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*The Point System of Selection of
Immigrants in Quebec*

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Abstract

The present paper is aimed at identifying what are the effects of the Point System of Selection of immigrants in Quebec. I defend that the distribution of points results in a different composition of immigrant stocks in terms of origin mix and not in terms of labour skills. To do so, I carry out a longitudinal descriptive analysis on the national composition of immigrants in Quebec and two other significant provinces (Ontario and British Columbia), as well as an analysis of the distribution of points in Quebec and in the rest of Canada.

Keywords: Point System, Quebec, Immigration, Minority nations, Longitudinal Descriptive Analysis

Author's biographical note

Núria Franco i Guillén holds a MA in Political and Social Sciences at Universitat Pompeu Fabra (2009) where she is enrolled as a PhD Candidate in the Department of Political and Social Sciences. Her main lines of research include Diversity, Minority Nations and Immigration from a political theory perspective. She also works as a research assistant at GRITIM-UPF and is involved in Fronteras Project: Political Theory of Borders: Policies and movement of persons in the Euromediterranean. She is lecturer at UPF, where she teaches Introduction to Political Science and Qualitative Techniques. She is also the secretary of the NGO Africa Esperanza.

Introduction

The objective of this paper is to check the design and impact of an immigrant selection system within the context of a minority nation in a federal state. Hence, it is about drawing the interaction between these three dimensions in a concrete case which, indeed, it is not officially defended in the terms it is going to be exposed in the following pages.

Concretely, the aim is to answer the question *What effects does the Point System have on the composition of immigrants in Quebec?*

I will defend that the Point System in Quebec has led to a different composition of immigrants in terms of nationality (language) and not in terms of labour skills. This assumption challenges the usefulness of the system, which is supposed to serve to attract the most qualified immigrants, and thus, to contribute to a better economic performance in the territory where it is used. On the other hand, an in depth analysis of the case of Quebec can help to understand not only the reasons for that system, but its real results and its implications with regard to Quebec's national project.

The first part of this paper will provide a theoretical framework from three differentiated perspectives. First, the challenges that a minority nation has to face with regard to the majority and to the accommodation of immigration will be contextualised. Second, the extent to which the federal organisation of the state has served to accommodate the minority nations' demands will be analysed. In the case of Canada, this has been important, the management of immigration in Quebec cannot be separated from the federal context. Third, the Point System will be placed within this framework.

The second part of the research paper consists in a chronological review of Quebec's acquisition of competencies with respect to the management of migratory flows. It will also include a comparative description of how the Point System works both in Canada and in Quebec.

Finally, the last section is a descriptive and comparative analysis of immigrant profiles in terms of nationality in Quebec and two other territories, British Columbia and Ontario. The goal is to see whether there are real and important differences with respect to the source country composition of immigrants between these provinces and Quebec, and to see if there is a Francophone predominance in the latter.

Finally, the current distribution of points in the Quebecer system is analysed in order to see whether knowledge of French language is a key factor to gain access to the federal country, thus producing the outlined effect.

The conclusion explains the findings and suggests future lines of research.

Theoretical framework

This part consists of a contextualisation of Quebec as a minority nation, as well as a discussion on some of the challenges it must face in the nation-building process. Some space will also be devoted to expose other authors' work concerning the Point System.

Following Zapata-Barrero, (2008: 15) I use the term minority nation and not national minority in order to highlight that the objective is not to measure a minority in quantitative terms, but in terms of power relations. In the case of Quebec, one finds a territorially based group claiming a cultural, linguistic and historical reality which is different from the rest of the State. This historical background is one of the main arguments often used when claims for secession, or recognition, are posed (GAGNON, 1996). Furthermore, Quebec was one of the founding communities of the federal pact, which can add power to the arguments. In 2003, the *Assemblée Nationale du Québec* declared that the "Québécois people form a nation"¹ and was accepted by the House of Commons in 2006².

The province is a part of a *multi-national state* as Kymlicka (1995) defines it³. The claims it makes entail a national project which is, to some extent, differentiated from the majority nation. Hence a certain degree of permanent conflict is expected⁴ and thus the need for accommodating a minority nation's claims through a differentiated institutional design⁵. Furthermore, Quebec is not only within a multi-national context, but also *poly-ethnic*⁶, due to the migratory flows to the province throughout its history. Hence, it is easy to assume that the challenge posed by the majority nation is increased

¹ Assemblée Nationale du Québec, 2003

² House of Commons, 2006

³ "One source of cultural diversity is the coexistence within a given state of more than one nation, where 'nation' means a historical community more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture (...) but the formation of a multination state may also arise voluntarily, when different cultures agree to form a federation for their mutual benefit. (KYMICKA, 1995: 11)

⁴ "for Quebec nationalists, the greatest threat to an autonomous Quebec is the threat of cultural homogenisation on the part of a dominant English-speaking Canada" (BLAD and COUTON, 2009). See also Kymlicka, (1998)

⁵ See, for example, Young, (2000) when speaking about social equality and respect for difference in policies (pg. 173 and following)

⁶ Following Kymlicka's explanation (1995:17) "Obviously, a single country may be both multination (as a result of the colonizing, conquest or confederation of national communities) and poly-ethnic (as a result of individual and familial immigration). (...) So Canada is both multinational and poly-ethnic, as is the United States.

by the challenge of accommodating this *new* diversity. Indeed, migratory movements are forces with important effects in the re-configuration of national identity conceptions (NAIRN, 2003). Furthermore, the suggestion that immigrants tend to integrate to the majority nation (ZAPATA-BARRERO, 2008) poses a challenge with regard to national construction. Far from going in depth in this debate, one can agree with the idea that immigration is not only an economic instrument, but it can also turn into a tool for the political and cultural construction of a nation. As J. Carens (1995) explains, the Government of Quebec envisages immigration as being in Quebec's interest, indeed it is part of the project of building a distinct society since "it helps to increase immigration to meet the major demographic, economic, linguistic and cultural challenges of our society".

Having set out these challenges, it is time to describe the responses Canada and Quebec have given to accommodate this double diversity⁷. The first one is the existence of a federal pact. Indeed, one of the traditional tools to accommodate minority nations within a majority one has been the federal organisation of the State. A classical example of this is Canada itself. Regardless of whether the process of "federalisation" is previous or post existence of the state, or if its bottom-up or top-down, federalism has enabled territorial units to coexist under the same government. It allows them to maintain separate power spheres and thus their own identity. Federalism, which consists in a combination of self-rule and shared rule, seem to be the best way to maintain the borders of a state and accommodate most of its minorities' claims⁸.

With respect to the second challenge, the one derived from immigration, the federal province has achieved something which can be essential for a minority nation: decisive power over immigration management. Although other minority nations such as Catalonia or Flanders also have some power in this field (at least with regards to accommodation), Quebec is one step ahead in this regard. It has exclusive competences in the selection of immigrants⁹. Note that admission (which remains in the hands of Canada) is not the same as selection, the federal province cannot decide "how many" come in, but only "which" or "who". These broad competencies in immigration must provide Quebec with a major advantage when faced with the aforementioned challenge.

⁷ Logically, and due to the concrete objective in the present paper, I speak about "double diversity" referring to the concepts of multi-nationality and poly-ethnicity, but without forgetting other forms, such as religious or sexual diversity.

⁸ A good argumentation of this idea can be found in Kymlicka (1999)

⁹ These competencies are given by the *Accord Canada-Québec Relatif À L'immigration Et À L'admission Temporaire Des Aubains*, (see more below).

Following this idea, Blad and Couton (2009) argue that migration has contributed to the strengthening of national boundaries within Canada in four different ways:

First, immigration to both Canada and Quebec has led to a redefinition of nationhood that integrates rather than rejects cultural pluralism. While some fear that this has dissolved traditional nationalism, there is clear evidence that it has also contributed to a sharpening of national identity. Second, as part of its evolution into a 'quasi nation-state', Quebec has successfully captured immigration control from the federal government, hence reinforcing its own sovereignty. Third, Quebec's understanding of immigration has changed radically and it is now becoming a *bona fide* immigrant society (...). Fourth, Quebec has successfully changed both the types of immigrant it receives and how it relates to them, thus helping to reinforce its own national identity (...) as a French-speaking community, albeit one that now hosts immigrants from a wide range of Francophone countries. These four trends point to a more general issue: not only is immigration not challenging traditional nation-statehood, it is reinforcing it. (p. 647)

The fourth idea suggests, as the present paper does, that the Point System in Quebec may play a role in shaping the composition of the immigrant stock in the Canadian province. As such it is a potential resource for the Government of Quebec to enhance its national identity. Selecting immigrants by origin has also been tackled by other authors, such as Christian Joppke (2005), albeit from a different perspective and without considering the case of Quebec within the present framework. Joseph H. Carens (1995) does not justify the Point System itself (he actually argues that selection and admission are open to criticism, but indeed, the critique would apply to **all** the industrial nations, and not Quebec in particular), but he asserts that Quebec is not violating the minimum standards expected from any liberal democracy, at least not in comparison with Canada. For Carens, there is nothing distinctively objectionable about Quebec's policies and goals or about the arrangements made with the federal government to facilitate them (p. 28). Firstly, Quebec wants to increase, and not decrease, the number of immigrants. This suggests that the political community is open. Selection policies are not morally objectionable in the sense that political communities are entitled to exercise complete discretion in selection. It is however morally constrained since Quebec is explicitly committed to a principle of non-discrimination. For him knowledge of French as a selection criterion is not objectionable, and finally,

the requirement for “adaptability – likelihood of successful settlement¹⁰” is the same as in Canada. There are no reasons to think that the Quebecer interviewers are being “more racist” than the Canadian ones. Finally Carens argues that other provinces have not tried to gain control over migration “Because Quebec is different. The other provinces do not think that they have anything vital at stake in this area. Quebec does.” (p. 31)

In addition, Joseph Garcea (1998) suggests that Canada is configuring a *bifurcated immigration system* in the sense that there are two relatively distinct systems, Quebec’s and the rest of Canada. In his work, *Bicommunalism and the bifurcation of the immigration system*, he looks for the effects of this bifurcation. He is not able to confirm that the transfer of competences has hindered the management of immigration in Canada as a whole, or damaged inter-federal relations. He points to the achievement of three kind of objectives: sociodemographic, identitarian, and related to state allegiance of Quebec and federal governments. However, Garcea admits that these objectives are indeterminate and possibly indeterminable, given the difficulty in establishing a causal link between this bifurcation and objectives, as well as evaluating them.

G. J. Borjas (1991) has compared the composition of the immigrant population in Canada and the United States (which does not implement large scale skill-based immigration policies) in terms of source country and labour skills. The author concludes that the Point System works not because it attracts more skilled workers from a particular source country, but because it alters the national origin mix of the immigration flow. Nevertheless, this study was carried out using two different cases, one of them used the Point System and the other did not. However, Borjas work suggest that if the Point System is able to produce different compositions of immigrants, decentralizing its management to a regional government could lead to new variations between the national origin mixes of Quebec in relation to the rest of Canada.

There is a last idea linking this double argumentation of why the bifurcation in the immigration system has not negatively affected the inter-federal relations by Garcea (1998):

The principal reason that they have not been critical of bifurcation is that, as has been the case with federal governments, they have understood its symbolic and practical

¹⁰ This likelihood is a part of the total punctuation, which will be analysed later. In few words, these points are given after a personal interview with an officer who has to grade it.

importance in appeasing autonomist and sovereigntist sentiments in that province, thereby minimizing conflict between the federal and Quebec governments and reducing the risk of Quebec independence. (...) Both the federal and federalist Quebec provincial governments have used it to combat the incipient separatist threat in that province by pointing to bifurcation as evidence that federalism is sufficiently flexible to accommodate Quebec's unique immigration needs. For their part, Quebec's sovereigntist governments have used bifurcation as an integral part of their "etapisme" strategy in paving the way for their march toward sovereignty-association or independence. (pp; 5-6)

To conclude, we can rely on the following arguments:

First of all, Quebec is a minority nation which is characterised by including a Francophone majority within a predominantly Anglophone North America. As a minority nation, the province is claiming for self-protection in terms of nation-building and identity. Secondly, the traditional way conceived to accommodate territorial minorities (the case of Quebec) has been a federal organisation of the state, as Canada has done. With the federal pact, one could agree that Canada had reached certain equilibrium, but immigration has re-opened the challenge of identity and nation building. This is particularly true since immigrants tend to integrate to the majority nation. In order to respond to this challenge, the Government of Quebec has achieved exclusive competences in the selection of immigrants. This exclusivity has been justified in terms of preservation of identity, rather than for its more economically efficient management. In consequence, one must at least suspect that the most important effect of this provincial organisation of the Point System will result in a different composition of immigrants, not on the basis of work skills but the national origin mix (directly related to language skills).

Contextualising Quebec and the main arguments lead to the defence of the hypothesis that Point System is resulting in different national mix of immigrants in Quebec than in the rest of Canada. The next part will briefly describe the Point System itself and how Quebec won the competences in this area. Finally, the methodology used in this study will be outlined.

The Point System of Selection of Immigrants

The Canadian Point System can be summarized as a method to grant points to aliens who apply for permanent residence. This method grants different points on the basis of the skills the applicant has. This merit-based "Point System" determines which candidates may immigrate permanently (and so gain a path to citizenship) each year.

The Point System ensures that candidates with the characteristics most needed by Canada at any time are selected first. It also ensures that candidates can be informed of what the sought-after skills and credentials are, and so take steps that will allow them to gain more points over time.

The main goals of Canada's immigration system are listed in the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act*. It is worth noting the following:

- a) "To permit Canada to pursue the maximum social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration;
- b) To support the development of a strong and prosperous Canadian economy, in which the benefits of immigration are shared across all regions of Canada;
- c) To support, by means of consistent standards and prompt processing, the attainment of immigration goals established by the Government of Canada in consultation with the provinces;
- d) To enrich and strengthen the cultural and social fabric of Canadian society, while respecting the federal, bilingual and multicultural character of Canada."

The first step for the applicant is to accrue a certain minimum number of points that allow him or her to get in line for permanent-resident status. At any time, potential immigrants can at any time add more points to their score (by passing a mechanics certification exam, or passing an English language exam). No matter what the permanent resident quota is, aliens with the most-needed skills are always taken first.

Table 1.1 describes the Point System distribution for Canada¹¹:

Table 1.1 Distribution of points. Canada

Factor 1	Education	Maximum 25 points
Factor 2	Ability in English and/or French	Maximum 24 points
Factor 3	Experience	Maximum 21 points
Factor 4	Age	Maximum 10 points
Factor 5	Arranged employment in Canada	Maximum 10 points
Factor 6	Adaptability	Maximum 10 points
Total		Maximum 100 points
Pass Mark		67 points

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2009

The minimum number of points needed to be considered under Canada's program is *67 out of 100 total points*, and the worker must have had at least one year of

¹¹ Find a more detailed distribution of points in Citizenship and Immigration Canada web site: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/inFORMATION/applications/guides/EG72.asp#factors> [last entered: 15/04/2009]

full-time work experience (in a desired skill) within the last 10 years. Applicants can gain up to 25 points for education, 24 points for English/French language ability, 21 points for relevant employment experience, 10 for desirable age, 10 for arranged employment, and 10 for adaptability. (Including the spouse's education level, previous work or study in Canada, and whether one has distant relatives in Canada)

In the case of Quebec, the objectives of their immigration law (*Loi sur l'immigration au Québec*) are as follows:

- a) Contribute to the enrichment of the socio-cultural heritage of Quebec, to stimulate the development of its economy and the pursuit of its demographic objectives;
- b) Facilitate the reunion in Quebec by Canadian citizens and permanent residents with their relatives from abroad;
- c) To enable Quebec to assume its responsibilities in the admission of refugees and others who are in need of help;
- d) Promote, among foreign nationals who request it, the arrival of those who can successfully integrate in Quebec;
- e) Facilitating the conditions of stay in Québec of foreign nationals who wish to study, work temporarily or receive medical treatment, taking into account the reasons for their arrival and reception capacity of Quebec.

One can see that the objectives are quite similar to those in the federal level, although the priorities seem to be different. The process to migrate to Quebec is also the same, although candidates must obtain the "*Quebec Selection Certificate*". To qualify for a Quebec Selection Certificate, Skilled Worker / Professional, applicants must score enough points under the Quebec Immigration selection system, which is summarized in table 1.2.

Table 1.2. Distribution of Points. Quebec.

Factor	Maximum
1-Training	Up to 29 points (Cut-off Score = 2 points)
2-Experience	Up to 9 points
3-Age	Up to 18 points
4-Language Proficiency	Up to 22 points
5-Stay and Family in Quebec	Up to 9 points
6-Spouse's Characteristics	Up to 18 points
7-Validated Employment Offer	Up to 10 points
8-Children	Up to 8 points

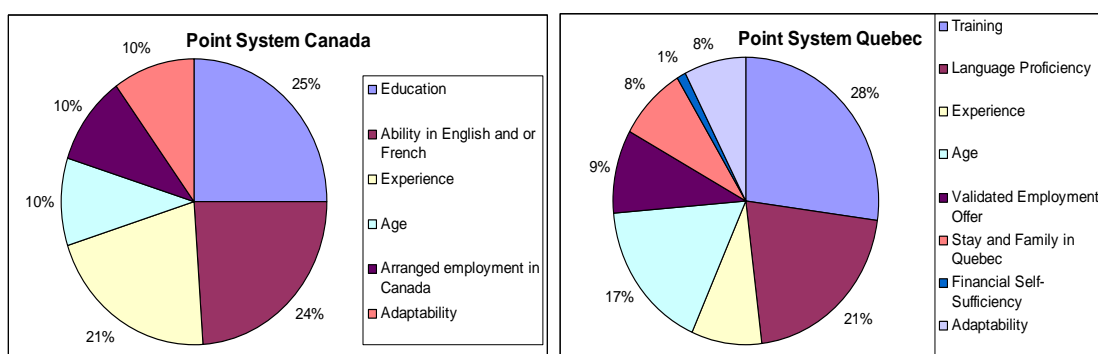
9-Financial Self-Sufficiency	1 point (Cut-off Score = 1)
10-Adaptability	Up to 8

Source: Own elaboration. *Règlement sur la pondération applicable à la sélection des ressortissants étrangers*

Up to an additional 8 points may be awarded upon the interview for Adaptability. A single applicant must score a minimum of 59 points (including the cut-off ones). An applicant with a spouse or common-law/conjugal partner must score at least 68 points¹².

Comparing the distribution of points in Quebec and in the rest of Canada, it is similar in both cases, although one must highlight that language seems to be more important in the case of Canada. However, in the case of Quebec the 22 points for language are divided into a maximum of 6 for English and 16 points for French. In the case of Canada, there is a still unequal distribution but regardless of which is the first official one and the second one. In other words a fluent English speaker will get the same points (up to 16) as a fluent French speaker in the Canadian Point System. In contrast, the Quebecer Point System would only give up to 6 points to the former and up to 16 to the latter. Consequently, knowing only French gives the candidate willing to migrate to Quebec 26% of the minimum mark, while in the case of Canada, the fact of knowing only French gives the candidate 23% of the minimum punctuation. Figure 1.1 shows the relative weight of each factor in both territories.

Figure 1.1. Distribution of punctuation in the Point System in Quebec and Canada, 2006



Source: Own Elaboration.

The fact of having lived or stayed in Quebec seems to be a differential feature between both systems. It is not explicitly valued in Canada¹³. Furthermore, age¹⁴ is

¹² See *Règlement sur la pondération applicable à la sélection des ressortissants étrangers* (Loi sur l'Immigration au Québec) for a further detailed punctuation by each dimension.

¹³ It is not included apart, but within "Adaptability" factor.

more valued in Quebec while experience (work experience) is more valued in Canada. Finally, adaptability represents 10 and 8% respectively. One cannot really know how this latter punctuation is given in the case of Quebec. With respect to Canada, points are given by facts such as having previously lived, stayed or worked in the country, the partner's level of education, and other ties with Canada.

A further comparison between the two systems will be presented in the last part of this paper. Nevertheless, one can establish slight differences between the distribution of points, especially concerning experience and age and, to some extent, language. The following section will offer a short description of how Quebec gained immigration competencies and control over its own Point System.

Quebec's competences on Immigration

Currently, migration is a shared competence between the government of Quebec and the federal government¹⁵. It is considered a *de facto* asymmetry since it is the only province that is actually sharing this competency with the federal state¹⁶. However, it is possible for any other province to make use of this power.¹⁷ Despite the space and time limitations of this paper, one should note that the process is related to the recent history of Quebec.

After the Quiet Revolution, the Quebecer community began to self-understand as an immigration society (Juteau, 2005). Indeed, in 1965 an immigration service linked to the Culture Ministry was constituted. It was substituted three years later by the Immigration Ministry. Its main task was focused on three pillars: teaching French to immigrants, accommodation and setting up of the levels of entry. This suggests an awareness of some of the challenges mentioned above. The powers of Quebec in immigration increased after several agreements with the federal government:

The first one was the Cloutier-Lang¹⁸ agreement (1971), which allowed the Government of Quebec to place some officers in some federal offices abroad. However,

¹⁴ Concerning age, points are given in both cases in relation with the remaining years for retirement (the greater, the most points awarded, being the maximum 10 points in Canada for applicants aged 21-49 and 10 in Quebec for applicants aged 18 – 35 years).

¹⁵ Accord Canada-Québec Relatif À L'immigration Et À L'admission Temporaire Des Aubains

¹⁶ See Watts (1999)

¹⁷ An idea of why the rest of provinces have not claimed for broader competencies concerning immigration has been given by Carens (1995)

¹⁸ The couple of names appearing for each pact correspond to the provincial and federal Immigration ministers at the moment of the agreement.

this did not increase its *de facto* powers since the role of the officers was to inform potential immigrants about aspects of life in Quebec, they could not take part in the selection processes.

Four years later, (1975), the Bienvenue-Andras agreement was signed. Hence, the province could have immigration officers, either in federal offices or in *Quebec's residences*. The agreement also authorised Quebec to review and comment on immigration applications and forced the federal government to take into account Quebec's (non-binding) opinion concerning any candidate wishing to migrate and settle in the province. However, the final decision was still in hands of the federal immigration counsellor. In order to enforce the agreement, it established a federal-provincial committee for exchange of information, consultation of immigrant settlement, and interpretation and implementation of the agreement itself.

The Couture-Cullen Agreement (1978), favoured by a change of government, from the Liberal to the Quebecer party, gave Quebec a determinant power in selecting independent immigrants by establishing a joint commission between the Canadian executive and the Quebecer one. The agreement granted the province a positive and negative veto in admissions. That meant, immigrants not having met the standards under Canadian federal selection system could still be admitted if they met Quebec's standards. Similarly an immigrant having met Canada's standards could be rejected by Quebec.

In 1991, the Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall agreement, also known as *Canada-Québec Accord*, was signed. The province assumed real leadership in the selection of its immigrants. It gave Quebec exclusive responsibility on selection, accommodation and integration of newcomers into the Quebecer society, and it granted a level of immigration which would be proportional to Quebec's relative weight in Canada's population. The Canadian government was left only a residual power to forbid entrance to aliens for security or public health reasons.

It has been said that all these agreements have contributed to increase federal asymmetry in Canada and thus undermined the role of the Canadian government in the immigration process. Some authors have added that Quebec has used its immigration autonomy as a foundation and incentive for its independence movement¹⁹. Other authors (as has already been mentioned), as well as politicians, have justified this

¹⁹ Kostov, 2008

“asymmetry” in order to accommodate the national demands of a society such as Quebec, which needs special competences since it has distinctive features. This latest Canada-Quebec agreement is still in force and, along with the document *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble; Énoncé de politique en matière d’immigration et d’intégration*²⁰, it is the basis for Quebec’s immigration policies.

There are two main reasons why it is meaningful to set the evolution of Quebec’s competences in the selection of its immigrants. First, it gives some hints on the path the province has followed over the last years, which could help to understand how points are distributed. Secondly, the existence of several pacts, as well as the fact that powers were not transferred all together at the same time, conditions the way the analysis must be conducted.

Methodology and Data

In order to examine whether the Point System in Quebec has been used to select immigrants in terms of their language skills over time, it seems a good idea to compare the changing profile of new admissions in Quebec and the rest of Canada. In addition to comparing it with other provinces that have received a significant amount of immigration over time.

Quebec is the second most populated province in Canada, including 7,744,530 inhabitants²¹, which represents around 24,5% of the total population of Canada. Its capital is Quebec City, although Montreal is the most important city, as well as the second most populated in the country (more than 3,5M inhabitants). Its official language is French, which is spoken by approximately 95% of its population according to the 2006 Census, with 80% of the population being Francophone. According to the Canadian census (2006) around 13.5% of Quebec’s inhabitants are immigrants²².

Bearing these characteristics in mind, I have selected Ontario and British Columbia as comparable cases. Indeed, the former is the most populated province (almost 13M inhabitants) and the latter is the third one (4.5M), after Quebec. Moreover, both territories have the highest proportion of immigrants in Canada, 28.3% and 27.5% respectively. Although there are other provinces such as Alberta, or Manitoba, with a

²⁰ Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration

²¹ Statistics Canada, 2008

²² Statistics Canada, 2008

higher proportion of immigrants than Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia, along with Quebec, are the main receptors of immigration in Canada (86.8% of the total immigrant population in the country).

Attention must also be paid to the different periods mentioned above. One can see that there are four different moments in the evolution of Quebec's competencies in the selection of immigrants, which are expected to be reflected on the composition of immigrants in the province. The first one (Coutier-Lang Agreement, 1971) gave Quebec a symbolic role, since the province was only able to communicate with immigrants that had already been selected and admitted into the province. The second one, Bienvenue-Andras Agreement (1975) made the Canadian government "take into account" Quebec's comments on selection. Hence, one cannot expect an important difference in the composition of immigrants between those two periods, or any changes in trends. Thirdly, the Couture-Cullen Agreement (1978), along with the (fourth) Canada-Quebec Agreement (1991) gave powers to Quebec. Thus, one should expect a change after 1978. Apart from competence transfers, one should also take into account a final aspect: the fact that there was a change in the Government of Quebec, the *Parti Québécois* was in power from 1976 to 1985 (BOTHWELL, 1995). Accordingly, it is reasonable to expect more weight being given to *Francophonie* in the distribution of points during this period.

Fortunately, there is data available since 1968²³, which is quite useful since the first pact took place in 1971. However there are some essential problems: firstly this data is only given in an aggregated way; secondly, during the first two periods data is not really detailed. This means, first, that one cannot take into account other variables that could have an effect on immigrant composition. In addition, the important changes on the number of countries in the world from 1968 to nowadays imply some difficulties for classifying immigrants by country of origin. Furthermore, there's only information about inflows. On one hand, this is what matters in order to answer to our main question, but, on the other hand, there is no data neither about the stock of immigrants arrived in Canada before 1968 nor what its composition by origin was. One can't even know how many of them are still alive, and stocks are, to some extent, relevant (especially if one thinks about family reunification and self-selection).

²³ With regard to the main source of data, it is retrieved from **Statistics Canada** web page.

Finally, there is an issue that cannot be forgotten: I am focusing on economic or independent immigrants since they are the ones that have to pass the Point System. Refugees and other immigrant groups' admissions are covered by different legislation. As a consequence, the effect of the Point System on the composition of immigrants in Quebec is reduced. Therefore one might reformulate the aim to "the effect of the Point System on the composition of principal applicants in Quebec". In any case, the proportion of refugees in Quebec has remained about 20%²⁴ of the total newcomers during the last 10 years, hence one should take it into account.

I will focus on the different periods that must be taken into account (this is, 1968–1971, 1971–1974, 1975–1976, 1977–1985 1986–1991 and 1991–2006²⁵). In order to do the comparison, I will draw the statistical profiles of migrants admitted to Quebec, the whole of Canada, British Columbia and Ontario. Given the fact that there are almost 200 countries in the world, I will present only the most important immigrant groups (encompassing more than 50% of total immigrants) to make the graphs more readable. I will do so with the top immigrant groups in Canada, on one hand, and the top immigrant groups in Quebec on the other hand. Thus, a difference in composition in terms of nationality (and obviously according to language) should be noticed. Although I will speak about inflows, and not stocks, before continuing I present a "snap shot" of the current situation in Quebec²⁶.

The following graph shows the composition of immigrants in Canada (and their distribution in the three provinces, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia) in 2006 by place of birth.

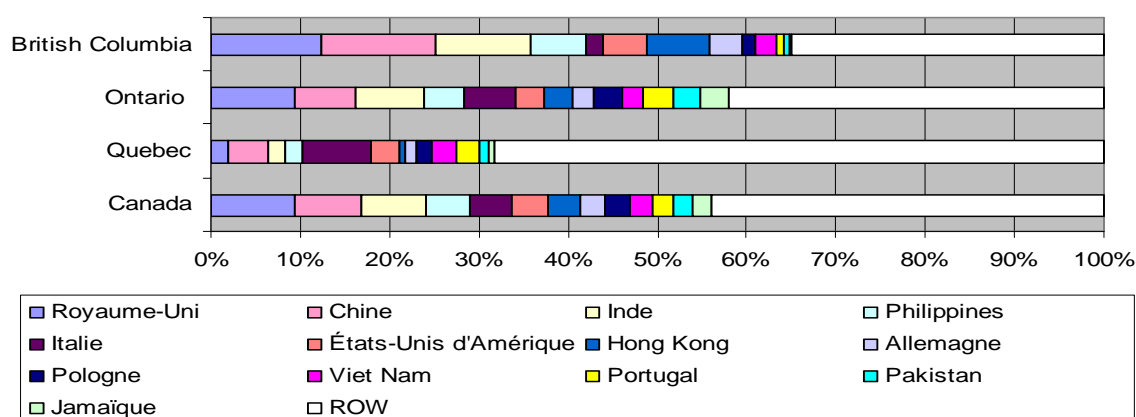
Graph 1.1 Most numerous Immigrants in Canada. Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia, by place of birth. 2006²⁷

²⁴ Immigration et Communautés Culturelles web site

²⁵ I won't reach 2009 since the last census, from where data is retrieved, was done in 2006.

²⁶ **Note** that: Graphs will be displayed in the following way: First, top immigrant groups (as said, encompassing over 50% of the total immigrants) in **Canada**, and secondly, top immigrants groups in **Quebec**.

²⁷ See Annex for detailed data for each of the following graphs. In this sense, each table has the same numerical reference as in Graphs. Hence, for this one, Table 1.1 in appendix must be checked.



Source: Own Elaboration²⁸. Statistics Canada. Census 2006

One can notice evident differences in the composition of immigrants. First of all, while the countries listed above represent more than 50% of the immigrant population in Canada, Ontario and British Columbia, this percentage reaches only 31.87% in the case of Quebec. In addition there are some countries under-represented in Quebec, such as Hong Kong (0,6%) or Jamaica (0,6%). The distribution of each nationality within the territory is also interesting to see. Table 1.1 shows some curious data:

Table 1.1. Distribution of immigrants by nationality within provinces. 2006

	British Columbia	Ontario	Quebec	ROC ²⁹	Total
United Kingdom	23,72%	55,49%	2,77%	18,03%	100,00%
China	31,12%	49,25%	8,39%	11,24%	100,00%
India	26,88%	58,27%	3,65%	11,20%	100,00%
Philippines	22,82%	49,93%	5,39%	21,86%	100,00%
Italy	6,47%	66,81%	22,08%	4,64%	100,00%
United States	22,58%	42,47%	10,61%	24,35%	100,00%
Hong Kong	36,23%	51,82%	2,50%	9,45%	100,00%
Germany	23,74%	46,73%	6,72%	22,81%	100,00%
Poland	9,48%	65,07%	8,03%	17,43%	100,00%
Viet Nam	16,47%	49,57%	15,26%	18,70%	100,00%
Portugal	6,23%	73,11%	14,24%	6,42%	100,00%
Pakistan	6,15%	75,74%	7,23%	10,89%	100,00%
Jamaica	2,26%	88,61%	4,45%	4,68%	100,00%
Total	18,09%	54,93%	13,76%	13,21%	100,00%

Source: Own elaboration. Statistics Canada

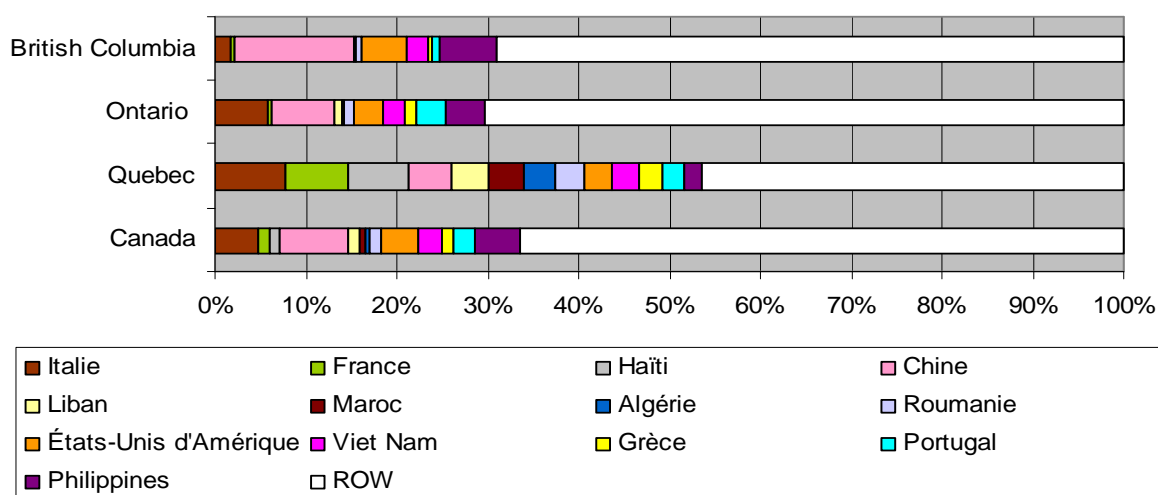
For example, a very important majority of these immigrants are living in Ontario. This percentage is very high in the case of nationalities like Jamaicans (88%), Pakistanis (75%) or Portuguese (74%). In the case of the most numerous groups, they are also concentrated in Ontario, and less in Quebec. One can highlight the Chinese community, which is mainly settled in English-speaking Canada (8.39% in Quebec),

²⁸ ROW= Rest of the world.

²⁹ ROC: Rest of Canada

although given its size, it is also very significant within Quebec. Indeed, Graph 1.2 shows the composition of immigrants in Quebec by place of birth (2006), and the corresponding representation in the other cases, in the same terms of graph 1.1.

Graph 1.2 Most numerous Immigrants in Quebec. Whole Canada, Ontario and British Columbia, by place of birth. 2006



Source: Own Elaboration: Statistics Canada. Census 2006

One can still see differences between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Indeed, most numerous nationality is Italy, while it is the sixth in the whole country. In addition, some nationalities disappear from the top-12 of Quebec, such as Poland, Germany or Hong Kong, while others appear in important positions. This is the case of France, Haiti, Lebanon or Morocco. These new nationalities are all French-speaking. Moreover, some of them are mainly settled in Quebec, like Algerians, Haitians, Moroccans and French. Table 1.2 clearly shows this distribution.

Table 1.2. Distribution of immigrants by nationality within provinces. 2006

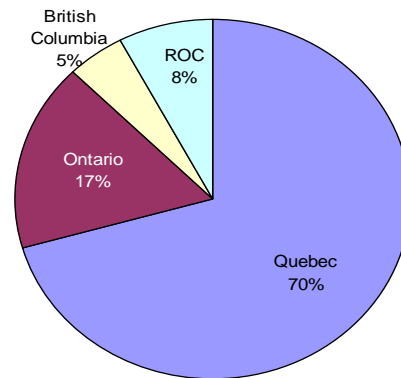
	British Columbia	Ontario	Quebec	ROC	Total
Italy	6,47%	66,81%	22,08%	4,64%	100%
France	5,98%	14,38%	74,44%	5,20%	100%
Haiti	0,84%	8,45%	89,59%	1,12%	100%
China	31,12%	49,25%	8,39%	11,24%	100%
Lebanon	2,25%	38,80%	46,33%	12,62%	100%
Morocco	1,33%	10,97%	85,94%	1,75%	100%
Algeria	1,12%	5,77%	91,51%	1,61%	100%
Romania	8,91%	49,79%	32,62%	8,69%	100%
United States	22,58%	42,47%	10,61%	24,35%	100%
Viet Nam	16,47%	49,57%	15,26%	18,70%	100%
Greece	5,98%	57,75%	30,45%	5,81%	100%
Portugal	6,23%	73,11%	14,24%	6,42%	100%
Philippines	22,82%	49,93%	5,39%	21,86%	100%

ROW ³⁰	18,81%	58,05%	9,60%	13,55%	100%
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Source: Own Elaboration: Statistics Canada. Census 2006

In addition, of the francophone³¹ immigrant community a very important proportion is living in Quebec, about 70% of it. This community represented 26% of the total immigrant community in Quebec in 2006.

Graph 1.2.b. Distribution of French-speaking immigrants in Canada. 2006



Source: Statistics Canada 2006

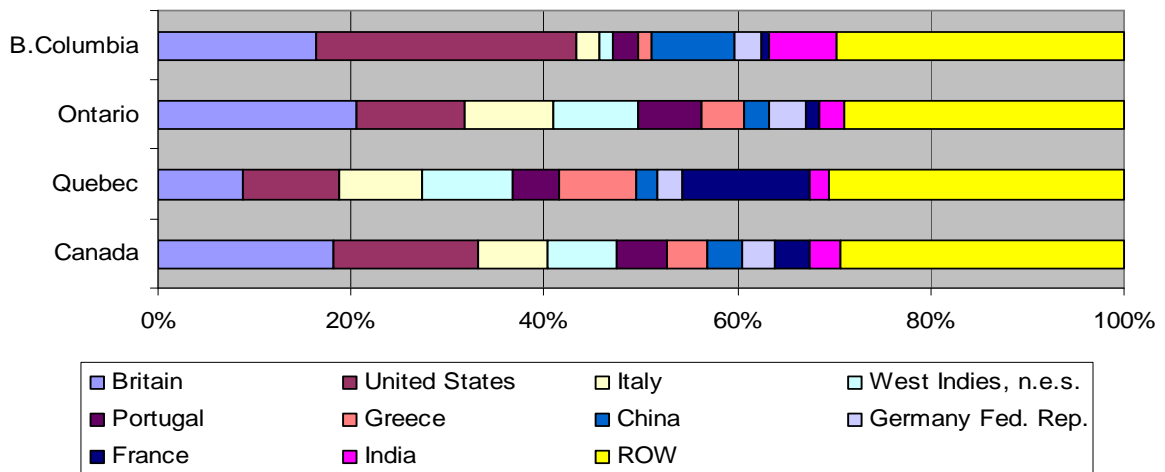
The current composition of immigrant communities in Canada, as well as in Quebec, is a result of decades of immigration. If one wants to see the effect of Point System on this composition, one must, as has already been mentioned, look at this same composition in other periods where the distribution of competences concerning selection of immigrants were differently distributed between Canada and Quebec.

Starting from the beginning, let's have a look of immigrants who entered in Canada for the first period (say, 1968 – 1971, from the first data available to the first pact). The ten most numerous immigrant groups in Canada, account for more than 70%. These same groups represent similar averages in Quebec and the rest of provinces:

³⁰ ROW: Rest of the World

³¹ I included in "francophone immigrant community" all those who were coming from a country having French as official language (Belgium, Cameroon) or ex-colonies with a significant level of French knowledge, such as Morocco, Algeria or Tunisia. In other words, those joining "La Francophonie" See detailed data in Table 1.2.b Appendix

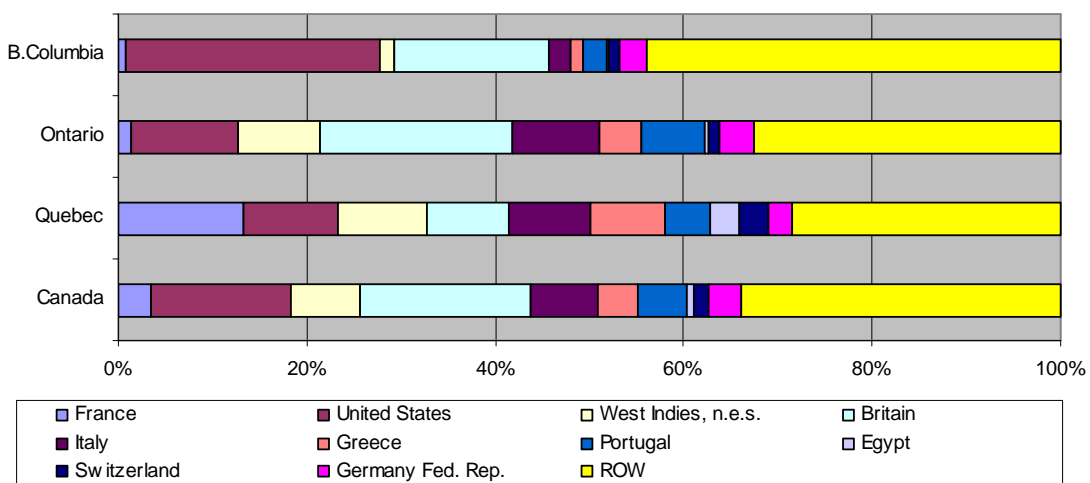
Graph 2.1 – Immigrants in Canada 1968-1971 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada³².

In this period the composition of immigrants is quite similar between territories, except for British Columbia which is less diverse than the rest, and the greater concentration of French immigrants in Quebec. In addition, British and U.S. immigrants are more concentrated in British Columbia and Ontario. This fact gives a notion of “self-selection”. In other words, it seems obvious that a French immigrant would rather migrate to a French-speaking region and the other way round for the British and North Americans (although to a lesser extent).

Graph 2.2 – Immigrants in Quebec 1968-1971 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia



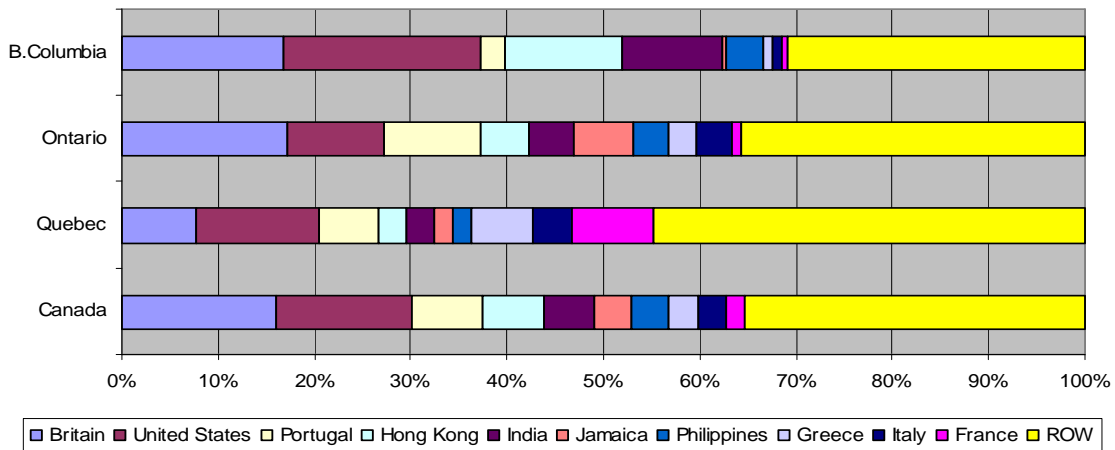
*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Look at the composition of the top ten immigrant groups in Quebec, there is no huge difference from the previous profile. The only differences are that France is the

³² See detailed data in Appendix. The same will apply for all the following graphs.

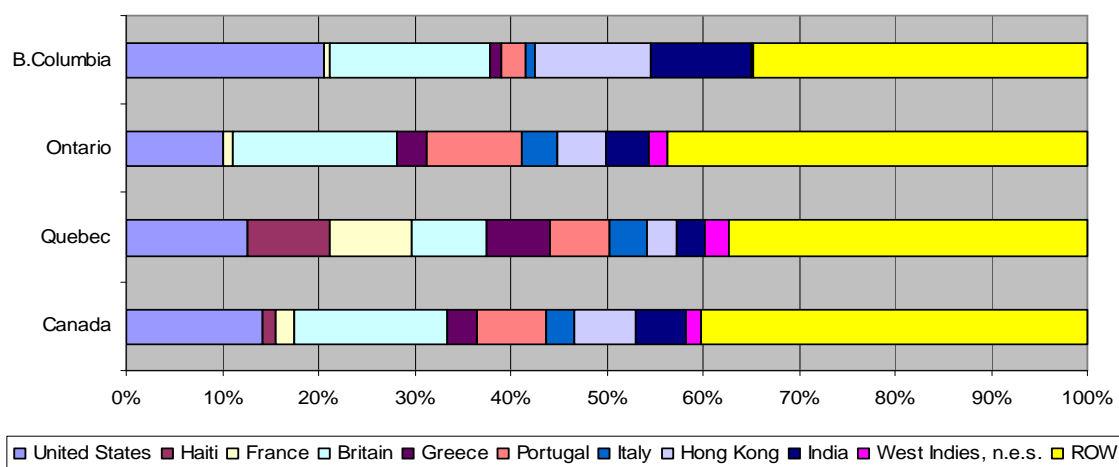
first immigrant group in Quebec, representing a higher proportion than in the rest of Canada, and that Switzerland and Egypt become important origin countries replacing China and India. The proportion of US and British citizens remains important in Quebec.

Graph 3.1- Immigrants in Canada 1972-1974 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graph 3.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1972-1974 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia



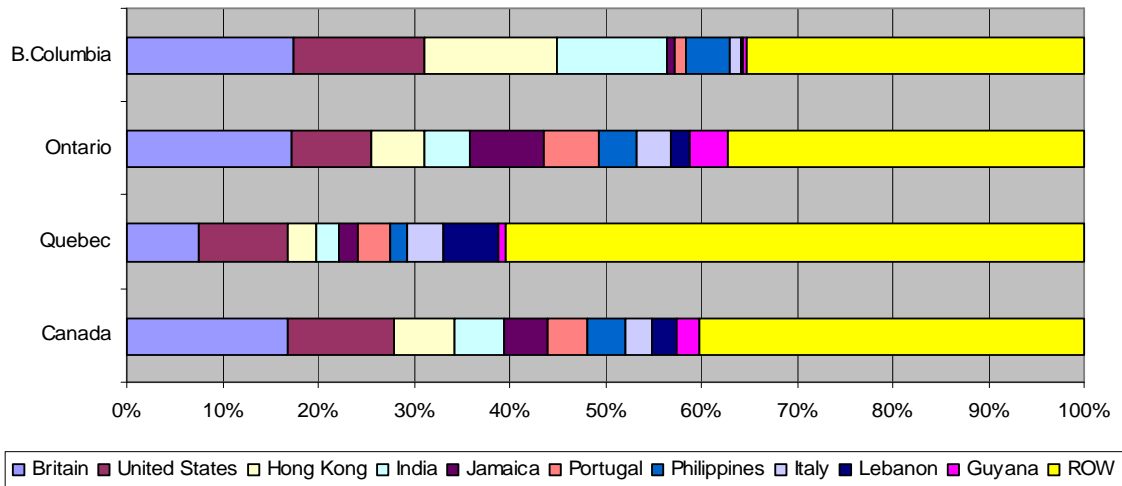
*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graph 3.1 shows the composition of immigrants (the top-ten origin groups) in Canada that arrived in the country during the second period.³³ The representativeness of these groups in Quebec is lower than in the rest of Canada. However, they still represented more than 50%. It is however important to notice the proportion of French immigrants, who mainly settled in Quebec. On the other hand, the top ten nationalities in Quebec changed somewhat with regard to the previous period. Although the largest

³³ This is, when Quebec could set officers abroad and give advice to immigrants who were planning to settle in the province

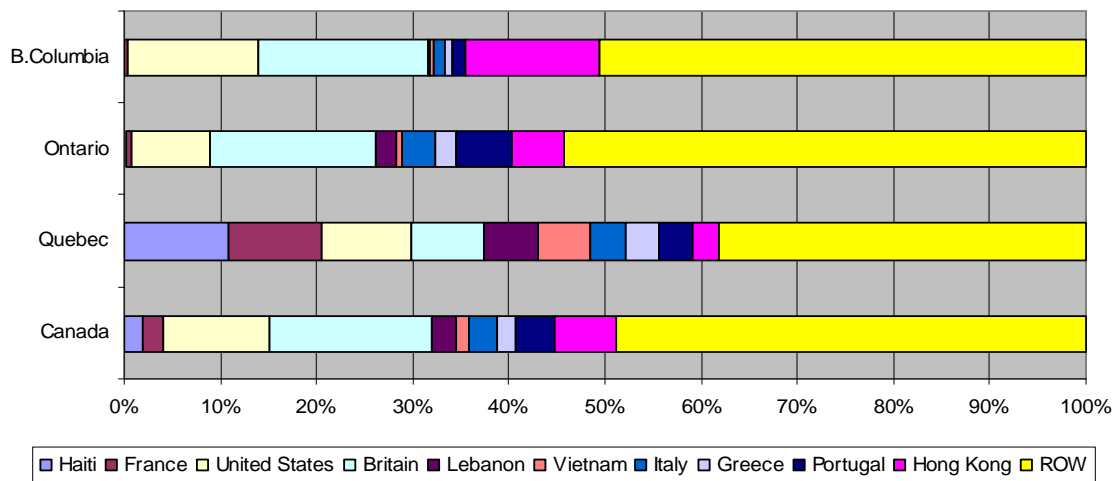
was the United States, Haitians settled mainly in the federal province, as well as the French. However, composition and representativeness was still quite similar to the rest of Canada.

Graph 4.1- Immigrants in Canada 1975-1976 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graph 4.2- Immigrants in Quebec 1975-1976 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

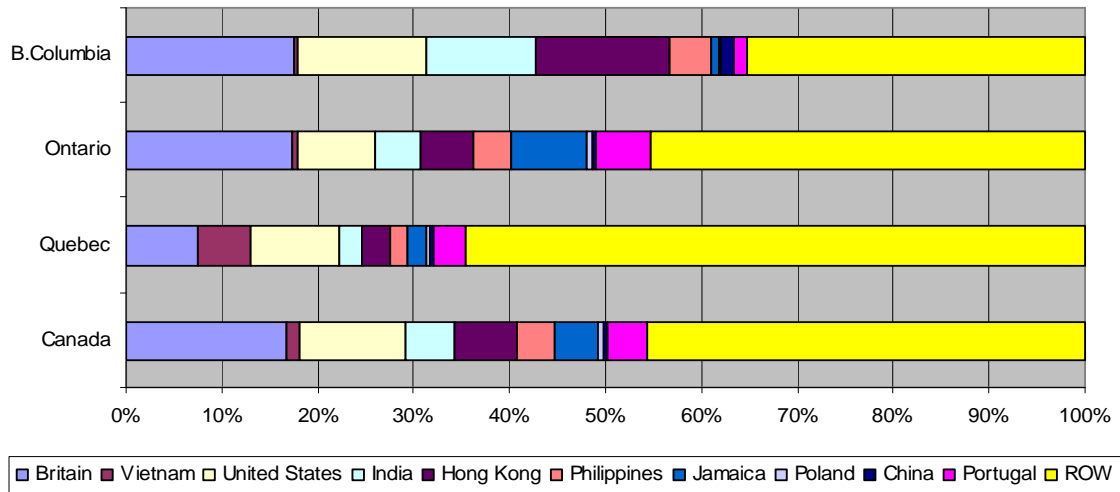


*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

The graphs above describe the distribution of immigrants after the second pact and before the Parti Québécois won the elections. One can see a slight change in composition. Indeed, the first graph shows how the top ten communities in Canada (representing around 50% of the total, and higher percentages in Ontario and British Columbia) represent less than the majority of immigrant groups (39,6%). Then, the top ten nationalities in Quebec, representing more than 60% of the total immigrant population represent less than 50% in the rest. In addition several aspects can be

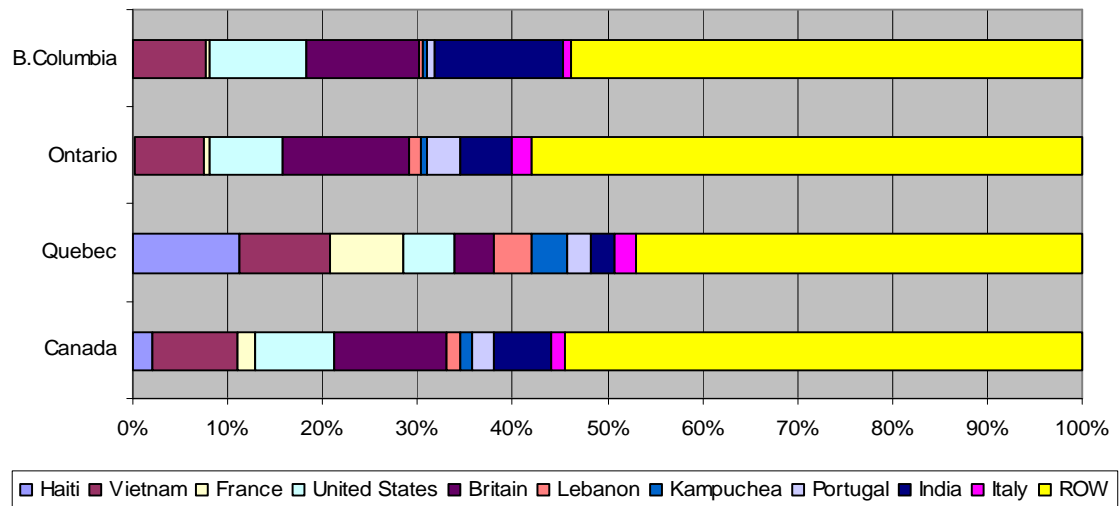
noticed. Firstly, there is a change in some countries of origin (such as Haiti, Vietnam or Greece in the case of Quebec, and Jamaica, India or Guyana in the case of Canada). In addition, the proportions are quite different, in British Columbia only three nationalities account for more than half its immigrant population. Quebec's inflows were more diverse than the rest of the provinces. In addition some nationalities are more important in Quebec in comparison with Ontario and British Columbia.

Graph 5.1. Immigrants in Canada 1977-1985 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graph 5.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1977-1985 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

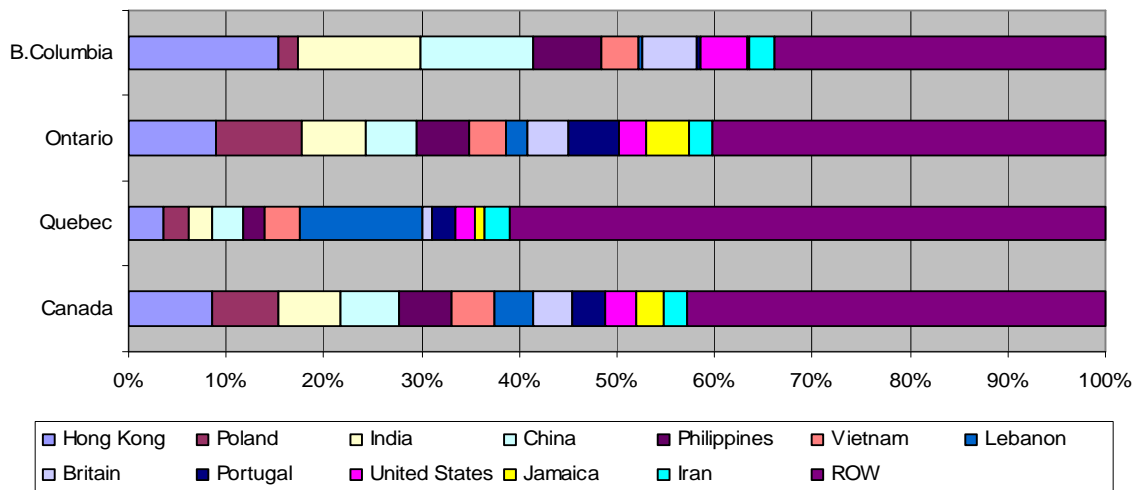


*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graphs 5.1 and 5.2 show the composition of immigrants by country of origin for the period when the Parti Québécois governed in Quebec and after the Couture-Cullen Agreement was signed. One would expect, then, a major difference between provinces. One can see from the first graph a decline on the representativeness of the top-ten

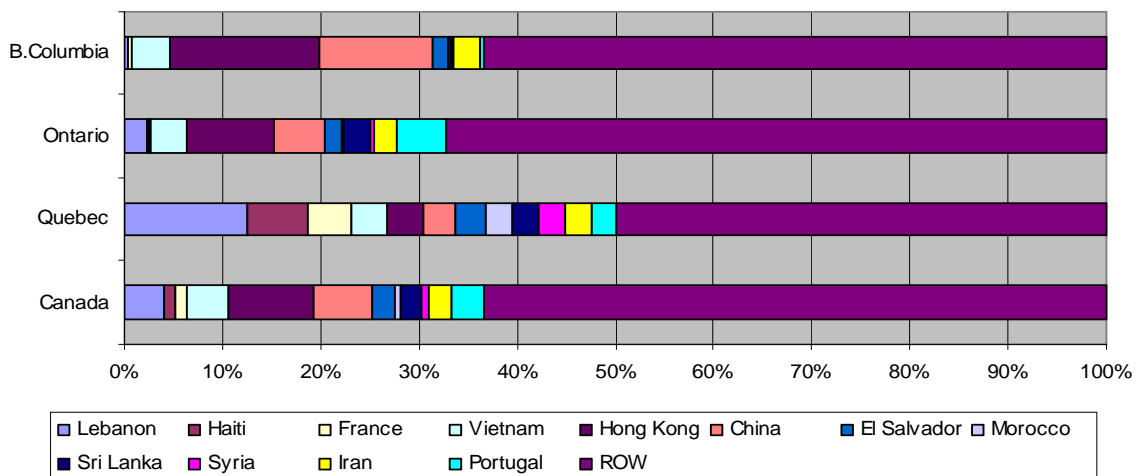
immigrant groups in Canada within Quebec. They account for around 35% against more than 50% in the case of Ontario and British Columbia. In the second graph, it is the other way round. In addition, taking out the US and Britain, the remaining nationalities are under-represented in Ontario and British Columbia. This gives tips about the new powers of the federal province and how they were used.

Graph 6.1. Immigrants in Canada 1986-1991 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graph 6.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1986-1991 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

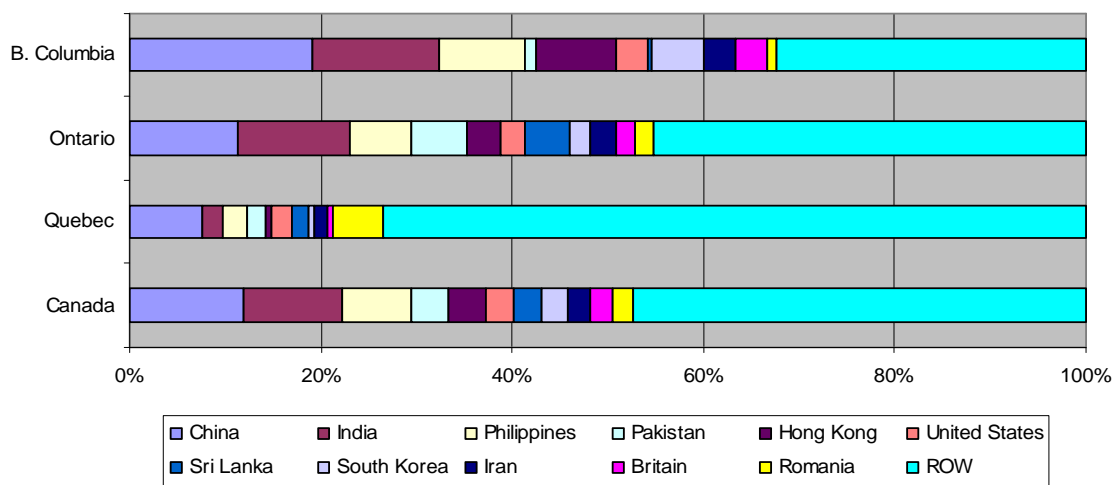


*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

The last couple show the situation during the period in which the Liberal Party regained power until the last agreement was signed. One should highlight three aspects: Firstly, immigration inflows became more diverse in Quebec. In order to cover at least 50% of total immigrants, I had to select not the top-ten nationalities, but the top-twelve. Indeed, except for the case of Lebanon, no nationality reached 10% of Quebec's

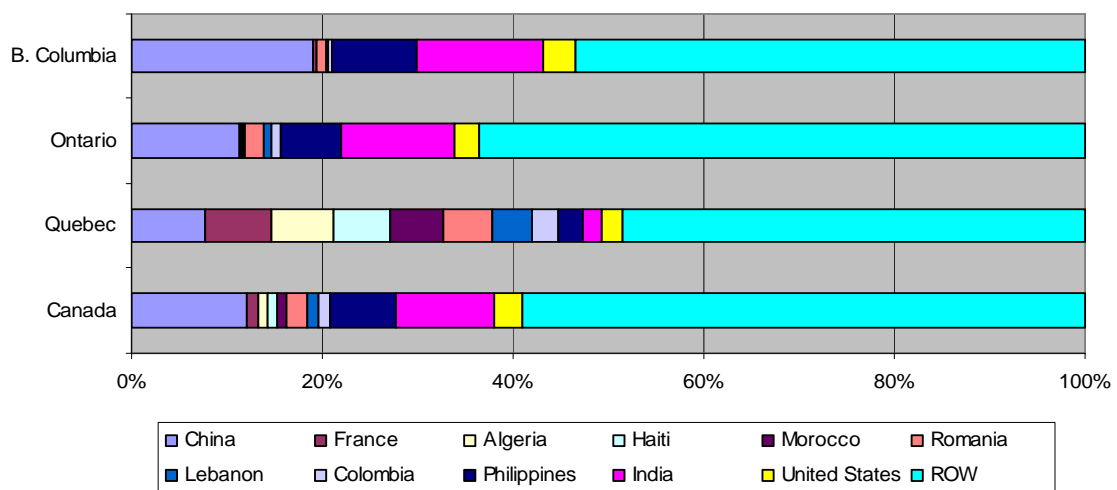
inflows. Secondly, there is a difference in composition between Quebec and the other two provinces. Indeed, Lebanon isn't represented in Ontario and British Columbia. Thus, the remaining 11 nationalities in graph 5.1 represent less than 30% in Quebec. This percentage is about 60% in the case of the other two provinces. Concerning the major nationalities in Quebec, the opposite is true. They only represent around 35% in Ontario and British Columbia, with a quite unequal distribution (as can be seen, for instance, from the strong importance of Hong Kong and China).

Graph 7.1. Immigrants in Canada 1992-2006 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graph 7.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1992-2006 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia



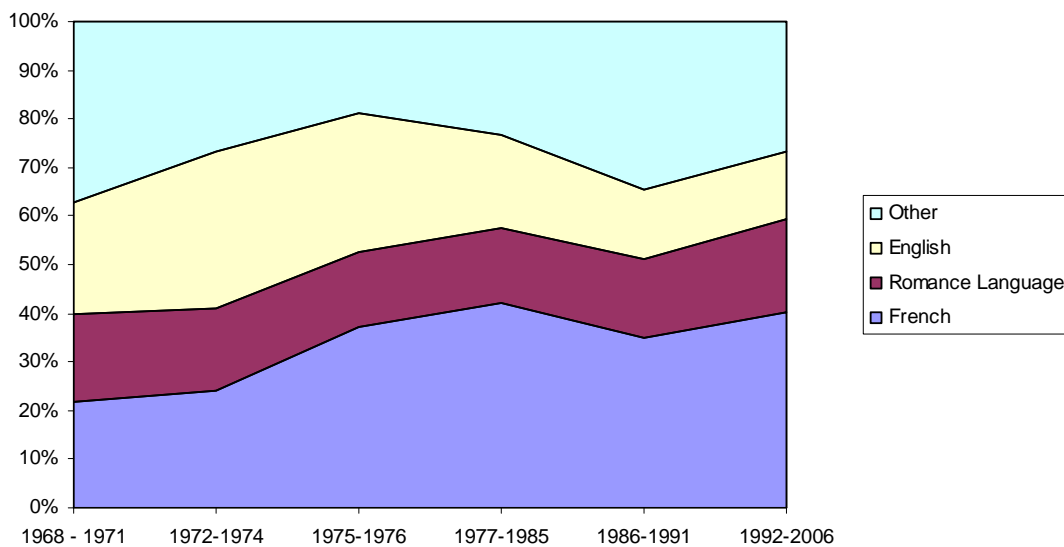
*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Graphs 7.1 and 7.2 show the last period of analysis, from the Canada-Quebec agreement to 2006. The differences between provinces concerning the composition of

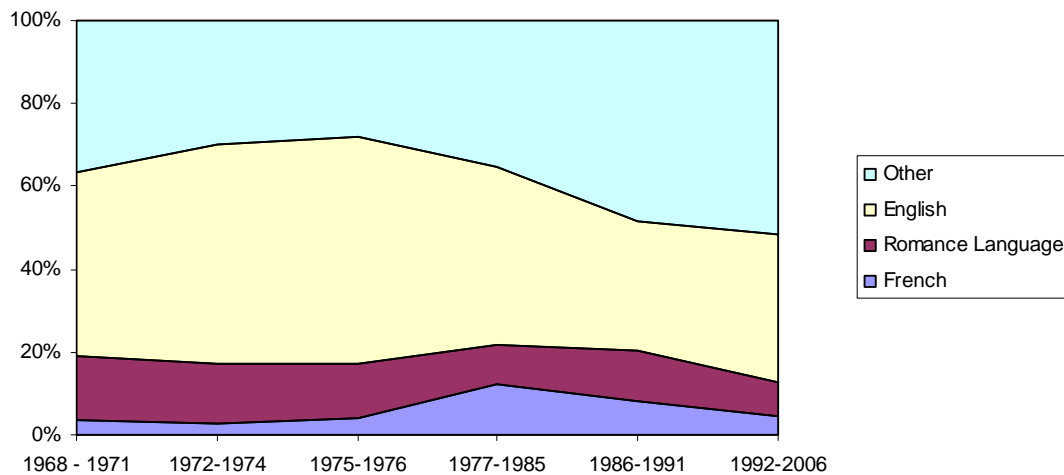
immigrant nationalities increased. Indeed, the top-twelve nationalities in Canada, represent about 55% in Ontario and 64% in British Columbia, but only 26,5% in Quebec. By looking at the top-twelve nationalities in Quebec, one can see that it only shares four nationalities (China, Romania, Philippines and the United States) with the other provinces. Indeed, the most numerous nationalities in Quebec represent a lower proportion in the rest of provinces, and this proportion would be much lower if India is excluded from the graph (and it would still be representative for Quebec).

These graphs show photographs of the different periods selected. One can argue that the composition of immigrant groups by nationality has been increasingly different between Quebec and the other two provinces. In order to complete the argument, one should have a look at language, since it is the most distinctive feature of the Quebecer nation and the main issue to be protected when designing policies in the province.

Graph 8.1. Language spoken by selected immigrants in Quebec.



***Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada**

Graph 8.2. Language spoken by selected immigrants in Canada (except Quebec).

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada

This couple of graphs represents the evolution of 4 language groups³⁴; French, Romance Languages, English and Other. Immigrants have been classified according to the official language spoken in the country of origin or the country's participation in the *Francophonie* and/or in the *Commonwealth*. Romance-language consists of immigrants coming from a country in which a Romance Language (such as Spanish, Italian or Portuguese) is spoken. This is because, on the one hand, Romance language-speakers are expected to be more successful in learning French, and on the other hand, they must have a certain level of understanding of the language, a condition that does not apply to non-Romance speakers. Thus, one could expect a higher punctuation in "adaptability" and in the level of French, as well as a higher *self-selection* among immigrants to Quebec within this group.

By comparing both graphs, one reaches the following conclusions: Firstly, the proportion of French-speakers has increased in Quebec, from 24,7% to 40,8% while slightly increased in the rest of Canada (from 3,4% to 4,7%). The graphs show a peak in the period 1977-1985, which is due to the increase in migrants coming from Vietnam³⁵. Secondly, the proportion of Romance Language-speakers was maintained in Quebec, while it decreased in the rest of Canada. Hence, one can speak of a slight deviation of migrants from the rest of Canada to Quebec. This can be confirmed by the

³⁴ This graph is done per periods and not per years, which means that the evolution from period to period is not as constant as it seems in the graph.

³⁵ Vietnam is counted as "French-speaking" since it is a member of the *Francophonie*, given its colonial past. However, one should read that really carefully, since French wasn't expanded in Vietnam at the same level as it was in other ex-colonies. This can also explain a reproduction of the peak in Canada.

following table, showing the proportion of language speakers admitted to Quebec and to the rest of Canada.

Table 8.3 Distribution of language speakers between Canada and Quebec.

	1968 - 1971	1972-1974	1975-1976	1977-1985	1986-1991	1992-2006
French Quebec	56,83%	62,76%	64,07%	41,14%	49,67%	60,22%
French Rest of Canada	43,17%	37,24%	35,93%	58,86%	50,33%	39,78%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
English Quebec	9,71%	9,74%	9,67%	8,29%	9,72%	6,49%
English rest of Canada	90,29%	90,26%	90,33%	91,71%	90,28%	93,51%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
R.L. Quebec	19,44%	16,18%	18,58%	24,15%	22,83%	28,98%
R.L. Rest of Canada	80,56%	83,82%	81,42%	75,85%	77,17%	71,02%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

***Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada**

Overall we can read from this table a change in the proportion of different language groups admitted both to Quebec and the rest of Canada. Indeed, while the proportion of Anglophone migrants increases in Canada, it decreases in Quebec over the different periods (from 9,71% of admitted foreigners to Quebec in 1968-1971 to 6,49% in the 1992-2006 period), the opposite applies for French and Romance Language speaking migrants.

Migrating to Quebec instead of the rest of Canada

This last part includes a discussion on some additional arguments that defend the effect of the Point System of selection of immigrants in Quebec. Although their effect might be subtler than the numbers shown above, they must be taken into account. As has already been mentioned, one must consider the preferences of migrants. There can be several reasons for preferring Quebec over any other province in Canada, ranging from the French language to the distribution of points itself.

First of all, the knowledge of French can be a very important incentive for preferring Quebec. This argument is, to some extent, hardly debatable, especially looking at the French immigrants' behaviour. However, the range of choice of the migrant is limited to how the distribution of points is established in each territory (and to a higher degree the range of choices for migrants is limited by the probability they have of being accepted in different countries).

Another issue that must be taken into account is the labour market composition. Migrants can select a territory in terms of labour market offers. Thus, variables such as

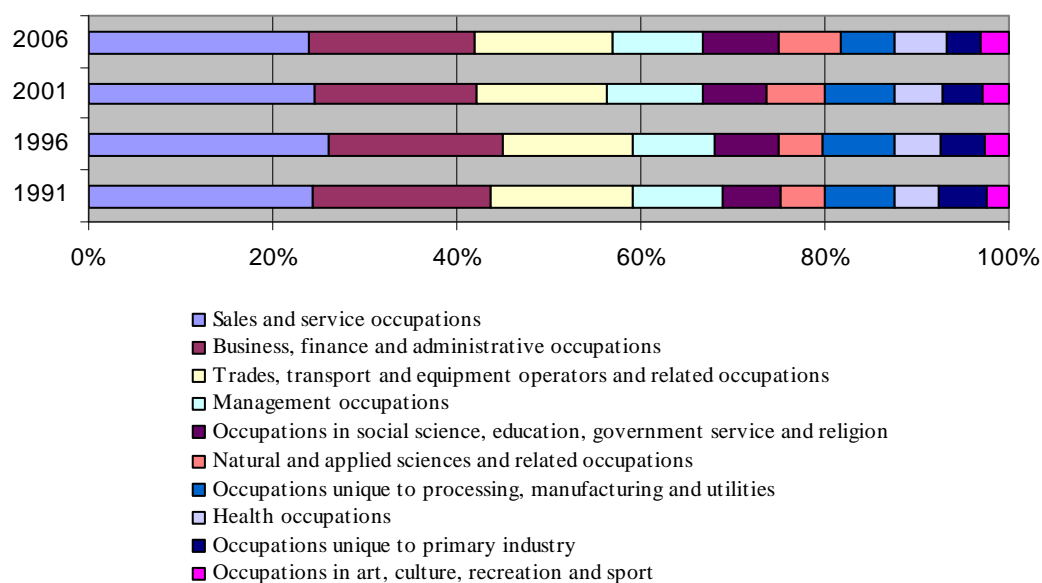
unemployment rates or most demanded skills, as well as labour market composition itself could influence potential immigrants' choices. Most of the data concerning employment and labour market is not available without paying a fee. However, there is some free data in terms of unemployment rates and composition of occupation for 2008. Unfortunately, the year 2008 was not taken into account in the present paper since the last Canadian census was carried out in 2006. The only data related to any year within this study (2006) is related to employment and evolution of occupation types.

Table 9.1 Participation, Employment and unemployment rates in Canada. 2006

	Participation rate	Unemployment rate	Employment rate
Quebec	65.2	7.5	60.3
Ontario	67.7	6.1	63.6
British Columbia	66.2	5.2	62.7
Canada	67.2	6.1	63.1

Source: Own elaboration. Statistics Canada, 2006

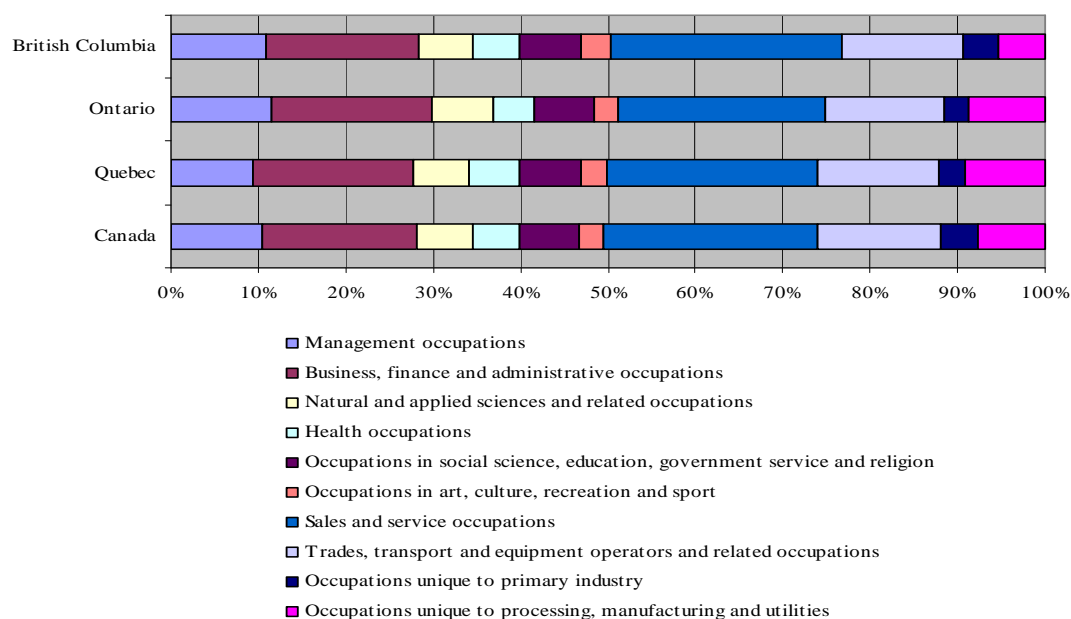
Graph 9.1 Experienced Labour force by occupation in Canada. Census 1991 – 2006



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada

The first table, which is related to unemployment rates, shows a very similar rate between provinces. In addition, Quebec is the province with the “worst” unemployment rate. If this affects immigrants' choices, it would be the lowest one. The second graph, which shows the composition of occupation from 1991 to 2006 doesn't show important changes. The problem is that there is no (free) specific data between provinces, for the same period, except for the census in 2001.

Graph 9.2 Experienced Labour force by occupation, 2001. Canada, Quebec, Ontario, B. Columbia



*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada

One can thus agree with the idea that, if during the period 1991-2006 there was no important change in occupation composition, and (as one can see from the graph above) there were not many differences between provinces in 2001, the similarities remained the same for the period 1991-2006. Thus, the composition of the labour market is less likely to be determinant in an immigrants' choice since the three provinces are similar.

A last observation to be made is related to the scores given in both Point Systems. In the case of Quebec, points related to work experience are given (from 9 to 0) in terms of months – years, regardless of the area. Moreover, up to 12 additional points are given in *Domaine de Formation*³⁶, which ranges from A to E not based on level of studies but on labour market needs³⁷. Finally, level of studies is awarded up to 13 points with regard to the number of years (as well as with 6 additional points if it has been reached in Quebec). In the case of the rest of Canada, there is a list of detailed occupations within the eligibility criteria³⁸. Immigrants can be awarded up to 21 points for years of experience. This part is eliminatory, which means that if a potential immigrant has no experience on the list of detailed occupations, his or her application will be refused. In the case of Quebec, an immigrant can be selected even if they are

³⁶ Available at Immigration et Communautés Culturelles, Québec.

³⁷ e.g. a university diploma in Chemistry I awarded 12 points, as well as secondary studies in bakery. In the other hand, university studies in Political Sciences or Economy are awarded with 0 points.

³⁸ Check <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/apply-who-instructions.asp#list> (within the web site of Citizenship and Immigration Canada)

included in *Domaine de Formation E* (which is awarded with 0 points), the only requirement is having a minimum mark in *Employabilité*. This reinforces the idea that it is easier to reach the required points in the Quebecer system or, at least, easier to be considered rather than directly ruled out.

There is one last issue to be pointed out, which is the need for a deeper exam of the distribution of points. Once the composition by “eligibility factors” has been done, in the case of Quebec there are some reasons to think that the knowledge of French language can be key factor in order to be selected. Indeed, even if training is the most important factor, the proportion of potential immigrants with graduate or post-graduate studies is low, as is the probability of having these studies recognized by the Canadian educational system³⁹. Thus, one expects that an immigrant will not reach more than a third of the points in this part. The fact of having stayed in Quebec is also little probable (6 points), and the Adaptability factor is impossible predict. The following table shows a mock assessment of a potential immigrant (francophone source country, young and single):

Minimum	Factor	Maximum	Average
Employability cut-off score: 50 points	1-Training	Up to 29 points (Cut-off Score = 2 points)	14
	2-Experience	Up to 9 points	6
	3-Age	Up to 18 points	18
	4-Language Proficiency	Up to 22 points	16
	5-Stay and Family in Quebec	Up to 9 points	0
	6-Spouse's Characteristics	Up to 18 points	0
	7-Validated Employment Offer	Up to 10 points	0
	8-Children	Up to 8 points	0
	9-Financial Self-Sufficiency	1 point (Cut-off Score = 1)	1
	10-Adaptability	Up to 8	6
	Total	114	61

Assuming that a potential immigrant, with an age ranging from 18 to 35, with job experience of between two and three years, a middle level of studies in a valued *Domaine de formation*, and coming from a francophone country wanted to apply for selection in Quebec, its total score would be around 61 points, which is only 2 points higher than the cut-off score. One can agree that this profile might be quite frequent within applications. The table shows a maximum punctuation for the knowledge of

³⁹ Furthermore, 6 points are awarded by having obtained a diploma in Quebec, which lessens the probability of having a high punctuation.

French (and zero for English). If the same immigrant was coming from a non-francophone country, the selection would be, thus, impossible, even knowing perfect English. One can also think that other immigrants could have learnt French, but indeed, this attempt to reproduce a possible score of a random immigrant is in order to complement the results analysed in the first part of this research. Strikingly, a similar profile applying for entry into Canada would be refused⁴⁰.

Conclusions

The paper started by wondering what effects have the Point System on the composition of immigrants in Quebec. This question has been tackled by suggesting that there has been a shift of immigrant composition by country source and not by labour skills.

An extensive descriptive analysis of the different periods selected has shown an increasing distance between Quebec and the rest of Canada. Hence, source countries encompassing more than 50% of the main nationalities in Canada only represented around 30% in the federal province. Quebec has shifted its most numerous nationalities into Francophone source countries such as Morocco, Haiti or Lebanon. This can be explained by two factors:

First, “self-selection” that is, some Francophone immigrants might prefer to settle in Quebec rather than in an Anglophone province. This has been clearly the case of French immigrants, who have been settling in Quebec rather than in Canada during all the periods studied. However, other data concerning labour market options could neutralize the language incentive. Furthermore, there are no reasons to think that self-selection would vary across time as the proportion of French-speaking migrants in Quebec and the rest of provinces do.

Secondly, the distribution of Points and how they are awarded can give special importance to the fact of knowing French. This fact, combined with the probability of obtaining a higher punctuation for those immigrants coming from a *Francophonie* country leads to a higher proportion of such nationalities in the final composition of immigrants in Quebec.

After confirming this, a range of further questions arise. First of all, one should wonder whether this effect has been the intention of policy makers. Initial evidence

⁴⁰ This can be proved by taking the test in the Immigration and Citizenship Canada web site.

suggests that this could be the case. Indeed, as it has been suggested in the introduction, immigration poses an important challenge to minority nations, and selection of immigrants can be a useful tool. Furthermore, Joseph Carens has already argued the idea that policy makers use the distribution of Points in Quebec to obtain a different composition of immigrants that responds better to Quebec's needs. These needs include the protection of the nation-building project, which is explained to all those migrants planning to settle in Quebec⁴¹. An in-depth discourse analysis, during the transfer of competences, as well as qualitative interviews to significant actors would clarify this question. Secondly, a study on “what are the benefits of this different composition with regard to the Québécois project” should be done. An analysis to know how newcomers are integrating into Quebecer society, whether they are integrating into the “Anglophone” Canada or into the minority nation, could assess the effectivity of the Point System as a first step to face the challenge of immigration.

These findings are important for two reasons. Firstly, because along with other studies (e.g. BORJAS, 1993), it challenges the legitimacy of applying this system (which is supposed to be used in order to receive skilled immigrants, and it ends by changing the origin mix). Secondly, it can be a guide for other nations considering the use of a Point System, as well as to other minority nations, such as Catalonia or Flanders, that are facing similar challenges from immigration.

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⁴¹ As well as they are invited to construct this “distinct society” together.

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- Citizenship and Immigration Canada

www.cic.gc.ca

- Immigration et Communautés Culturelles, Québec.

<http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/fr/index.html>

- Statistics Canada

<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/>

Appendix

Table 1.1 Most numerous Immigrants in Canada. Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia, by place of birth. 2006

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B. Columbia
Royaume-Uni	579620	16030	321645	137460
Chine	466940	39190	229950	145315
Inde	443690	16185	258530	119265
Philippines	303195	16335	151375	69200
Italie	296850	65550	198315	19215
États-Unis	250535	26575	106405	56560
Hong Kong	215430	5380	111630	78060
Allemagne	171405	11515	80100	40695
Pologne	170490	13685	110930	16165
Viet Nam	160170	24445	79400	26375
Portugal	150390	21420	109945	9370
Pakistan	133280	9630	100940	8200
Jamaïque	123420	5490	109360	2795
ROW	2721535	580130	1430200	390540
Total	6186950	851560	3398725	1119215

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 1.2 Most numerous Immigrants in Quebec. Whole Canada, Ontario and British Columbia, by place of birth. 2006

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B. Columbia
Italie	296850	65550	198315	19215
France	79550	59215	11440	4760
Haïti	63350	56755	5355	530
Chine	466940	39190	229950	145315
Liban	75275	34875	29210	1690
Maroc	39055	33565	4285	520
Algérie	32255	29515	1860	360
Roumanie	82645	26955	41145	7365
États-Unis	250535	26575	106405	56560
Viet Nam	160170	24445	79400	26375
Grèce	73125	22270	42230	4375
Portugal	150390	21420	109945	9370
Philippines	303195	16335	151375	69200
ROW	4113615	394895	2387810	773580
Total	6186950	851560	3398725	1119215

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 1.2.b Distribution of French-speaking (Francophonie countries) immigrants in Canada. 2006

	Quebec	Ontario	British Columbia	ROC	Canada
Algeria	29515	1860	360	520	32255
Belgium	9140	7555	1505	2015	20215
Benin	515	90	25	55	685
Burkina-Faso	270	65	0	30	365
Burundi	2385	1340	115	335	4175
Cameroon	2225	730	15	120	3090
Central African Republic	90	70	0	0	160
Chad	580	110	20	100	810
Comoros	20	25	0	-5	40
Democratic Republic of Congo	7980	4325	430	1390	14125
Djibouti	170	320		25	515
France	59215	11440	4760	4135	79550
Gabon	425	75		10	510
Guinea	25	0	0	5	30
Haiti	56755	5355	530	710	63350
Ivory Coast	1735	360	45	165	2305
Luxembourg	180	190	95	105	570
Madagascar	1680	195	95	60	2030
Mali	695	110	15	35	855
Mauritania	240	35	10	50	335
Mauritius Island	3475	4740	740	705	9660
Monaco	45	10	40	0	95
Morocco	33565	4285	520	685	39055
Niger	180	20	0	20	220
Republic of Congo	475	100	20	35	630
Rwanda	1530	1235	215	460	3440
Senegal	1665	385	25	130	2205
Seychelles	560	240	45	40	885
Switzerland	5745	6660	4690	2860	19955
Togo	795	245	0	215	1255
Tunisia	6295	770	95	250	7410
Vanuatu	0	0	0	10	10
Total	228170	52940	14410	15270	310790
Total %	73,42%	17,03%	4,64%	4,91%	100,00%

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 2.1. Immigrants in Canada 1968-1971 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Britain	111814	9337	67130	13863
United States	91997	10608	36965	22941
Italy	44480	9085	30022	2003
West Indies, n.e.s.	43955	10045	28652	1285
Portugal	31979	5112	21704	2235
Greece	25772	8483	14733	1069
China	22078	2198	8411	7282
Germany Fed.	21314	2734	12196	2417

Rep.				
France	21109	14063	4565	736
India	19607	2051	8523	5920
ROW	181013	32478	94931	25298
Total	615118	106194	327832	85049

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 2.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1968-1971 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
France	21109	14063	4565	736
United States	91997	10608	36965	22941
West Indies, n.e.s.	43955	10045	28652	1285
Britain	111814	9337	67130	13863
Italy	44480	9085	30022	2003
Greece	25772	8483	14733	1069
Portugal	31979	5112	21704	2235
Egypt	4987	3296	1278	71
Switzerland	8958	3150	4037	1091
Germany Fed.				
Rep.	21314	2734	12196	2417
ROW	208753	30281	106550	37338

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 3.1. Immigrants in Canada, 1972-1974 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Britain	83626	6116	49411	13846
United States	74401	9967	28757	16975
Portugal	38553	4873	28651	2074
Hong Kong	33663	2323	14471	10015
India	27120	2313	13167	8583
Jamaica	20649	1500	18202	361
Philippines	20267	1475	10259	3077
Greece	15481	5177	8551	858
Italy	15302	3175	10481	800
France	10560	6704	2590	491
ROW	185049	35298	102567	25457

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 3.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1972-1974 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
United States	74401	9967	28757	16975
Haiti	7035	6799	197	3
France	10560	6704	2590	491
Britain	83626	6116	49411	13846
Greece	15481	5177	8551	858
Portugal	38553	4873	28651	2074
Italy	15302	3175	10481	800
Hong Kong	33663	2323	14471	10015
India	27120	2313	13167	8583
West Indies, n.e.s.	8290	2031	5452	208

ROW	210640	29443	125379	28684
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*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 4.2. Immigrants in Canada 1975-1976 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Britain	56526	4341	29529	8703
United States	37470	5345	14015	6747
Hong Kong	21857	1629	9374	6922
India	16877	1388	8028	5667
Jamaica	15493	1104	13269	404
Portugal	13891	1951	9972	663
Philippines	13303	1055	6742	2177
Italy	9608	2182	5853	606
Lebanon	8667	3240	3603	177
Guyana	7824	501	6687	105
ROW	135794	34588	63430	17585

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 4.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1975-1976 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Haiti	6492	6274	194	5
France	7142	5451	1031	217
United States	37470	5345	14015	6747
Britain	56526	4341	29529	8703
Lebanon	8667	3240	3603	177
Vietnam	4572	3086	865	163
Italy	9608	2182	5853	606
Greece	6549	1988	3662	370
Portugal	13891	1951	9972	663
Hong Kong	21857	1629	9374	6922
ROW	164536	21837	92404	25183

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 5.1. Immigrants in Canada 1977-1985 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Britain	56526	4341	29529	8703
Vietnam	4572	3086	865	163
United States	37470	5345	14015	6747
India	16877	1388	8028	5667
Hong Kong	21857	1629	9374	6922
Philippines	13303	1055	6742	2177
Jamaica	15493	1104	13269	404
Poland	1712	245	1007	105
China	1736	177	639	652
Portugal	13891	1951	9972	663
ROW	153873	37003	77062	17553

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 5.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1975-1976 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Haiti	19317	18545	576	24
Vietnam	87707	15562	32832	11473
France	16818	12453	2427	697
United States	82212	8894	34332	15064
Britain	113334	6918	58685	17951
Lebanon	14474	6572	5284	366
Kampuchea	11712	5885	3219	705
Portugal	23272	4217	15546	1225
India	56757	4040	23660	20295
Italy	16070	3821	9302	1198
ROW	526230	77039	257547	80630

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 6.1. Immigrants in Canada 1986-1991 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Hong Kong	90544	7256	49795	21449
Poland	70090	5110	49925	3043
India	67616	4626	36191	17644
China	62507	6465	29271	16305
Philippines	57397	4199	30656	9608
Vietnam	45733	7259	20290	5393
Lebanon	41903	25040	12777	592
Britain	40806	1641	23948	7750
Portugal	35708	5112	28445	574
United States	34363	3937	15455	6733
Jamaica	28318	1968	24716	280
Iran	24517	5172	12961	3796
ROW	599502	77785	334430	93167

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 6.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1986-1991 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B.Columbia
Lebanon	41903	25040	12777	592
Haiti	13406	12204	1046	52
France	11172	8792	1621	344
Vietnam	45733	7259	20290	5393
Hong Kong	90544	7256	49795	21449
China	62507	6465	29271	16305
El Salvador	23679	5977	9747	2261
Morocco	6296	5533	593	67
Sri Lanka	22193	5505	15152	557
Syria	7426	5234	1762	84
Iran	24517	5172	12961	3796
Portugal	35708	5112	28445	574
ROW	385084	99549	183460	51474

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 7.1. Immigrants in Canada 1992-2006 by country of origin. Quebec, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B. Columbia
China	333030	31460	170820	97765
India	286860	8785	178775	68280
Philippines	195430	10660	97460	45820
Pakistan	113520	7810	87370	6350
Hong Kong	107505	2590	54005	43040
United States	81695	8635	38130	16865
Sri Lanka	80975	7410	69545	2605
South Korea	71895	2380	32890	28020
Iran	67805	5725	40760	16865
Britain	64485	2460	29845	16425
Romania	60085	21785	28915	5060
ROW	1315250	302920	685775	166435

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 7.2. Immigrants in Quebec 1992-2009 by country of origin. Canada, Ontario and B. Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	B. Columbia
China	333030	31460	170820	97765
France	34865	29065	3210	1430
Algeria	28640	26525	1460	245
Haiti	28950	25105	2910	435
Morocco	24595	22290	1640	230
Romania	60085	21785	28915	5060
Lebanon	33955	16890	12590	565
Colombia	32150	11215	15115	2025
Philippines	195430	10660	97460	45820
India	286860	8785	178775	68280
United States	81695	8635	38130	16865
ROW	1638280	200205	963265	274810

*Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada.

Table 8.1. Language spoken by selected immigrants in Quebec.

	1968 - 1971	1972-1974	1975-1976	1977-1985	1986-1991	1992-2006
French Romance Language	23177	19006	21417	69661	70186	160720
English	19337	13415	8843	25431	32026	76595
Other	24123	25611	16448	31396	28665	55895
	39557	21120	10910	38477	69299	106020
Total	106194	79152	57618	164965	200176	399230

***Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada**

Table 8.2. Language spoken by selected immigrants in Canada (except Quebec).

	1968 - 1971	1972-1974	1975-1976	1977-1985	1986-1991	1992-2006
French Romance Language	17603	11345	12047	99908	71226	106370
English	80141	69505	38747	79866	108254	187675
Other	224230	237392	153605	347135	266133	805720
	186950	132372	78034	283275	412186	1155015
Total	508924	450614	282433	810184	857799	2254780

***Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada**

Table 9.1. Experienced Labour force by occupation in Canada. Census 1991 – 2006

	1991	1996	2001	2006
Sales and service occupations	3476380	3724430	3813750	4037720
Business, finance and administrative occupations	2727160	2718250	2768375	3025425
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2199375	2018355	2193090	2550295
Management occupations	1383410	1289125	1620900	1631730
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	917835	975385	1068810	1414325
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	669970	712495	1003810	1108050
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	1070300	1093045	1192395	992765
Health occupations	703930	719450	812200	950360
Occupations unique to primary industry	734515	680685	667550	648310
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	337355	386315	435680	502195
All occupations	14220230	14317535	15576560	16861175

***Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada**

Table 9.2 Experienced Labour force by occupation, 2001. Canada, Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia

	Canada	Quebec	Ontario	British Columbia
Management occupations	1620900	343480	685390	218445
Business, finance and administrative occupations	2768375	665735	1097835	353710
Natural and applied sciences and related occupations	1003810	234680	422510	123755
Health occupations	812200	205600	286310	105690
Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion	1068810	258440	407885	142985
Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport	435680	110530	171485	67325
Sales and service occupations	3813750	875940	1419190	532645
Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations	2193090	505940	809500	280225
Occupations unique to primary industry	667550	106530	164360	84520
Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities	1192395	337500	527945	105300
All occupations	15576560	3644375	5992410	2014600

***Source: Own Elaboration. Statistics Canada**