. Inter-provincial migration means the movement of people from one province to another in Canada. Quebec is apprehensive about

³⁶ MRCI, *Rapport annuel*, (Quebec: 2000).

the number of immigrants in Quebec moving out to live in other provinces. This is because the immigrants coming into Quebec often show an interest in settling in some of the larger urban centres in the rest of the country and elsewhere on the continent, while non-francophone immigrants choose to migrate to anglophone provinces of Canada. Reports show that more than a third of immigrants to Quebec in recent years have in fact decided to migrate to other parts of Canada. As observed earlier in this study, the Subsection 95B(3) of the 1987 Accord, grants the right to mobility of immigrants allowing them to choose to lawfully migrate from any province to another in Canada.

Another concern of the Canadians regarding Quebec immigration is that some believe that too great a provincial role in immigration might lead to the encouragement of new arrivals to develop provincial loyalties instead of national patriotism; while some are concerned that any shortfall in Quebec immigration could lead to the imposition of cuts in immigration to other regions of Canada. If true, this could have an adverse effect on people in the case of reunification of families, and on the economy because of the consequent fewer workers in areas where they are needed.

Much of this concern expressed by Québecers about the allocation of new immigrants to Quebec, and the potential difficulties that could be created if Quebec did not attract the number of immigrants it seeks, appeared to have been created by the text of the *Immigration Act, 1976* and in particular the underlined words:

“guarantee that Quebec will receive a number of immigrants, including refugees, within the annual total established by the federal government for all of Canada proportionate to its share of the population of Canada, with the right to exceed that figure by five per cent for demographic reasons...”³⁷

Canadians point out that Quebec has not achieved even its immigration quota in recent years. So then these citizens question how such a “guarantee” could be given to Quebec in light of this fact? Moreover, the clause does not say that Quebec “is entitled to receive” that number of immigrants -- It says Quebec “will receive” that number of immigrants. What will happen to the proportion of immigrants allocated to other provinces if Quebec does not satisfy its quota? Will the other provinces have to cut back on their allocation to stay in line with any shortfall experienced by Quebec?

³⁷ *Section 109(2), Immigration Act, (Ottawa: 1976)*

However, these concerns which result from the language used in the political accord quoted above could be put to rest because, this controversial language was not repeated in the Constitutional Amendment of 1987 itself. Any new agreement between the government of Canada and the government of a province must be approved federally by the House of Commons and the Senate and provincially by the legislative assembly of the province in question. Thus, they both have an opportunity to scrutinise all provisions and at that time important policy issues, such as those described above, can be addressed.

As observed in this chapter, Quebec is now keen on receiving and retaining immigrants as a panacea for a decreasing population base. The problem lies in getting the required profile of immigrants' to firstly choose Quebec as a destination, and secondly ensuring that they remain as residents of Quebec after they do arrive. Integration of immigrants into the Quebec society is thus important not just for increasing the strength of the francophone numbers over the anglophones, as observed in the previous chapter of this study; but integration is also increasingly important to counter inter-provincial

emigration, and ensure that immigrants entering Quebec do not move into other provinces of Canada.

To consolidate the observations made in the present study up to this point, it can be concluded that the significance of linguistic integration of immigrants in Quebec was primarily borne out of Quebec's political, social and demographic need to establish itself as a distinct society. It was observed in the first chapter of this study, that in Quebec's struggle to avoid itself being integrated into the majority anglophone culture in Canada, it instead gradually began to take initiatives to integrate immigrants into the francophone fold of Quebec.

The present chapter showed that Quebec emphasized the importance of provincial control over selection and integration of immigrants entering the province. Amongst other reasons, Quebec felt that provincial control was important because not only did Quebec need to boost its population numbers; but so as to protect its distinct francophone Quebec society, Quebec needed to attract more French speaking immigrants and also integrate the non-francophone immigrants into the Quebec society. To meet these goals, Quebec succeeded in gaining control over its provincial immigration policies.

Emphasis on recruiting French speaking immigrants, and efforts to linguistically integrate non-francophone immigrants, resulted in Quebec strengthening the overall proportion of the francophone population in Canada. In this way, the additional francophone population strengthens Quebec's status in Canada. Finally it ensures that new immigrants speak French and do not wish to emigrate to other anglophone provinces of Canada. French language propagation amongst its immigrants becoming increasingly important, the policies for language propagation are formulated so as to reach out to the maximum number of immigrants. Linguistic integration is therefore often practiced by propagating the French language in the two principal domains of education and employment. The two domains are examined in the following chapter of this study.

CHAPTER III

LANGUAGE AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN QUEBEC

LANGUAGE AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN QUEBEC

Education often follows two philosophical approaches. The first approach sees the educational system as a reflection of society. The goal here is to perpetuate the way that society functions. The second approach treats education as a tool to promote transformation, and to monitor planned change. This second approach, is all the more acute when societies are confronted by rapid changes, specifically, changes in their composition. Canada presents a case. Here, education is under provincial jurisdiction, where Quebec as a host society which seeks to regulate the role of minorities through its educational system, provides an interesting case study.³⁸

Employment is another area where Quebec emphasises upon the integration of its immigrants. In the year 2000, Canada received some 26.6 per cent family class, 13.2 per cent refugee class, six per cent business class immigrants; other categories totalled about two per cent -- whereas the largest group consists of skilled workers comprising 51.9 per cent of the total number of immigrants. Employed working

³⁸ Julica Bauc, "Fighting for Rights, Between Prejudice and Acceptance: A Post-War Case Study", in R. Klein et F. Dimant (Eds), *From Immigration to Integration, the Canadian Jewish Experience*, (Toronto: 2001), pp. 105-118.

class immigrants thus constitutes a large chunk of the total number, besides which Quebec would also find it economically viable to integrate into its francophone society, salaried skilled workers who would contribute to the Quebec economy.

This chapter focuses on the significance of the French language in Quebec's policies towards integrating its immigrants, restrict itself to a study of the linguistic integration of Quebec's immigrants in the two areas of education and employment.

Evolution of Quebec's education system

Since the Education Act of 1867, Quebec's educational system was a symbol of the dual composition of society as foreseen by the British North American Act and other constitutional documents. This dual composition meant that schools were divided into two confessional streams, Catholic and Protestant, with Catholic also meaning French-speaking and Protestant referring to English-speaking. Confessional school boards, within their jurisdiction, could levy school taxes in order to defray education costs. The results were major differences between the regions - the poorest regions providing limited services and the richest offering better ones. For a variety of reasons, Protestant

school boards decided to levy higher taxes and were therefore able to offer better education. On the other hand, until the 1960s, Catholic public schools were limited to elementary institutions, while the Protestant system had both elementary and secondary schools. French-Canadian children who wanted to continue their schooling went to '*cours classiques*' (classic classes) under the direction of the Catholic Church.

This extremely unequal system functioned until the Quiet Revolution - - the few years in the 1960s when Quebec decided to drastically modernise its public structures, including in the domain of education. The Quebec government gave a mandate to a royal commission, chaired intentionally by a bishop, Monsignor Alphonse-Marie Parent, to suggest new directions for education. The Parent commission report, published in 1963, recommended major changes, inter-alia the creation of a Ministry of Education and the opening of Catholic, French high schools, instead of *cours classiques*.³⁹ The educational system was revamped: the new Ministry of Education rapidly became one of the ministries with the highest budget and public Catholic high schools

³⁹ *Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, Rapport*, (Quebec: 1963).

mushroomed throughout the province. The ministry had two deputy-assistant ministers, one nominated after consultation with the Catholic committee and one after consultation with the Protestant committee, both committees being part of the Superior Council of Education. Parallel to these changes, a growing number of Protestant schools chose, of their own free will, to offer education in French, thus creating a new type of school: Franco-Protestant. The end of the 'revenge of the cradle,' the precipitous decline of Franco-Catholic fertility and the greater reliance on immigration to compensate for this trend, forced Quebec political leaders to face a new reality. Instead of perceiving immigration as a kind of federal plot to lower the relative influence of French-speaking Quebec in Canada -- a self-fulfilling prophecy since non-Catholic children were barred from Catholic schools and, therefore, from learning French at a time when Protestant and English were synonymous -- they began to perceive immigrants as tools to maintain a linguistic equilibrium. Immigrant children, barred from French-Catholic schools until then, were suddenly obliged to enrol in French-speaking schools, either Catholic or Protestant. Bill 101, the French Language Charter of 1977, had a major impact: newcomers had to learn French and Catholic schools had to open their doors to

immigrants if they did not want to fade away due to the low number of French-Canadian children. A further change was only recently introduced by constitutional amendment, replacing confessional school boards-Catholic or Protestant-with linguistic ones-French or English.

With the creation of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal in 1965, the situation improved. Non-Protestants living outside the Montreal municipality obtained the right to vote on this board. The board had twenty-five commissioners: ten from Montreal -- five chosen by the city and five by the Quebec government; ten who were elected by municipalities outside Montreal; and five Jews appointed by the Quebec government. However, the Quebec government vacillated between a desire to weaken the English educational system and a respect for a Christian ideology. Faced with the opposition of Anglo-Protestants, and the reservations of French Catholics, the government abandoned the idea.

The problem did not end there. Many immigrants' parents of school going children of other religions and cultures did not want their children to be forced to follow Christian prayers, rituals, and customs. They wanted a secular education free from continual references to

Christian theology, and wanted a say in the educational system. They therefore decided to create private day schools. These various schools were supported by private funds alone. During the 1970s, a period of major educational initiatives, the Bourassa government gave the status of 'public interest' to private confessional schools - Jewish, Armenian, Greek-Orthodox, and, since 1985, Muslim - thus entitling them to public subsidies.

Subsidies were then used to promote a policy of francization. Francization is a process of linguistically and culturally integrating an immigrant to adapt to the dominant francophone society of Quebec. Private minority confessional schools, were ordered to increase the percentage of French teaching in their curriculum in order to keep receiving public funds. After negotiations, the schools complied. In brief, the system entitled a child belonging to a different faith and culture other than Quebec's dominant one, and only whose parents had received education in English in Canada to be entitled to receive an English education or *certificat d'éligibilité* (eligibility certificate). The new arrangements stipulated that. For example, if the immigrant parents of a Jewish child chose to send their child to a Jewish school, the child would receive the majority of instruction in French. This

naturally led to curricula with a very heavy workload (French, English, Hebrew, and sometimes Yiddish), a state of affairs that can be arduous for children with below average, or even average, abilities.

This system had some unanticipated results: the greater the interest the immigrant parents had in maintaining their own indigenous identity through an indigenous day school education, the greater the French skills of the children. Hence, if the next generation of leadership amongst immigrants in Quebec comes, and if it comes from the private indigenous schools rather than the public ones, and they will have greater command of the French language than those who attended public schools. However, the mere fact of subsidising indigenous schools is a clear departure from the previous policies of Quebec towards minorities. These subsidies are perceived by many politicians and members of the Quebec intelligentsia not as a right, but as a proof of the unique openness of Quebec.

It is true that from a situation of discrimination the educational system has evolved to a *de jure* opening of all public schools to all children, but the emphasis is nevertheless on spreading the French language. It is no doubt being done in recognition in the public interest as a step in

promoting equality between citizens, yet the stress on linguistic integration through education cannot be ignored.

Gradually by the latter part of the twentieth century, Quebec emphasised more on the propagation of the French language, whereas contrary to its past, now Quebec's stand on religious adherence appeared to gradually become fairly secular. Quotas and other forms of discrimination were outlawed both by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms of 1975.⁴⁰ Officially, therefore, there could be no discrimination. However, certain cases do appear to go against the secular stand of Quebec. For example, in March 1997 the Ministry of Education announced the creation of the Task Force on the Place of Religion in Schools in Quebec, chaired by Jean-Pierre Proulx. In March 1999, it submitted its report called *Laïcité et religions: perspective nouvelle pour l'école québécoise* (Secularism and religions: New perspective for the Quebec school). In this document, non-Catholics and non-Protestants were presented as immigrants whom the educational system should integrate into Quebec society⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Bcaudoin, Gérald, and Errol Mendcs, *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, (Toronto: 1996).

⁴¹ Ibid.

Another example is the *Conseil supérieur de l'éducation*, an advisory board to the minister of education, has two panels, one Catholic and one Protestant, corresponding to the two streams of schools before the 1997 change. By law, only Catholics may be appointed to the Catholic panel, whereas a few seats are reserved for non-Protestants on the Protestant panel. This differential treatment, according to faith, is in contradiction to the Charters, but it seems to be more a remnant of the old system rather than overt discrimination.

In fact the Quebec Charter goes further than affirming the equality of all before the law; it promotes the notion of *accommodement raisonnable* (reasonable accommodation).⁴² This means that when dealing with a demand linked to religion, institutions should try, as far as possible without *contrainte excessive* (undue cost), to accommodate those asking for their specific requirements to be respected. An example of *accommodement raisonnable* would be to put a Muslim worker on a Sunday shift rather than making him work on Friday. This approach, emanating from a philosophy that respects people for what they are, can hardly be written in legal terms. But in this way Quebec

⁴² Conseil d'administration, *Politiques sur les relations interethniques*, (Montreal: 1995).

showed a fair flexibility in religious and cultural interference in education, while the emphasis grew on strengthening the francophone population of Quebec by the province's stress on linguistic integration.

By the end of the twentieth century, the focus for the Quebec immigration ministry had clearly shifted from religion and racism to a greater emphasis on language. At this time, linguistic integration seemed to have taken centre stage in government policies too. Therefore, as immigrants were directed to Quebec's French-speaking institutions, the province began to develop expertise on the adaptation of new arrivals. The point structure for immigrant admission in Quebec placing significant value on the ability to speak French, Quebec wished to encourage immigrants to know French on arrival in Quebec itself. After their arrival in Quebec, the Charter of the French Language obliged almost all children of these immigrants to attend French language schools. For this reason, French schools in Quebec hold a strong diversity of ethnicity and country of origin of its students.

One of the problems of immigrant children in these French schools in Quebec was in coping with cultural differences. These immigrant students, over a period of time learn to speak the same French

language, yet the diversity in ethnic origins remains. There have been many issues related to this ethnic diversity in French schools in Quebec. Following such cases a complementary consultation by the *États généraux complémentaires* of Canada in 1998 focused on the issues. The following recommendations were issued: Firstly, that 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 that a credible as in the field of literature, which would focus on Canadian as well as international francophonie. Secondly, 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. Thirdly, that it is important to instil self-confidence in the students by providing them with role models who have succeeded in their professional lives. Fourthly, it was suggested provincial structure should be put into place to represent the concerns of the ethnoculturally different francophones to school boards, regional bodies, the provincial administration and other governmental authorities.

In this way this attempt to support the growth of multiculturalism in Quebec, is to a large extent due to the realisation that integration is a long-term process of adaptation that unfolds at varying rates: Quebec policy makers add that the linguistic dimension of immigrant integration, which is Quebec's prime emphasis largely depends on the socio-economic milieu, the level of immigrants' participation in the institutions of the host society, and the quality of the inter-personal relationship between immigrants and members of the host society. All these factors influence both the opportunities to speak the language and the immigrants' attitude toward it. Therefore by bringing non-francophone immigrants to learn French language in schools which ensures good inter-personal relationship between immigrants and members of the host society, Quebec is able to hope for a higher degree of linguistic integration of its immigrants into its francophone population.

Linguistic integration and employment

Until recent years in Quebec, English was the language of prestige and choice for business too and francophones received incomes 35% lower than that of the Anglo-Québecer. The trend does seem to have changed, when in 1974 French was made the official language of the

province, as gradually Quebec gained provincial control over provincial immigration policies in the 1970s and the consequent French language propagation programs thereafter. The efficacy of Quebec's language propagation in the workplace can be judged by the fact that French is now in the majority in both social and economic life, with 68.3% of companies with 100 or more employees being francophone, and 84% of those with 50 to 99 employees. The so-called 'language police' have played an important role in enforcing the French language in the business sector. The 'language police' are often members of the sovereignist political party 'Bloc Québécois' who, for example, ensure that business signs are written boldly in French and, if an English sign is required too, that it is one third of the size of the French sign. However, the principal role in propagating the French language in the work place has been that of the Quebec government.

During the 1990s, with the advent of professionally qualified immigrants, the Quebec government's integration strategies for new arrivals were structured around the concept of the *Centre d'Orientation et de Formation des Immigrants* (Center for Orientation and Training of Immigrants) or better known as COFI. The COFIs' primary function was the delivery of French language instruction and services to these

non-francophone immigrants. The COFIs were in fact called to be a 'single window' for the francization of new arrivals of especially working-class immigrants.

In November 1999, the MRCI reformed the welcoming and integration services offered to these new immigrants. The principal measure was the replacement of the 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".⁴³ As to francization, the Carrefours evaluate the needs of new immigrants and provide access to appropriate training, either on-site or in an institutional or communal setting.⁴⁴ The Quebec government reasons that the opportunity to learn French is more in line with the level of integration of the immigrant, which it confirms will be sensitive to the employment context within which the new arrival adapts. The government adds that the emphasis is on partnerships with

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Rapport annuel 2000, (Quebec: 2000)

the neighbourhood institutions of the general Quebec population, such as the local employment centre, the local health centre, the school, the municipality and the local community organisation to provide services for new immigrants.

However, 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. So, a working group on the government's integration services recommended more individualised support service for the new immigrant through the process of adaptation that follows francization and social and economic insertion. Thus it was decided that a counsellor would follow the immigrant's integration process and provide support appropriate to the changing condition of the immigrant.⁴⁵

Linguistic integration of the immigrant in the workplace is also economically significant to Quebec. Research conducted by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) reveals that knowledge of an official language generally results in higher earnings. The research

⁴⁵ *Rapport Annuel 1998*, (Quebec: 1998)

showed that a skilled worker lacking such ability earns less on average than someone with lesser skills who is able to speak an official language. Furthermore, another conclusion found was that individuals who have the highest levels of language proficiency are most likely to be employed throughout their working careers.

In one of the recent immigration plan in 2001, CIC refers to a number of international trends that affect the selection program of the working-class immigrants to Quebec. Among them are: an increase in non-immigrant movement; global labour shortages in certain key economic sectors; competition in the global market; a shift in source countries; and a growing numbers of people on the move. In recent years, the evolving linguistic profile of working-class immigration has been mostly a function of the source countries of new entrants. The profile has therefore been changing: The three principal sources for such immigration have been Western Europe, North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. In Quebec, forty per cent of all French-speaking working-class immigrants have come from Europe. But contrary to this, during the 1990s nearly three-quarters of these French-speaking immigrants arriving in Quebec were members of visible minority

groups. In 1990-1994 and 1995-1999, it was noted that immigration from the Americas and Asia declined. But there were larger numbers of working-class immigrants from Europe and Africa. For example, during the period 1990-1994 the main source countries were Lebanon, Hong Kong and Haiti. In 1995-1999 the countries were primarily France, China and Algeria. In fact later, Quebec also took out advertisements to reach French speakers in Bulgaria and Romania, and developed partnerships with the *Alliances françaises* to recruit skilled workers in Mexico.

Given the above background, French speaking working class immigrants has been especially important for Quebec because firstly, for Quebec, it has been noted that 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 province of Quebec. Therefore, ever since the introduction of its new selection criteria, the Quebec Ministry of Immigration is better able to select those independent immigrants who can participate fully in the society, can speak the French language and can best contribute to economic well-being.

Secondly, linguistic integration of working-class immigrants also has political benefits for Quebec. Working-class French speaking immigrants would remain rooted in Quebec for a longer period of time than non-francophone working-class immigrants. That is their rate of mobility is far lesser. Thus these working-class immigrants are better potential permanent immigrants and poorer preys to inter-provincial emigration. This is politically important for Quebec to retain its immigrants as an increase in Quebec's demographic weight naturally leads to proportionally increasing its members in the House of Commons.

However in spite of these benefits of integrating working class immigrants, there are some issues of concern too. The issues pertaining to working-class immigrants in Quebec are that firstly, 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.

Secondly, increasingly more immigrants from different ethnocultural groups have come to Quebec and they bring different socio-economic attributes such as education and language proficiency. Thus there are growing number of other newer forms of diversity and that too from non-traditional sources in the workplace.

Thirdly, immigrants in Quebec from ethno-cultural groups that have already well established strong community support networks do better in terms of employment gain, than those without them; thus the socio-economic gaps widen. Declining settlement support for immigrants from non traditional sources widen the gap even further.

Fourthly, is the issue of whether the training and specialisation of immigrants in Quebec is proportionate to the jobs that they settle with. According to a research undertaken by the French sociologist from Montreal, Daniel Larocque⁴⁶, it was explored whether jobs landed by

⁴⁶ Daniel Larocque, *Identités collectives et civilisation : pour une vision non nationaliste d'un Québec indépendant* (Montréal: 1994).

immigrant francophones reflected their previous training. In his survey, the answers to this question were evenly divided. Some 48.7 per cent responded that their work did not correspond to their abilities, and the same percentage felt that their jobs did indeed reflect their training, this including 1.3 per cent who reported their jobs were better than they expected. Fifty per cent immigrants from Asia were more likely to say their jobs reflected their previous training. Not far behind this group were immigrants from Europe at 46.5 per cent. The numbers decline precipitously for immigrants from the Americas at 23.1 per cent, from Central and Southern Africa at 20.6 per cent, and from North Africa/Middle East at 5.3 per cent.

Finally, 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 an equivalent. Educational differences may also explain in part the employment and income

differentials among the two linguistic groups, as even though there are more number of francophone skilled workers as compared to anglophone ones, the average pay scale is more for anglophone employees and even more for bilingual employees. 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.

To conclude, it was found that in the case of education, constitutionally and legislatively, considerable progress has been made in transforming policies based on religion and cultural discrimination to one of *laïcité*. But to further improve the situation, perhaps Quebec does not require new legislation or new institutions, as much as a more determined effort by citizens individually to apply concepts such as '*accommodement raisonnable*' towards its immigrants. Linguistic integration is thus the safest tool to integrate the immigrants into the francophone fold of Quebec. As observed in the first chapter of this study, Quebec nationalism is characterised not by the Quebecers' discrimination against its immigrants, but by Quebec's struggle to safeguard its distinct society. This distinct society is largely defined by the common French language spoken in the province. The role of

immigration to maintain Quebec's demographic balance was consequently observed in the second chapter of the present study. In the present chapter, it is observed that Quebec's policies in the two principal fields of education and employment have gradually evolved over the years from one that emphasised upon cultural integration to one that propagates the French language.

A parallel trend between Quebec's immigration policies and its integration policies is observed: On one hand, as observed in the previous chapter of the study, Quebec's racially discriminating immigration policies of the past which was based on the country origin of the prospective immigrant, has given way to Quebec's present criterias which is instead based on the professional qualification and the immigrant's language proficiency. Similarly on the other hand it was concluded in the present chapter that, cultural and religious assimilation of the immigrants in the domains of education and the workplace have given way to linguistic integration by propagating the French language. Thus with both Quebec's immigration and its immigrant integration policies prioritising the knowledge of the French language amongst the immigrants, the trend towards emphasising the increasing significance of the French language in Quebec emerges

fairly clearly. However by doing so, has Quebec been able to achieve its goal of safeguarding its 'distinct society'? Have Quebec's linguistic integration policies finally been worth the political costs? The following chapter offers some conclusive observations to these questions.

CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The domain of immigration in Canada is certainly one of the broadest and well researched. This present monograph focussing on the case of Quebec, has described and delineated issues pertaining to the development of Quebec's immigration policies and policies of integrating minority immigrant groups. This has been done mainly through a study of issues of education and employment.

The first chapter has outlined some of the factors, which have led to Quebec's emphasis on immigration and linguistic issues as a part of provincial domain. Quebec nationalism is identified as one of the major factors. It is largely based on the perceived need of the 'survival' of the distinct Quebec society. Quebec nationalists feel threatened by the fear of their distinct culture and language being diluted by the large number of immigrants entering Canada. Therefore, for Quebec protecting the French language in the province is of paramount importance. Quebec's policy has been two fold: on one hand, it encourages the admission of French speaking immigrants, and on the other hand it attempts to propagate the French language amongst the non-francophone immigrants. The problem is aggravated by the fact that demographic trends indicate Quebec's need to depend on a

continued inflow of a large number of immigrants to even barely maintain its present population ratio. In this way, Quebec needs to strive to admit a large number of immigrants yet emphasise on the propagation of the French language amongst the new immigrants in order to preserve its self-proclaimed distinct culture and society. The first chapter thus has surveyed the significance of both immigration and integration of its immigrants into the majority francophone Quebec society.

The second chapter focuses on Quebec's immigration policies. Immigrant groups bring their own specific cultures and demands to Canada. The interaction of immigrant cultures with that of Canada may lead to a number of possible outcomes, depending also on whether the group, or individual members, seeks mainly to retain their ethnic heritage or participate and get absorbed in the mainstream society. Therefore selection criteria of immigrants is important for the state. Owing to its specific character of nationalism and age old 'struggle for survival', Quebec has felt threatened by the cultural and linguistic retention ~~by~~ its immigrants, because that would lead to the francophones themselves being reduced to 'just one of the many ethnic groups' in Canada. Hence, it was imperative for Quebec to strive for

pushing the federal government to grant it more powers in the domain of immigration. It was imperative for Quebec to take immigration into its own hands and to use provincial discretion in the selection and integration of immigrants. Quebec thus considers immigration and the subsequent integration of immigrants to be an extremely vital domain for the survival of its 'distinctivity' in Canada.

The third chapter examines the linguistic integration of Quebec's immigrants in the two fields of education and employment. It traces the shift in Quebec's educational policies from that of religious and cultural discrimination to one of secularism; yet French language has all along dominated the agenda. Quebec also emphasises the need for French speaking employees in the work place. This is because, firstly, ever since the point-system of immigrant selection was introduced, working class and skilled labourers comprise of the largest part of the immigrants entering Quebec; hence it is important to target this large chunk of immigrants for linguistic integration. Secondly, it is more economically viable for Quebec to have working class francophones in Canada. Lastly, it was found that working class immigrants are less susceptible to inter-provincial emigration, which means that they

would stay in Quebec for a longer time – so linguistically integrating them is beneficial.

To conclude, while examining the issue of integration in Quebec, it was observed that integration remains a multi-dimensional process in the province. Individuals may establish their link to Quebec society, and Quebec may reach out to the immigrant through either an individualistic strategy or through a collective strategy, two very different approaches to integration. It is observed that in Quebec, considerable emphasis was laid on integration through propagation of the French language in the fields of education and employment -- indicating Quebec's choice of a collective strategy of integration.

Finally how effective has Quebec's linguistic integration program been? As concluded in this monograph, Quebec has more or less tried to increase the provincial francophone population by exercising control over provincial immigration. In this way Quebec hopes to make a difference in boosting the total francophone population proportion in Canada so as to safeguard Quebec's 'distinct status' from getting diluted amidst the anglophones and allophones in the country. Yet, the efficacy of Quebec's efforts to achieve its goals is debatable: Firstly,

Quebec's birth rate is one of the lowest in the world, with 1.6 births per woman and this, coupled with an increase in immigration, has heightened the realisation that despite Quebec's efforts, French as a major language of communication in Canada might be at risk. Secondly, cultural and linguistic diversity in Canada being increasingly high, it increases the chances of dilution of the French language and culture amidst the varied languages of the immigrants: In 2001, Canadians reported more than hundred languages in completing the census question on mother tongue. Almost 5,335,000 individuals, about one out of every six people reported having a mother tongue other than English or French. This was up 12.5 percent from 1996, three times the growth rate of four percent for the population as a whole. The growth in allophone population is taking place despite all Quebec's linguistic integration policies to propagate the French language. Finally, there seems to be an increase in the number of francophones learning English, rather than the French language being propagated amongst the anglophones: Only nine percent of anglophones outside Quebec can communicate in French; in contrast, a large 43.4 percent of Quebec francophones can communicate in English.

It is true that Quebec has certainly come a long way in its efforts to save-guard its 'distinct society' in Canada. The present monograph has highlighted Quebec's emphasis on integration policies towards its immigrants through efforts to propagate the French language. Yet, the above factors questioning the efficacy of Quebec's linguistic integration efforts, is further coupled by the fact that in Canada which calls itself a bilingual state, CIC reports in 2001 indicate that there exists an anglophone population consisting of 67.5 percent of Canada's total population, as compared to only 22 percent of Canadians as francophones. In the light of the above, it could hence be concluded that though Quebec's linguistic policies of French language propagation have no doubt shown positive results in significant domains like that of education and the workplace, Quebec perhaps still has a hard task ahead in ensuring the survival of its 'distinct society' in the years ahead.

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