

**Vive le francais!**  
**Immigration Policy in Quebec, 1971-1991: Facilitating**  
**Growth or Displacing Workers?**

**Economics 419A**

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## **1.0 Introduction:**

Following the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's, Quebec provincial governments sought and increasingly gained greater control over immigration policy from the federal government. With this powerful tool in hand Quebec politicians and policy makers found themselves in a position to influence the future development of Quebec society. This paper aims to explore the effects of the selection criteria developed for immigrants seeking residence in Quebec which, in addition to economic suitability, places great emphasis on the ability of a candidate to participate in francophone society. Does this selection criteria complement or undermine the goal of economic growth within the province? Given that Quebec immigration policy is not strictly based upon economic considerations, has it been facilitating economic growth by attracting highly-skilled labour into high-growth industries or, conversely, does the emphasis on language skills result in attracting unskilled labour into slow-growth industries? This question will be explored by tracing the historical development of Quebec's unique immigration policies, followed by an empirical examination of their impact upon the occupational distribution of immigrants within the province. The impact of immigration policy will be measured by examining the occupations into which immigrants flowed both prior to, and following, the implementation of the 1985 points system which was designed to encourage French-speakers from around the globe to make Quebec their new home.

The 1985 points system was only one in a series of policy initiatives that have been developed since 1968 when the Quebec government became the sole province to exercise its power in the field of immigration. It was a power that lay dormant for almost a century. Section 95 of the British North America Act of 1867 defined immigration as an area of concurrent jurisdiction between federal and provincial governments, with the federal

government being granted sovereignty in the case of disputes arising between the parties. Until the 1960's this federal authority was unchallenged, yet following the Duplessis era, a Quebec that had previously been characterized as a rural, Catholic, and economically stagnant society began a process of modernization. Immigration was quickly identified as a policy area that would directly effect future provincial development.

The first Ministry of Immigration was established in 1968 with the twin goals of attracting immigrants who would contribute to Quebec's development, and facilitating their adaptation into Quebec society.<sup>1</sup> Ten years later, on the initiative of Rene Levesque's *Parti Quebecois* a formal agreement was reached with Ottawa that extended this original mandate. The 1978 Couture-Cullen agreement formally outlined Quebec's powers with respect to establishing sponsorship criteria, allocating visas, as well as granting the right to develop its own selection criteria for the independent category of immigrants. Yet the exercise of these powers is subject to the constraint that Quebec must act in accordance with national standards and targets.<sup>2</sup> The federal government retained the power to set the levels of immigrants to be admitted within a given year, was responsible for health and security checks, and established the selection criteria for all other categories of immigrants. The 1985 selection criteria that was subsequently developed for independent applicants in Quebec is based upon the reality that immigration has become intertwined with the two most serious challenges to the survival of the only francophone society in North America: the demographic crisis and the issues surrounding language rights within Quebec.

## **2.0 The Context of the Study: Immigration as a solution to demographic decline and the preservation of the French language**

Immigration to Quebec must be understood within the context of the dramatic decline of the provincial birth rate which occurred during the period of modernization. The

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<sup>1</sup>Au Quebec: Pour Batir Ensemble. Ministere des Communautes Culturelles et de l'Immigration du Quebec. 1990. p. 7

<sup>2</sup>Gartshore, Geoffrey, J. Provincial Roles in Immigration Policy: Quebec and B.C. Compared M.A. Thesis,, Political Studies, Queen's University. p. 88

birth rate dropped from 3.8 children per female during the late 1950's to 1.3 children per female in 1987. The result is that Quebec has one of the lowest birth rates in the world. Demographers estimate that, in order to keep a population at a steady state, 2.1 children per female are needed. The trend in Quebec is also evident on the national scale, Canada as a whole would not maintain its population without immigration with an average birth rate in 1987 of 1.75 children per female.<sup>3</sup> Quebec's population decline is even more dramatic when inter-provincial migration is considered. Since the early 1970's the political tensions that accompanied the rise of nationalist parties have caused a mass exodus of firms and citizens. The combination of these factors gave rise to fears that francophone culture in North America would eventually disappear unless steps were taken to reverse the trend of demographic decline.

In addition to baby-bonus policies, immigration is an obvious source of replenishing or increasing the population. Yet population growth is not a goal in itself; the key to understanding the Quebec concern to increase population is the link between demographics and political power. As Quebec's population falls in relation to the rest of the provinces, its share of federal funding and power on the national scale will decline. Quebec is guaranteed 75 seats in the House of Commons, yet as the population increases in the other provinces the seats in the House will increase until Quebec's voice is diminished. In the Senate it will become increasingly difficult to justify why Quebec should retain one quarter of the seats while all four of the western provinces together are granted an equal amount. Similar problems arise with Quebec being guaranteed three out of nine Supreme court judges. It will become increasingly difficult to hold on to current levels of political power as the population declines.

The process has already begun. In 1961 Quebecers represented 29 percent of the Canadian population, while in 1991 this percentage had decreased to slightly over a quarter

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p. 55

of the nation's inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> To date the relative power of Quebec has not fallen and may have even increased due to the decentralization trend within Canadian federalism. However, the threat of diminished stature, both within Canada or as a potential national entity, looms ahead if the population dwindles and French Canada becomes engulfed by the dominant English North American culture.

Massive inflows of immigrants in order to reverse the demographic decline may maintain political power yet it does not guarantee that francophone culture will be preserved. Thus it becomes essential to examine the link between immigration policy and language issues within the province. Quebec immigration history reveals that in the past allophones opted to both retain their mother tongue while choosing English as a second language. According to the 1961 Census, 90% of all immigrants opted for English as their second language. Simultaneously, the rate of maternal language retention has been higher in Montreal than in any other Canadian city.<sup>5</sup> The explanation for these facts is two-fold. Firstly, maternal language retention was facilitated by the heavy concentration of immigrants in Montreal. In fact immigration *into Quebec* is almost a misleading concept as an overwhelming majority of immigrants settle only in Montreal. The 1986 census revealed that 87.2% of Quebec's immigrant population resided in the Montreal region. Maternal language retention is also further explained when it is considered that until the late 1960's the source countries tended to be quite uniform. Eighty-six percent of immigrants who arrived before 1961 were of European origins, of which 37% were from Southern Europe with a high concentration of Italian and Greek immigrants. These early immigrants were not rapidly assimilating into francophone culture and when faced with the choice of learning French or English there were powerful incentives to opt for the latter.

Financially there are strong incentives to learn English. Francois Vaillancourt's study on language and public policy presents some revealing statistics on the average

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid. p. 63

<sup>5</sup>Behiels, Micheal D. Quebec and the Question of Immigration: from Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985. Canadian Historical Booklet no. 18. p. 5

employment income for anglophones and francophones in Quebec. Referring to Table 1 it is evident that, without exception, an allophone who learned only English earned a higher salary than a French-speaking allophone between 1970 and 1985. The optimal is to be bilingual. Despite these findings Vaillancourt argues for activist public policy that will encourage the use of French throughout the province. He puts forth a theory of increasing returns to french-language use to justify his stance that the laws that have been enacted to compel immigrants and citizens throughout the province to learn French and employ it as the public language are economically justifiable. The argument developed is that as the number of French-speakers in the workplace increases, then a phenomenon of increasing returns will set in as unilingual francophones, who represented approximately 70% of Quebec's population in 1986, would be able to use their skills more efficiently as they work in their mother tongue.<sup>6</sup> Thus it would only be a short-term economic cost to earn a lower salary by opting to speak French, whereas in the long-run everyone will use French as the public language and incomes will rise accordingly. In support of this theory, despite the continual advantage of bilingual people and anglophones in the labour market, the figures demonstrate that the gap between anglophone and francophone salaries has been narrowing for Quebec males over the period 1970-1985. This coincides with the implementation of Quebec's rigorous language legislation, much of it specifically targeted at immigrants in order to encourage the use of French.

Laws were enacted that severely restricted immigrant access to English education. In 1969, 85% of immigrant children were enrolled in English-only schools.<sup>7</sup> This situation changed dramatically once French nationalists pressured the liberal government to counteract this erosion of French culture within the province. In 1974, the Bourassa government responded by enacting Bill 22 which declared French to be the official

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<sup>6</sup>Vaillancourt, Francois "La croissance économique et les compétences gouvernementales du Québec" *L'Actualité Économique*. Dec. 1993, p. 337

<sup>7</sup>Behiels, Micheal D. Quebec and the Question of Immigration: from Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985. Canadian Historical Booklet no. 18. p. 22

language of Quebec and compelled all non-English children of immigrant parents into French schooling. This law was extended when the *Parti Quebecois* came to power and implemented Bill 101 in 1977 which declared that all immigrants must attend French school regardless of their language abilities in English. In Graph 1 it can be seen that this interventionist provincial policy was effective in its aims. The language transfers to French increased from slightly over 25% of immigrants who arrived before 1971, to over 50% for immigrants arriving between 1971 and 1986. Thus the goal of integrating immigrants into francophone culture is being achieved, and the discussion will now turn to the economic effects of placing such strong emphasis on social suitability. Will these allophone French-speakers now be in direct competition with native unilingual francophones for the lower-paying francophone dominated jobs?

### **3.0 The Model/ Framework of Analysis:**

Within the context outlined above it is clear that immigration policy in Quebec is not simply geared towards the same economic and humanitarian goals as policy for the country as a whole. Boosting the population and integrating into francophone society are seen to be equally important as any economic criteria to Quebec policy makers. In 1990 the Quebec Ministry of Immigration explicitly outlined these two main priorities: first, to select immigrants while taking into account the specific needs of Quebec, with equal emphasis on economic and cultural criteria and secondly, to ensure the harmonious integration of new arrivals into the francophone community.<sup>8</sup> These goals were already evident during the previous decade. Chart 1 shows the locations of special Quebec Ministry of Immigration overseas offices that were established in French-speaking areas. As a result of this strategy, the composition of the flow had already been significantly altered during the latter half of the 1980's. Whereas over the previous thirty years the top five source countries were Italy, France, Great Britain, the United States and Greece, the top source countries

<sup>8</sup>Au Quebec: Pour Batir Ensemble. Ministere des Communautes Culturelles et de l'Immigration du Quebec. 1990. p. 6 (translation)

during the late 1980's became Lebanon, Haiti, France, Vietnam and Hong-Kong.<sup>9</sup> This is due in part to the implementation of a new points system in 1985 that placed great emphasis on the ability of a candidate to speak French and adapt to Quebec society. This points system will become the axis of comparison for the model to be tested.

Table 2 Quebec Point System 1990 & Canadian Point system 1992

Quebec Criteria	Maximum Points	Canadian Criteria	Maximum Points
1) Education	11	1) Education	12
2) Employment: arranged employment or designated occupation	15	2) Special vocational preparation	15
3) Specific professional training	10	3) Experience	8
4) Professional experience	10	4) Occupational demand	10
5) age	10	5) Arranged employment/designated occupation	10
6) Knowledge of French	15	6) Age	10
Knowledge of English	2	7) Knowledge of French or English	15
8) Adaptability: Personal qualities=15, motivation=5, knowledge of Quebec=2	22	8) Personal suitability	10
9) Presence of friends or relatives in Quebec	5	9) Levels control	10
10) Bonus Points: French-speaking spouse=4, profession of spouse=4, children under 12 years of age=4	8	Total	100
Total possible points	106	Nominated Applicants	10
Extra points for sponsorship	up to 30		
<b>PASSING GRADE</b>	<b>50</b> for business class <b>50</b> for sponsored family <b>60</b> for independent class	<b>PASSING GRADE</b>	<b>70</b> Points
<i>(within these points candidates must obtain points in the employment category and professional adaptability- included in the Personal qualities section- or the passing mark is void) Discretionary laws may be enacted for exceptional cases when the point requirements are not met.</i>			

Source: MCCI, Pour Batir Ensemble, p. 27  
Green & Green "Canadian immigration policy" p. 1010

<sup>9</sup>Gartshore, Geoffrey J. Provincial Roles in Immigration Policy: Quebec and B.C. Compared M.A. Thesis, Political Studies, Queen's University p. 85



The goal is to compare the occupational distribution of immigrants before the implementation of the 1985 points system with the distribution following the application of the policy. Does the policy result in the admission of less-skilled workers who would be competing with Quebeckers for jobs at the low-end of the skills spectrum? Or are immigrants heading to high-growth, high-skilled industries and thus complementing the native workforce and stimulating economic growth? The hypothesis that will be tested is that the 1985 points system would tend to admit a less-skilled immigrant inflow as equal importance is placed on economic and social suitability. A model developed by Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson in order to analyze a similar question regarding the American labour market at the turn of the century will be employed. Descriptive statistics will also be presented that reveal the effects of the policy upon the skills-composition of immigrants prior to and following the implementation of the 1985 points system.

The Williamson- Hatton model is designed to compare the share of immigrants in a given occupation with the growth of total numbers in that occupation. The growth of total numbers in an occupation is taken as a proxy for the growth rate of the industry. If it is found that the share of immigrants is high and rising in high-growth industries then immigrants are indeed facilitating growth. Conversely, if the share of immigrants is high and rising in slow-growth industries then immigrants are acting as substitutes and competing with the native-born labour force. Two different regressions are run in order to analyze this question at a particular point in time.

In the first regression the dependent variable is the proportion of immigrants in the occupation at a given point in time. The two independent variables that are assumed to influence this proportion are the occupational rank or skill level of the occupation and the growth rate of the occupation. For the Quebec case, the sixteen occupational categories available were ranked according to skill levels: 1=unskilled, 2=semi-skilled, 3=skilled. The second independent variable is the growth rate of the occupation, measured in the

Quebec case by the growth in total numbers per occupation over the ten-year inter-census period. The number of immigrants in an occupation will be measured by using figures for immigrants arriving during the decade prior to the year in question. In order to analyze the effect of the 1985 policy change the 1981 results will be compared to the 1991 results.

In accordance with the hypothesis above, the following signs are expected for the first regression. For the 1981 proportion, due to the fact that the period the 1970's was a period of high growth and the social suitability criteria had not yet taken effect, positive signs are expected on the co-efficients.

$$\frac{\text{Proportion 1981: \# Imm}}{\text{Quebec total 1981}} = B(\text{rank}) + B(\text{growth rate}) + K$$

(+)

(+)

When the same test is carried out in 1991, if the above hypothesis is correct and lower skill immigrants are admitted, these signs may be expected to change:

$$\frac{\text{Proportion 1991: \# Imm}}{\text{Quebec total 1991}} = B(\text{rank}) + B(\text{growth rate}) + K$$

(-)

(-)

The second regression is less static and measures the change in the proportion of immigrants between periods. For 1981, the change in the proportion of immigrants between 1971 and 1981 will be examined based upon the same independent variables and the following signs are expected:

Change in Proportion 1971-1981:

$$\frac{\frac{\text{\# Imm. 1981-1972}}{\text{Quebec total 1981}} - \frac{\text{\#Imm. 1961-1971}}{\text{Quebec total 1971}}}{\frac{\text{\#Imm. 1961-1971}}{\text{Quebec total 1971}}} = B(\text{rank}) + B(\text{growth rate}) + K$$

(+)

(+)

Change in Proportion 1981-1991:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \frac{\# \text{ Imm.}}{1991-1982} \\
 \text{Quebec total 1991}
 \end{array}
 -
 \frac{\# \text{ Imm.}}{1981-1972} \\
 \text{Quebec total 1981}$$

$$= B(\text{rank}) + B(\text{growth rate}) + K$$

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \# \text{ Imm.} \\
 1981-1972 \\
 \text{Quebec total 1981}
 \end{array}$$

(-)                      (-)

In order to carry out these tests, statistics are taken from the 1971 census as well as the 1981 and 1991 public-user micro-data files. All sources provide quite substantial samples for the province of Quebec. For 1971 it was possible to use the most accurate figures that exist from the printed Census. The micro-data for 1981 is based upon a sample of 128,775 citizens while the 1991 data is an even more representative sample of 204,338 citizens. The sample includes both males and females. Occupational categories, which were altered every decade, have been standardized back to the 1971 classifications in order to facilitate comparisons between periods.

**4.0 Test Results**

Before examining the results of the regression analysis, the impact of the policy change can be observed in the descriptive statistics. The data that was calculated in order to run the Hatton-Williamson regression model is revealing in itself. In Table 3 it is clearly shown that for both periods the high-skilled industries grew at a faster rate than the low-skilled while the percentage of immigrants in the skilled occupations fell sharply in all categories. The average change in the percentage of immigrants between 1981 and 1991 in the high-skilled industries was a drop of 27%, compared to a slight increase in the average change for the semi-skilled and unskilled categories. In the semi-skilled industries the proportion fell very slightly in clerical and transport operations while actually increasing by 17.4% in the sales category. The percentage of immigrants in machine fabrication fell by 12.8 %, yet it still remained the industry with the highest overall proportion of immigrants.

A striking statistic is that the highest proportion of immigrants is found in the sector with a negative industry growth rate. During the 1981-1991 period, immigrants represented 4.7% of all workers in the machine fabrication sector which, reflecting the general trend away from manufacturing into the service sector, had an annual growth rate of -1.11%. In the unskilled categories, the percentage remained almost constant in the processing sector while actually increasing sharply in the construction and other crafts sectors. Thus at first glance, the statistics themselves confirm that between 1981 and 1991, while the proportion of immigrants fell across the majority of occupations, the drop was most dramatic in the high skills sector as immigrants concentrated in the semi-skilled and unskilled sectors. A summary of Table 3 is presented below and Graph 2 should be referred to in order to examine the trend in the proportions of immigrants per occupation between 1971 and 1991.

Table 4 ( a summary of table 3):

Occupation	Average annual Quebec labour force growth rate 1971-81	Average percentage of immigrants per occupation 1981	Average annual Quebec labour force growth rate 1981-1991	Average percentage of immigrants per occupation 1991	Average change in the percentage 1981-1991
Skilled	6.9	2.8	3.1	1.9	- 27
Semi-skilled	3.5	2.7	.4	2.5	+ 0.4
Unskilled	3.8	1.9	.14	2	+ 3.2

These figures tend to support the hypothesis that less skilled immigrants were admitted between 1981 and 1991, yet there is a problem with ending the analysis with these figures. The percentage of immigrants in an occupation may fall due to two factors, either the numerator (the number of immigrants) falls or the denominator (the total Quebec labour force) rises. Examining the totals from the micro-data, presented in Table 5, it is evident that the number of 1982 to 1991 arrivals participating in 1991 labour force is greater than the number of 1972 to 1981 arrivals who were participating in the 1981 labour force.

Simultaneously, the total labour force participation rate has been rising in Quebec. In 1971 the rate was 39% of the population, rising to 51% in 1981 and 55% in 1991. This is possibly due to greater female participation in the labour force and the existence of a greater number of people of working age. Therefore, the downfall of the above figures is that they do not isolate between the two effects on the percentage of immigrants per occupation. Following the regression results, which are based on the above figures, an alternate set of descriptive statistics will be offered in an attempt to clear up the ambiguities of using the concept of the proportion of immigrants per occupation in order to analyze trends over time.

Following the model outlined above, four separate regressions were run in order to determine if the immigrants were indeed heading to the low-skilled, low-growth sectors. The results are summarized in the following table.

Table 6: Regression Results for the Hatton-Williamson model:

<b>Independent Variable</b>	<b>(1)Dependent variable: Proportion of immigrants per occupation 1981</b>	<b>(1)Dependent variable: Proportion of immigrants per occupation 1991</b>	<b>(2)Dependent variable: change in the proportion of immigrants per occupation 1971-81</b>	<b>(2)Dependent variable: change in the proportion of immigrants per occupation 1981-1991</b>
<b>Constant</b>	0.013769 (0.9409554)	0.0186399 (1.5439861)	0.225935 (0.6632759)	0.338888 (0.8711953)
<b>Occupational rank (skilled=3, semi-skilled=2, unskilled=1)</b>	+0.002319 (+0.454988)	+0.002391 (+0.492951)	-0.13614 (-1.14727)	-0.267 (-1.70825)
<b>Growth rate of industry/ total labour force</b>	+0.001192 (+0.659444)	-0.00181 (-0.7956)	-0.06484 (-1.54043)	+0.078255 (+1.064736)
<b>R Squared</b>	0.098712	0.046925	0.388325	0.184833

note: t-statistic in brackets, # of observations = 16, degrees of freedom =13

The results differ somewhat from the expected signs yet remain consistent with the hypothesis. In 1981, the predictions for the proportion of immigrants were as expected, the positive signs on the co-efficients indicate that immigrants were found in a higher proportion as the skill category increased. Simultaneously, the greater the growth rate of the industry, the higher the proportion of immigrants. Following the 1985 policy change, the signs indicate that the proportion in 1991 was again greater in the higher skilled industries yet tended to fall as the growth rate of the industries increased. At first glance this appears contradictory as generally the higher skilled industries have the highest growth rates as revealed in Table 3. Yet when the overall effect is considered, the positive co-efficient on rank may be consistent with the hypothesis due to the fact that a greater proportion of immigrants fall into skill category 2 than skill category 1. The overall proportion for category 2 will be higher than that of skill category 1 and 3 once the negative co-efficient on the growth rate is subtracted. Thus the results are consistent with a lower proportion of immigrants in the higher skills categories in the period following the implementation of the policy.

The negative sign on the growth rate of industry co-efficient in 1991 further supports this hypothesis. This translates into a lower proportion of immigrants in the high-growth industries and a higher proportion of immigrants in industries with negative growth rates. Negative growth rates are observed in several semi-skilled and unskilled classifications. For example, the semi-skilled machine fabrication industry had the highest proportion of immigrants, 4.7%, while having an annual growth rate between 1981 and 1991 of -1.11%. The unskilled processing category had the second highest proportion of immigrants, 3.2%, and an annual growth rate of -1.49%. In total, this first regression analysis suggests that a change occurred between 1981 and 1991 in the occupational distribution of immigrants. By 1991 immigrants were observed to be a high proportion of the labour force in the low-growth industries which, rather than facilitating economic

growth in the province, suggests that immigrants were competing for jobs with the native-born in the lowest growth and skill sectors of the economy.

The second regression results compare trends over time. The signs on this test vary from the expected result due to the fluctuating nature of immigration inflows and the rise in the labour force participation rate over time. For the pre-policy test, the change in the proportion of immigrants per occupation between 1971 and 1981 is examined. The signs are both negative, which seems to suggest that the proportion falls by a greater extent between the periods when the skill level or the growth rate of industry rises. This could lead to the conclusion that the trend away from the high-growth sectors had already begun prior to the implementation of the policy. Yet, referring again to Table 5, it is apparent that total immigrant inflows fell between the two periods in consideration. From 1962 to 1971, 96 815 immigrants entered the labour force whereas only 86 750 entered between 1972 and 1981. Consequently, the proportion of immigrants per occupation is expected to fall across all categories. If this proportion falls to the largest extent in the industries with the highest skill levels and growth rates then it is difficult to determine whether this is caused solely by a decline in the number of immigrants or whether it is due to the denominator (the total Quebec labour force in the occupation) increasing.

The results are undoubtedly a combination of the two factors yet the data suggests the latter effect dominates. Consider the skilled category of manager: the proportion of immigrants fell from 3.8% in 1971 to 1.6% in 1981. The number of 1972-1981 immigrants in the occupation was 17% less than the number of 1961-1971 immigrants while the total number of Quebecers in the occupation grew by 50%. The combined effect is a much lower proportion of immigrants, yet it is not possible to infer that this is due solely to a decline in the skills qualities of immigrants. There are simply less immigrants during the second inflow period and a much greater labour force. Between 1971 and 1981 the labour force participation rate rose by thirty percent. Therefore, the regression reveals the trends that are occurring yet does not contradict the hypothesis that immigrants may

have had a skills set that was more complementary to the Quebec economy before the implementation of the 1985 points system.

The test for the change in the proportion of immigrants per occupation between 1981 and 1991 also results in a negative sign on the co-efficient for rank which is compatible with the hypothesis. In this second period the number of immigrants arriving and entering the labour force between 1982 and 1991 is greater than the 1972 to 1981 inflow, 93 099 compared to 86 750, while the growth rates of the total Quebec labour force from 1982 to 1991 are down dramatically from the previous decade (refer to Table 4). This makes it more likely than in the previous test that a fall in the proportion of immigrants is due to a decline in immigrants suited to enter the higher skills category. The second co-efficient is positive, indicating that the change in the proportions will become positive as the growth rate of the industry increases. The hypothesis is upheld only if this second effect is outweighed by the first, and in all but 3 cases (the sales, construction and other crafts categories) this occurs as the change in the proportion from 1981-1991 is negative. The sharpest drops occur in the six high-growth industries which suggests that the rank effect dominates.

The Williamson-Hatton model has served as a useful framework of analysis and the test results reveal that the data does not refute the hypothesis that immigrants are flowing towards the low-growth sectors. Yet, the significance levels are generally low and, as discussed above, the concept of the proportion of immigrants per occupation does not clearly separate the effects of having a low proportion due to reduced skill-composition of the inflow, or an increase in the total Quebec labour force. A straightforward manner of measuring the change in the composition over time is to examine the occupational distribution within a given inflow. Table 7 and Graph 3 illustrate this distribution as a percentage of total inflow for immigrants arriving between 1961-71, 1972-81, and 1982-91. Examining the 1981 and 1991 inflows in the six high-skilled industries the percentage falls in every case except in the occupations of manager and social scientist. In the semi-



skilled occupations, where the highest concentration of immigrants is consistently found, the percentage increases in sales and falls only slightly in clerical and transport operations. The percentage working in machine fabrication falls, most likely in response to the low growth rates of the industry. Yet, as seen above, it is in this industry that there was the highest percentage of immigrants compared to the total Quebec labour force which suggests direct competition between native-born Quebecers and immigrants in this labour market. In the unskilled categories the percentage increases in services, construction and the other crafts categories. The net results are summarized in Table 8. The twenty-two percent increase in unskilled workers serves as strong evidence that the skills composition of the recent inflow has decreased as a result of the 1985 points system.

Table 8

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage of Total distribution 1981</u>	<u>Percentage of Total distribution 1991</u>	<u>Percentage change in the share of total inflow 1981-1991</u>
Skilled	21.6	19	-12
Semi-skilled	46.5	41.9	-10
Unskilled	31.9	39.04	+22

### 5.0 Conclusion:

Since 1981 the occupational distribution of immigrants has undergone a significant shift towards unskilled workers. Quebec policy makers emphasis on social and economic suitability has traded-off economic gain in favour of preserving francophone society. The ironic result of this decision is that as more unskilled francophones are granted admission into Quebec these people enter into direct competition with low-skilled native born workers for employment in low-growth industries. As Vaillancourt's study on income in Quebec revealed, those at the low-end of the wage scale in low-growth industries tend to be unilingual francophones. This group is also the least mobile labour force within Canada as crossing provincial boundaries in order to find employment necessitates the ability to communicate in English. Thus, the immigration policies that have been developed in order to preserve francophone society may end up undermining economic growth within Quebec.

If this effect is recognized, the Quebec government could take steps to deal with the problems that may arise. The points system could be reconsidered or, if left unaltered, subsidized training programs for native-born and immigrant unskilled workers could be implemented in order to channel them into higher-growth industries. This policy could possibly decrease the unemployment rate. If the effects of the current immigration policy are not recognized there is an increased possibility of social tension arising amongst unskilled workers and immigrants as the former perceive that they are in direct competition with immigrants in a shrinking labour market.

In addition to the above policy recommendations, the results of this study lead to further questions that should be examined regarding the economic effects of immigration into Quebec. It would be useful to separately examine the male and female immigrant experience in the Quebec labour market in order to determine which group is more likely to find employment in the unskilled sector. Ethnic origin may also effect the distribution. A repetition of a similar study could also be carried out with more detailed occupational categories, available upon special compilation request by Statistics Canada, which would give a clearer representation of the occupational distribution of immigrants. The out-migration phenomenon of immigrants admitted under the independent investor class also needs to be examined, especially in light of the 1991 Canada-Quebec act which granted increased immigration policy powers to the Quebec government.

Under the Canada-Quebec act Quebec received a majority of the powers that were negotiated in the failed Meech Lake accord. Quebec will receive a fixed percentage of total Canadian immigration equal to its demographic share of the population plus up to 5% more upon a Quebec request for an increased share due to demographic considerations. Total control is given to Quebec over the selection of all immigrants who fall outside of the family and business classes which will continue to be selected according to national standards. All integration and settlement services will be transferred to Quebec and funded by a block grant from the federal government based upon the numbers of immigrants who

enter Quebec regardless of whether or not they choose to migrate to another province. When out-migration is factored in the result is a disproportionate share of federal funding which has been the cause of severe media criticism of the agreement. Further research should be done in order to examine the implications of this type of funding structure, as well as an investigation into the factors that cause immigrants to migrate to other Canadian provinces.

It would also be interesting to examine the relationship that appears to have held throughout the nineteen-nineties between declining numbers of immigrants admitted into the province and the rise of nationalist political parties. In his now infamous 1995 post-referendum speech Jaques Parizeau blamed the defeat on money and the ethnic vote. This suggests that, in addition to competing for unskilled jobs, immigrants are thwarting nationalist ambitions by not supporting its aims. Does this suggest that for nationalists immigration has not lived up to its promise of admitting "socially suitable" candidates who identify with their vision of francophone society? Will immigration levels continue to decline while Quebec nationalists are in power?

Clearly there are many issues that surround immigration into Quebec which differentiate it from the examination of the effects of immigration into the nation as a whole. Although there are fundamental similarities in the goals of attracting socially and economically suitable candidates for admission, the link between immigration policy in Quebec and the preservation of francophone culture makes it a unique area of study. Laws such as Bill 101, or the policy of the 1985 points system, may appear economically irrational. Under these regulations immigrants are encouraged to compete for lower paying jobs with unilingual francophones which does not facilitate economic growth. However, insight into the rationale behind these regulations and immigration issues in Quebec can be gained when the social and political dimensions are considered alongside the economic analysis.

TABLE 6-10  
AVERAGE ANNUAL EMPLOYMENT INCOME FOR MEN AND WOMEN IN QUEBEC, 1970-1985

Mother Tongue	Men						Women					
	1970		1980		1985 <sup>a</sup>		1970		1980		1985 <sup>a</sup>	
	Dollars	RRC <sup>b</sup>	Dollars	RRC	Dollars	RRC	Dollars	RRC	Dollars	RRC	Dollars	RRC
Unilingual Anglophones	8,171	1.59	17,635	1.22	23,924	1.24	3,835	1.24	10,271	1.17	14,335	1.21
Bilingual Anglophones	8,938	1.74	19,562	1.36	26,078	1.36	3,956	1.28	10,759	1.22	14,449	1.22
Unilingual Francophones	5,136	—	14,408	—	14,235	—	3,097	—	8,801	—	1,802	—
Bilingual Francophones	7,363	1.43	19,547	1.36	25,923	1.35	3,842	1.24	11,195	1.27	14,718	1.25
English-speaking allophones	6,462	1.26	15,637	1.09	20,504	1.07	3,329	1.07	9,753	1.11	12,927	1.10
French-speaking allophones	5,430	1.06	13,287	0.92	17,664	0.92	3,241	1.05	8,191	0.93	9,918	0.84
Bilingual allophones	7,481	1.46	17,946	1.25	23,729	1.23	3,881	1.25	10,868	1.23	14,060	1.19
Other allophones	4,229	0.82	10,003	0.69	12,666	0.66	2,343	0.76	7,539	0.86	8,539	0.72
Anglophones or Francophones	—	—	—	—	21,705	1.13	—	—	—	—	13,182	1.12

a. In the 1986 census database, some individuals are classified as having two mother tongues, English and French. This is not the case for the 1971 or 1981 database.

b. RRC: Ratio-to-reference category (unilingual Francophone). For example, 1970 earnings of unilingual male Anglophones were 59 percent higher than those of unilingual Francophones.

SOURCE: For 1970 and 1980, François Vaillancourt, *Langue et Disparités de Statut Économique au Québec, 1970-1980* (Québec Conseil de la langue française, 1988), table 3.1. For 1985, calculations made by the author, using the 1986 Census Individual Microdata File.

Table 3

Occupation (based on 1971 Census classification)	Annual total Quebec labour force growth rate 1971-81 (in percent)	Percentage of immigrants per occupation 1981	Annual total Quebec labour force growth rate 1981-1991	Percentage of immigrants per occupation 1991	Change in the percentage 1981-1991
Manager/ (3) administrator	7.28	1.6	4.05	1.2	-20
Nat. sciences /engineering/ math (3)	6.02	5.4	4.16	3.1	-42
Social sciences (3)	8.78	1.6	4.24	1.2	-21
Teaching & religion (3) ✓	3.96	2.7	0.19	2	-27
Medicine/ health (3)	6.56	2.4	2.62	1.8	-25
Arts (3)	9.07	3	3.34	2.2	-27
Clerical (2)	5.6	2	0.9	1.9	-2.9
Sales (2)	4.54	2	2	2.3	17.4
Machine fabrication (2)	4.21	5.5	-1.11	4.7	-12.8
Transport operations (2)	0	1.2	-0.1	1.1	-0.05
Services (1)	5.74	3.1	1.02	3.2	0.3
Farming &(1) horticultural	1.09	1.9	0.39	1	-43
Other primary resources (1)	2.16	0.35	-0.86	0.09	-76
Processing(1)	4.88	3.1	-1.49	3.07	-0.9
Construction (1)	3	0.65	1.43	1.3	107.5
Other crafts (1)	5.87	2.4	0.35	3.1	31.7

Table 5

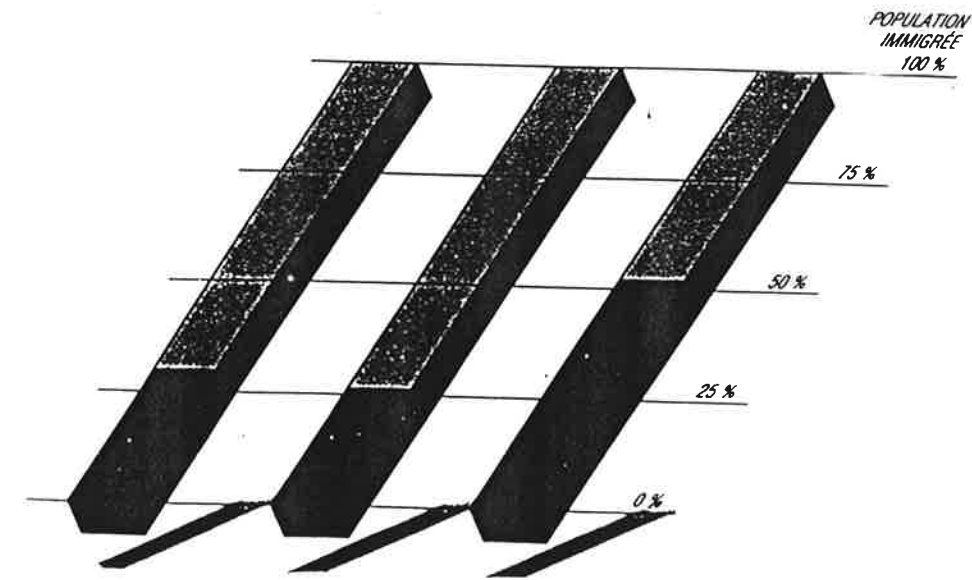
<b>categories</b>	<b>Imm. 61-71</b>	<b>Que. 1971</b>	<b>Imm.72-81</b>	<b>Que. 1981</b>	<b>Imm.82-91</b>	<b>Que. 1991</b>
manager/admin.	3955	103120	3250	208200	3867	309800
nat. sci/eng/math	6040	54140	5250	97150	4599	146100
social science	935	20690	750	48000	900	72733
teaching	6550	104650	4150	154350	3067	157233
medicine/health	4870	81040	3650	153050	3534	198133
arts	2090	22800	1650	54300	1666	75400
clerical	11965	346385	11900	597250	12633	653266
sales	5825	197070	6050	307200	8667	374633
machine fabrication	20510	253075	20950	382400	16334	342000
transport operations	2505	125050	1450	124550	1366	123300
service	12640	226300	12650	395500	15167	472566
farming /horcultural	770	77900	1650	86800	967	90300
other primary	105	33715	150	41750	33	38300
processing	3980	97020	4850	156200	4133	134400
construction	3490	126485	1100	169950	2633	195966
other crafts	3030	78110	3300	138200	4500	143133
other cat./not stated	7555	221580	4000	143450	9033	199566
total labour force	96815	2169130	86750	3258300	93099	3726829
not in labour force	76000	3463000	67300	3180450	85000	3084430
total	172815	5632130	154050	6438750	178099	6811259

Table 7

Occupation (1971 Census classification)	Quebec immigrants 1961-1971	Quebec immigrants 1972-1981	Quebec immigrants 1982-1991	Percentage of total imm. inflow 1961-71	Percentage of total imm. inflow 1972-81	Percentage of total imm. inflow 1982-91
Manager/ admin. (3)	3,955	3,250	3,867	4	3.7	4.2
Nat. sciences/ engineering/ math (3)	6,040	5,250	4,599	6.2	6.1	5
Social sciences (3)	935	750	900	1	0.9	1
Teaching & religion (3)	6,550	4,150	3,067	6.8	4.8	3.2
Medicine/ health (3)	4,870	3,650	3,534	5	4.2	3.8
Arts (3)	2,090	1,650	1,666	2.2	1.9	1.8
Clerical (2)	11,965	11,900	12,633	12.4	13.7	13.6
Sales (2)	5,825	6,050	8,667	6	7	9.3
Machine (2) fabrication	20,510	20,950	16,334	21.2	24.1	17.5
Transport(2) operations	2,505	1,450	1,366	2.6	1.7	1.5
Services (1)	12,640	12,650	15,167	13.1	14.6	16.3
Farming (1)	770	1,650	967	0.8	1.9	1
Other primary resources (1)	105	150	33	0.1	0.2	0.04
Processing (1)	3,980	4,850	4,133	4.1	5.6	4.4
Construction (1)	3,490	1,100	2,633	3.6	1.3	2.8
Other crafts (1)	3,030	3,300	4,500	3.1	3.8	4.8
Occupations not stated/ other category	7,555	4,000	9,033	7.8	4.5	9.7
Total	96,815	86,750	93,099	100	100	100

Graph 1

**Figure VIII :**  
**Proportions des transferts**  
**linguistiques par période**  
**d'immigration, Québec, 1986**  
**(population immigrée de tierce**  
**langue\*)**



TOTAL  
 TRANSFERS

AVANT 1971

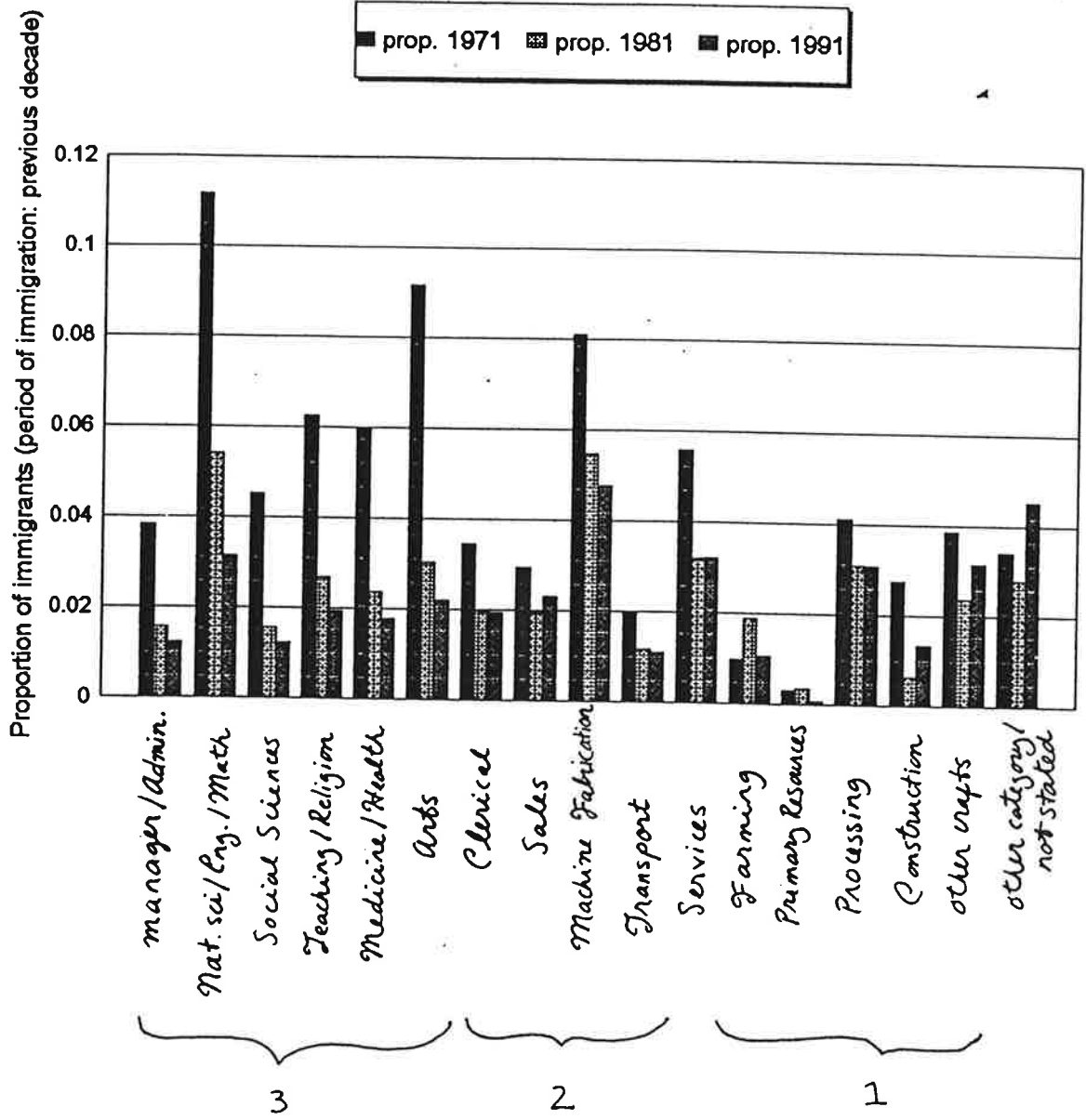
1971-1986

\* Langue maternelle unique  
 Source : Recensement du Canada, 1986

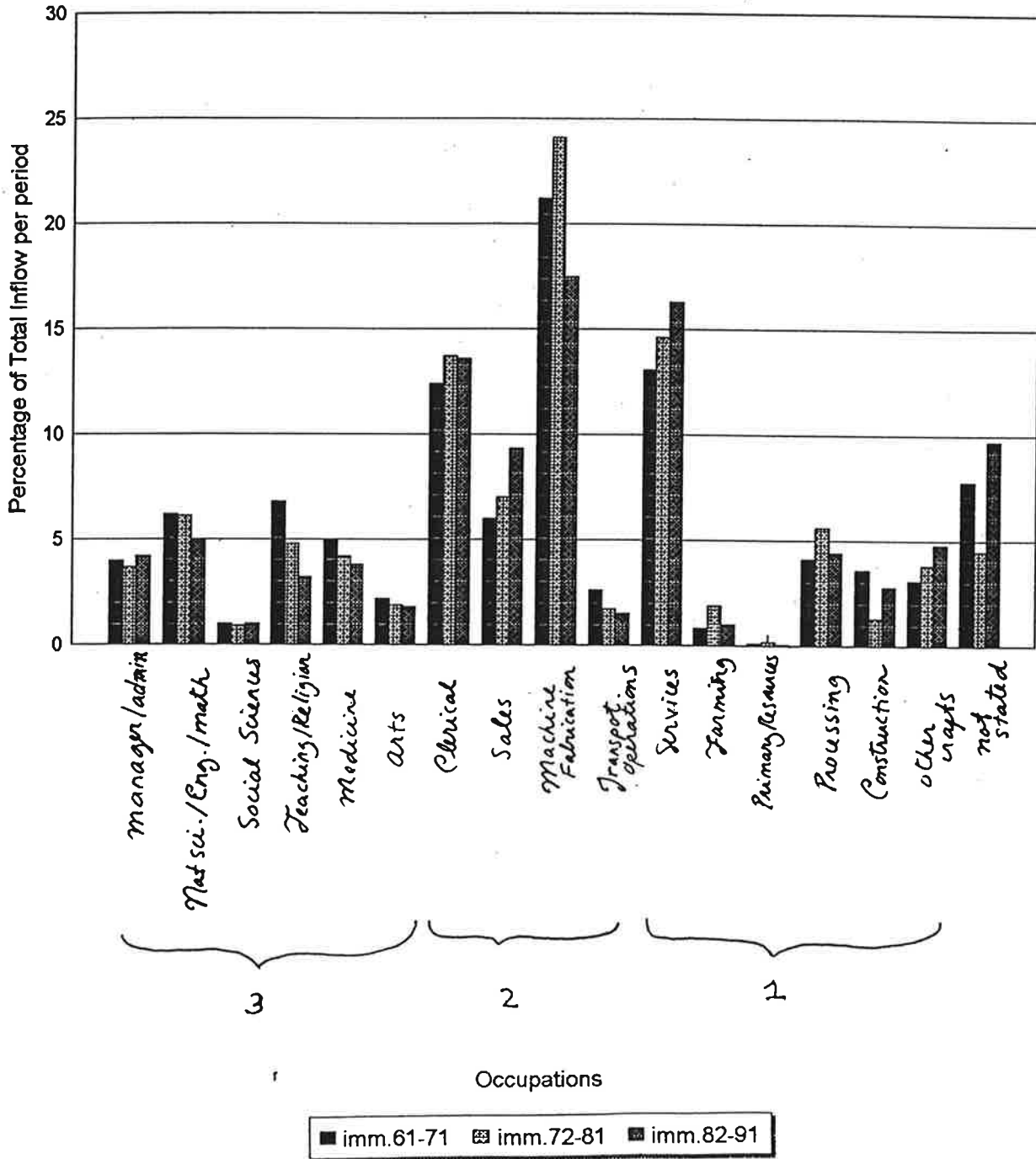
Transferts  
 vers l'anglais seulement (towards English only)  
 vers le français seulement (towards French only)



Proportion of Immigrants per Occupation 1971, 1981, 1991

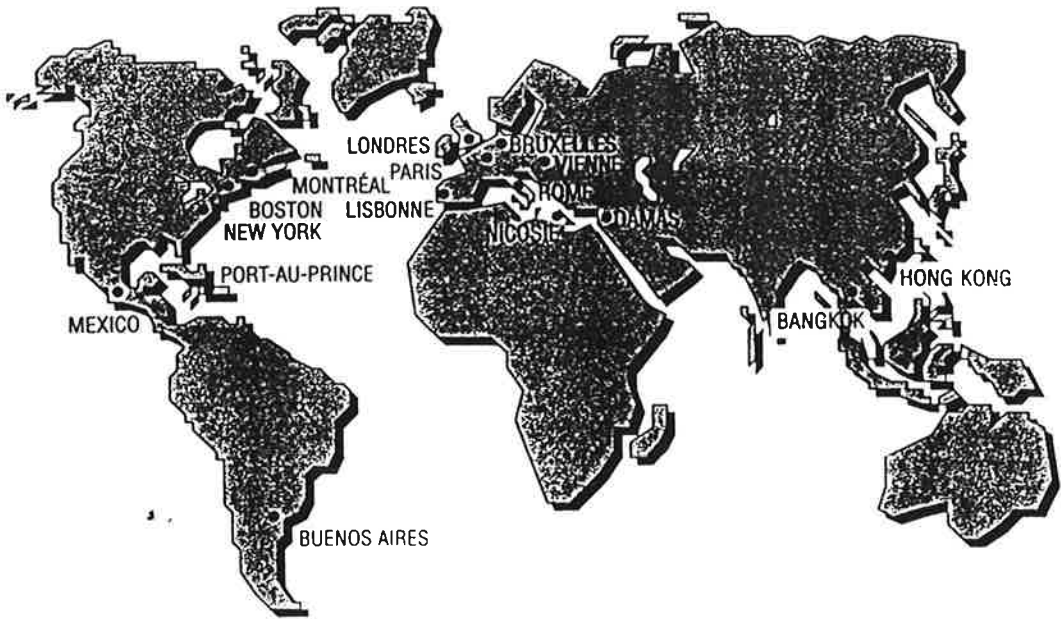


Occupational Distribution of Immigrants in Quebec



Quebec overseas  
immigration  
offices, 1990.

Figure IX :  
Carte des Services d'immigration  
du Québec



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