

Université de Montréal

**Interprovincial Migration among Chinese Skilled Worker Immigrants to
Quebec.**

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to find out whether higher levels of education cause the exodus of Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants to other provinces. I first examine the history of Chinese immigration in Canada; the federal and Quebec's immigration policies and selection criteria, as well as statistics regarding Chinese migration to Quebec and their out-migration from the province. My study's ethnographic findings suggest that higher levels of education are not the main cause of the exodus, nor is the lack of French language competence. Rather, kin ties, age, and marital status play an influential role on interprovincial-migration of Quebec's Chinese skilled immigrants. While based on a small number of respondents, my study indicates that having personal networks in Quebec before immigration tends to retain immigrants in the province.

Key words: Quebec, Chinese, skilled worker immigrants, interprovincial migration, education level.

Résumé

Le but de cette recherche est de savoir si les niveaux de scolarité plus élevés de travailleurs qualifiés chinois provoquent leur exode du Québec vers les autres provinces. J'examine d'abord l'histoire de l'immigration chinoise au Canada, les critères de sélection et les catégories d'immigration des gouvernements du Québec et du Canada, ainsi que des statistiques concernant la migration chinoise au Québec et de l'émigration des migrants chinois de la province. Les résultats ethnographiques de mon étude suggèrent que les niveaux de scolarité plus élevés ne sont pas la cause principale du départ, ni le manque de compétence de la langue française. Par contre, les liens de parenté, l'âge, et l'état matrimonial jouent un rôle influent sur la migration interprovinciale des travailleurs qualifiés Chinois du Québec. Bien que basé sur un petit nombre de répondants, mon étude indique que d'avoir des réseaux personnels au Québec avant l'immigration a tendance à retenir les immigrants dans la province.

Mots-clés : Québec, Chinois, travailleurs qualifiés, migration interprovinciale, niveau d'éducation.

摘要

本研究的目的是找出較高的教育水平是否造成魁北克省的中國技術移民外流到其他省份。我首先考核加拿大中國移民歷史; 聯邦政府和魁北克省的移民政策和檢選標準, 及有關 中國移民到魁北克省和遷出到其他省份的統計數據。本研究結果顯示較高的教育水平及 法語能力的缺乏並不是跨省遷移的主要原因。然而, 親屬關係, 年齡, 和婚姻狀況對跨省 遷移有重要的影響。基于有限的采访, 本研究表示移民前在魁北克省有的人脈關係会使 移民倾向留在此省。

關鍵字: 魁北克省, 中國, 技術移民, 跨省遷移, 教育水平。

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Chapter 1: Introduction and research methodology

Chinese skilled worker immigrants has been one of the biggest groups of all immigration categories admitted to Quebec since the change in immigrant composition in the province started in the 1980's. During the year of 2006 - 2011, 9,498 Chinese skilled worker immigrated to Quebec from mainland China, the number four country of origin after Algeria, Morocco, and France, and 5.5 % of all skilled worker immigrants [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2012; Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013]. However, many of them have left Quebec for other provinces.

Extensive research by other scholars sheds some light on the reasons behind interprovincial and interstate migration of immigrants show a close relation between immigrant's education level and migration. According to Newbold and Liaw (1994: 238),

“interprovincial migration; ...depends strongly on the ability to gather reliable information of the opportunities at distant places;...the propensity to make interprovincial migration is expected to be a positive function of the potential migrant's level of education.”

DeVoretz and Pivenko (2008) states that though immigrants with increased education tend to choose Quebec as initial destination, they also have higher probability of leaving it. In the US, immigrants with higher education tend to live or migrate to states with a higher

employment rate and are more sensitive to their state's economic condition (Frey and Liaw 2005; Gurak and Kritz 2000).

Assuming all Chinese immigrants admitted to Quebec/Canada under the immigration category of skilled worker program must have met the selection criteria for education factor and are considered as skilled and/ or professionals, my research aims to find out whether those who left for other provinces are actually higher educated - diploma either obtained before or after coming to Canada - than the ones who stay. I also examine the role that language plays or does not play in departures from Quebec by Chinese immigrants. I argue that higher levels of education¹ alone cannot be seen as the only or even the main cause of Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants' interprovincial migration; other factors also affect their decision of leaving Quebec such as the language factor that immigrants being able to speak English rather than French have less favorable labour market outcome and, because of this , they are more likely to move to other provinces as many studies have claimed (Bernard, et al. 2008a; Finnie 2004; Nadeau and Seckin 2010); I also look at the family/ kin factor that attracts immigrants to move close to their friends or family members (Chui and Tran 2005; Jedwab 2006) and the cultural constraint factor; i.e., the notion that immigrants tend to stay/ move to gateway cities with big pre-existing co-ethnic communities (Hou 2005).

Chapter two presents a short version of the history of Chinese immigration in Canada and in Quebec. It lists all immigration categories of both Federal and Quebec immigration systems through which foreign nationalities can apply. It will also acknowledge the mobility rights all Canadians and permanent residents entitled to under the Canadian Charter of rights

and freedom. Chapter three compares statistical data on the number and the characteristics of interprovincial migration of Quebec's immigrants; I then review the literature on interprovincial migration. Chapter four focuses on the analysis of the ethnographic findings; it then ends the chapter with the testimonies of those who stay in Quebec and those who left for other provinces. Chapter five concludes the findings of this research and provides suggestions for both government stakeholders on how to sustain Chinese immigrants in Quebec as well as suggestions as to how future Chinese immigrants might be better prepared for immigration and life in Quebec and Canada.

Research Methodology

Recruiting and interviewing

For the purpose of this research, 10 Chinese skilled worker immigrants are recruited and then divided into two groups of five people: the In-Quebec group and the Exit group. The In-Quebec group is composed of 2 women and 3 men who have been residing consecutively in Quebec for at least 5 years, the benchmark of relocation (Minasyan 2011; Ostrovsky 2008); the Exit group includes 1 woman and 4 men who had previously lived in Quebec as their immigration initial destination, regardless the length of time stayed in Quebec, but moved to other Canadian provinces. All of the In-Quebec group participants are Quebec residents and living in Montreal and its peripheral region while those in the Exit group are living in Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia. All participants are of Chinese nationality, Chinese origin, born in mainland China, of working age, between 18 and 65, and have immigrated to Quebec as their initial destination from mainland China after 1991, the signing of the Canada-Quebec

Accord. Even though thousands of Chinese immigrants arrive in Canada each year, each of them has his or her own distinct life trajectory; thus, for reasons of confidentiality, instead of using their real names for this report, I assign each of them a letter of the alphabet and deliberately refer to their occupation in general terms.

The field work was conducted over a time span of 5 months. Originally, I had assumed it would not take more than 3 months to finish the recruiting and interviewing process. However, through my own private contacts and a snowball sampling technique, it was difficult to recruit enough informants. Many of the immigrants that I tried to recruit did not show enthusiasm for this subject, nor did they have time for the interview. Some argued that the research was either useless or that the result might render the immigration rules and criteria even harder for Chinese to immigrate to Quebec/ Canada. Others suspected that I was working for a Canadian or Chinese government agency and so were afraid to disclose their personal information and speak about their immigration and settlement experience for this research. Thus, in order to recruit enough participants, I also posted an ad (see Appendix A) on some major Chinese commercial and on community web sites in Montreal or based in other Canadian provinces such as:

- SinoQuebec (蒙城华人网²) in Montreal : www.sinoquebec.com;
- 51.Canada (加国无忧), in Toronto: <http://www.51.ca>;
- Shining Vancouver (闪亮的温哥华) in Vancouver : <http://vanshining.com/>
- 1Sask (萨省壹网) in Saskatchewan: www.1Sask.com;

- Chinese Forum of Greater Moncton (大蒙克顿地区中文论坛) in Moncton:
<http://www.gmcca.ca/forum/>

For the In-Quebec group, the interviews were conducted and audio recorded in personal meetings at park, at the informant's church after the Sunday service, in their personal dwellings, and in schools. As for the Exit group, all interviews were pre-arranged through email communication and then were recorded with Skype. All of the interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Each participant answered questions on 5 topics in the interview (see Appendix B): pre-immigration life and experience, immigration experience, post-immigration settlement, interprovincial migration, and future perspectives.

Statistical data collection

In order to have a better understanding in immigration trend and interprovincial migration, this research not only consults previous researches on interprovincial migration but also looks into reports from Statistics Canada, MICC, and Statistics Quebec on immigrant intake and internal migration of immigrants, specifically Chinese skilled worker immigrants admitted to Quebec after 1991 and who subsequently left Quebec, and native born Canadians. Nevertheless, many statistical reports such as Statistics Canada's National Household Survey (NHS) and census are either too general, not precise enough, or only contain partial information for the needs of my research. Statistics Quebec's reports do provide information on Chinese skilled worker immigrants intake, but only from 2001 and onward; however, no information is given specifically on Chinese skilled worker immigrants who were admitted to Quebec and later left

for other provinces. When I requested information on the intake, educational level, and out-migration of Chinese skilled worker immigrants admitted to Quebec after 1991, Statistics Canada suggested having a custom statistical analysis done on the account of Chinese skilled worker immigrants; unfortunately, it would be too costly for a master's degree student to have this done.

¹ Higher levels of education: education level that is higher than all skilled worker immigrants' average level of education.

² All Chinese characters in this report are simplified characters.

Chapter 2: Chinese immigrants in Quebec

The changing faces of Chinese immigrants in Quebec: from family reunification to skilled worker immigrants.

Chinese immigrants started to arrive in Quebec during the 1870's after the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in British Columbia, this at a time when there was growing anti-Chinese sentiment in western Canadian provinces. Except for a few rich Chinese merchants, most were poor, uneducated single male indentured workers from southern Chinese provinces who had worked in Western Canada on railways, farms, in mines, or in fish canning factories, etc. Eventually, more Chinese immigrants also arrived in Quebec directly from China. The 1881 census shows 7 Chinese in the province; by the year 1911, there were 1,578 as compared to 27,774 in the rest of Canada (Helly 1987: 50).

Even though the number of Chinese immigrants was on the rise, anti-Chinese movements and legislation in Canada at the turn of the 19th century, combined with traditional Chinese culture's perception of gender differences, resulted in a severely skewed sex ratio among Chinese populations in Canada. In "Les Chinois à Montréal", Helly (1987: 123, 125) explains that :

“...de fait de la présence de principe patrilinéaire au sein du système clanique, une stricte hiérarchie des sexes existe au sein de la société cantonaise et les femmes se voient assigner un statut inférieur à celui des hommes. Cette hiérarchie les contraint à une stricte obéissance à leurs père et frères, ou époux et beau-père, et elle leur enjoint de demeurer sous la protection et la surveillance masculines ...

Mais, si la pauvreté et le départ des hommes ont atténué la rigidité de ce principe en milieu paysan cantonais où les femmes doivent participer aux travaux agricoles, celles-ci demeurent accoutumées à ne pas sortir de l'enceinte des villages et à ne côtoyer que rarement des hommes non apparentés à leur époux. Des lors, les immigrés pauvres voient avec crainte la condition qui serait celle de leurs épouses et filles au Canada, au Québec : dures conditions de travail, humiliations et vexations éventuelles de la part d'hommes blanc, clients, badauds ou policiers.....”

Chinese workers were forced by law to pay a head tax for entering Canada: \$50 in 1885, \$100 in 1900, and \$500 in 1903. Canada collected a total of \$23 million from 82,369 Chinese who entered Canada between 1885 and 1923; it is equivalent to the cost of the building of the British Columbia section of the Canadian Pacific Railway and worth over \$1billion today (Chan 2011: 30). Chinese Head Tax survivors claimed that, with \$500, they could have bought 2 houses in the early 1900s (Cho 2004). Because of having to pay the head tax, the loan for the voyage to Canada, the fees for landing an overseas contract, as well as remittances sent back home to China, very few Chinese workers could afford to go back to China to get married or support their spouses or children to join them in Canada. During the Chinese Immigration Act, also known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, from 1923 to its repeal in 1947, Chinese immigration was virtually halted and the Chinese population in Canada on the whole was a bachelor community. During the exclusion period, 61,213 Chinese left Canada (Department of Mines and Resources 1947: 245). Nevertheless, after the repeal of the Exclusion Act, more and more Chinese arrived in Canada, mainly as family reunification immigrants.

Table 1: Chinese population, according to gender, Quebec province, 1881-1951

(Helly 1987: 122)

Population chinoise, selon le sexe, province de Québec, 1881-1951			
Année	Hommes Provinces de Québec	Femmes Montréal / Province de Québec	Proportion Femmes/ Hommes
1881	7	-	-
1891	34	2/2	1/17
1901	1033	4/4	1/258
1911	1542	33/36	1/41
1921	2219	109/116	1/19
1931	2549	181/201	1/12
1941	2140	201/238	1/9
1951	1524	295/380	1/4

In 1967, after almost a century of immigration policy based on race and nationality, Canada introduced a point-system that was based on socio-economic criteria and labour market demands. In 1978 and 1985, it further introduced entrepreneur and investor categories. This immigration policy attracted unprecedented number of independent, rich, middle class entrepreneur and professional ethnic Chinese¹ from China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and overseas Chinese diaspora communities such as South Africa, Peru, Malaysia, the Philippines, India, and Trinidad (Li and Lee 2004). Aside from the new point-system of immigration policy, the 六四天安門事件 (Tiananmen Incident of June 4th 1989) also prompted Canada to allow Chinese students in Canada to apply for landed immigrant status. It was a humanitarian gesture meant to condemn the Chinese communist's brutal oppression on the protestors in Tiananmen Square; this immigration policy lasted from June 1989 to September 1990 (Gecelovsky and Keenleyside 1995: 570).

From 1968 to 1994, Canada accommodated more than 500,000 ethnic Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and mainland China; while 68 % of these immigrants came from Hong Kong, 22 % were from mainland China (Li 1998: 99). The increasing number of Chinese immigrants in Canada was due to Canada's greater demand for economic-class immigrants with substantial capital after the mid-1990s; China's continuous economic growth and prosperity; and China's modernisation of its higher education system begun in the 1990's, which in turn created the surplus of university graduates and the increased number of Chinese students studying abroad (Li 2010: 4-6). Those remaining overseas contributed to the rising number of middle-class and highly educated Chinese immigrants from mainland China. A total of 67, 073 Chinese immigrants² with a university education were admitted to Canada between 1991 and 2000 (Li 2010: 7). Chinese Economic Class immigrants form the biggest group of immigrants from China. See Li (1998) and Con and Wickberg (1984) for more information on the history of the Chinese in Canada; regarding the Chinese in Quebec, see Helly (1987) and Chan (1991).

Until 2006, 39,190 Chinese from mainland China immigrated to Quebec (Turcotte 2009: 48). During 2007-2012, a total of 30,267 Chinese were admitted to the province [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2012; Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013]. In other words, since the beginning of Chinese immigration in the 19th century, 69,457 Chinese immigrated to Quebec. China remains among the top 5 birth countries of birth of all immigrants to Quebec.

Table 2 : Immigrant population, by immigration period, Quebec, 2006 ³ (Turcotte 2009: 48)

Rang Pays de naissance	Avant 1976		1976-1980		1981-1985		1986-1990		1991-1995		1996-2000		2001-2006		Total (100 %)
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1 Italie	58 625	89,4	3 400	5,2	1 300	2,0	765	1,2	415	0,6	495	0,8	555	0,8	65 550
2 France	20 080	33,9	3 545	6,0	3 140	5,3	3 385	5,7	6 240	10,5	7 930	13,4	14 890	25,1	59 210
3 Haïti	10 260	18,1	7 155	12,6	6 685	11,8	7 550	13,3	9 550	16,8	6 455	11,4	9 095	16,0	56 750
4 Chine	2 875	7,3	1 190	3,0	1 355	3,5	2 300	5,9	4 885	12,5	8 225	21,0	18 350	46,8	39 190
5 Liban	2 480	7,1	3 345	9,6	2 285	6,6	9 870	28,3	8 010	23,0	3 160	9,1	5 720	16,4	34 875
6 Maroc	5 550	16,5	1 430	4,3	1 535	4,6	2 750	8,2	2 980	8,9	5 470	16,3	13 830	41,2	33 560
7 Algérie	1 210	4,1	345	1,2	300	1,0	1 130	3,8	2 745	9,3	8 385	28,4	15 395	52,2	29 515
8 Roumanie	1 990	7,4	485	1,8	915	3,4	1 780	6,6	4 705	17,5	4 285	15,9	12 795	47,5	26 950
9 États-Unis	11 600	43,7	2 410	9,1	1 810	6,8	2 125	8,0	2 105	7,9	2 465	9,3	4 065	15,3	26 575
10 Viet Nam	2 975	12,2	5 270	21,6	5 390	22,0	3 895	15,9	3 860	15,8	1 605	6,6	1 450	5,9	24 445
11 Grèce	18 300	82,2	1 660	7,5	675	3,0	675	3,0	345	1,5	295	1,3	315	1,4	22 270
12 Portugal	12 500	58,3	2 720	12,7	1 350	6,3	3 080	14,4	1 160	5,4	280	1,3	330	1,5	21 425
13 Philippines	2 055	12,6	680	4,2	950	5,8	1 990	12,2	4 165	25,5	3 200	19,6	3 290	20,1	16 335
14 Inde	3 485	21,5	1 285	7,9	1 160	7,2	1 470	9,1	2 530	15,6	2 690	16,6	3 565	22,0	16 190
15 Royaume-Uni	10 650	66,4	1 220	7,6	895	5,6	810	5,1	725	4,5	575	3,6	1 160	7,2	16 030

Chinese skilled worker immigrants in Quebec and their level of education

After the introduction of the point system in 1967 and the increasing demand for economic immigrants with substantial human capital, the intake of immigrants under the skilled worker program from both Federal and Quebec Economic Class has escalated.

The Canadian Federal government's immigration program states that based on the education, work experience, knowledge of English and/or French, and other factors, people can apply to immigrate to Canada under the "Federal skilled worker" category if they want to live in any Canadian province or territory except Quebec [Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) 2013b].

As for Quebec, to be selected as a skilled worker immigrant, applicants must intend to settle and work in Quebec with diploma corresponding to a secondary school diploma or a diploma of vocational studies in Quebec. They should also have training and skills that will help them to integrate into the Quebec job market. Moreover, having knowledge of French is also advantageous for them [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013b].

From 2006 to 2012, a total of 11,265 Chinese were admitted to Quebec in the skilled worker immigration category, which is a sub-category of the economic class. This represents 46.9% of the 24,014 Chinese immigrants to Quebec [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2012; Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013] Chinese immigrants represent the fourth most numerous immigrant group after Algeria, Morocco, and France during this period (see table 3).

According to Li's research, most Chinese immigrants who came to Canada between 1998 and 2007 had a university degree. They also tended to be more educated than immigrants from other sending countries (Li 2010). Among Quebec's skilled worker immigrants, 75.14 % of those landed between 2006 and 2012 had at least 14 years of formal education (see table 4 and 5). Since China is the fourth sending country of skilled worker immigrants to Quebec, it is safe to assume that most Chinese immigrants arriving through the skilled worker program have at least a post-secondary degree of formal education from China.

Table 3: Top 5 country of birth of immigrants to Quebec 2006-2012⁴

	Country	2006	2007	2008-2012	2006-2012
1	Algeria	4 597	3 414	20 822	28 833
2	Morocco	3 030	3 610	21 519	28 159
3	France	3 236	3 465	19 901	26 602
4	China	2 423	2 461	19 130	24 014
5	Haiti	1 400	1 293	17 317	20 010

Table 4: Top 5 countries of birth of skilled worker immigrants to Quebec 2006-2012

	Country	2006	2007	2008-2012	2006-2012
1	Algeria	3 810	2 701	16 766	23 277
2	France	2 787	3 024	17 449	23 260
3	Morocco	2 048	2 764	16 289	21 101
4	China	1 250	1 362	8 653	11 265
5	Haiti	497	488	8 451	9 436

Table 5: Skilled worker immigrants, years of education, Quebec: 2006-2012

Immigrants aged 15 years and more					
Years of education	2006	2007	2008-2012	2006-2012	
	n	n	n	n	%
0-6 years	140	113	715	968	0.6
7-11 years	1210	1261	5920	8391	5.24
12-13 years	1700	1789	9352	12841	8.02
14-16 years	6302	7077	38410	51789	32.34
17 years and more	9048	9689	49810	68547	42.8
Inf. not available	209	187	17219	17615	11.0
Total	18609	20116	121426	160151	100

Immigration Categories

In 1978, Quebec and the Federal government signed the Cullen-Couture agreement allowing Quebec to select its own independent immigrants through its own specific point-system (Joyal 1994). Further, in 1991, under The Canada-Quebec Accord ⁵(Accord Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall), Quebec was granted the right to recruit its own immigrants and refugees as long as it was not “repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada (Becklumb Revised 2008).”

In general, categories under both programs are similar. Yet, due to Quebec's specific historical, linguistic, and population background, Quebec programs are more elaborate and more focused on proficiency in the French language. There are three types of immigration categories under the Federal program and four types under the Quebec immigration program. Both Federal and Quebec's programs set requirements for each of their categories. Aside from that, applicants also have to score enough points based on six selection factors: proficiency in English and/ or in French, education, work experience, age, arranged employment, and adaptability.

Federal immigration program⁶:

The Federal immigration program [Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) 2014] includes the following classes:

Economic Class: there are six sub-categories under the economic class.

1) Federal Skilled Workers (FSW)⁷: for skilled workers/ professionals who meet the selection criteria have one year of full-time paid work experience within the last ten years in one of the eligible occupations⁸ listed on the Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC)⁹ list, and have an arranged employment. Foreign students who are working on a Ph.D. or graduated from such a program in Canada in the last 12 months with one year of continuous paid work experience might also be eligible for the FSW program¹⁰.

Table 6: Six selection factors and pass mark – Federal skilled worker program [Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) 2013a]

Selection Factor	Maximum points
English and / or French skills	28
Education	25
Experience	15
Age	12
Arranged employment in Canada	10
Adaptability	10
Total	100
Pass mark: 67 out of 100 points	

2) Business Class¹¹: this includes two sub-categories — start-up VISA and self-employed persons. To qualify for the start-up VISA program, an applicant must secure a certain amount of financial support, have a business venture or idea approved by one of the designated Canadian organizations, and have sufficient settlement funds.

The self-employed program is for people with relevant experience in cultural activities, athletics, or farm management. They must intend to and be able to make a significant contribution to the cultural or athletic life of Canada, or be able to buy and manage a farm in Canada.

3) Canadian Experience Class¹² (CEC): foreign workers who intend to live outside of Quebec and have lived and acquired skilled work experience in Canada. Their work experience must be in one of the managerial, professional, or technical categories in the Canadian National Occupational Classification system.

4) Federal Skilled Trade Program (FSTP)¹³: people who are qualified in a skilled trade listed in the Canadian National Occupation Classification (NOC) system, plan to live outside the province of Quebec, have at least two years of full-time work experience in a skilled trade within the five years preceding their application, etc.

5) Provincial Nominee Program (PNP): similar to Quebec immigration program, people who plan to live in a specific Canadian province or territory and meet its immigration needs can apply directly through that province or territory's immigration programs.

6) Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP): people who have the equivalent of a Canadian secondary school education, training, or work experience as a caregiver or in a related

field or occupation, etc. Both the employer and the employee must follow the procedures to meet the program's requirements.

The second major class of immigrants under the Federal program is the Family class.

Family Class (FC): Canadian citizens and permanent residents who are at least 18 years old and wish sponsor their eligible relatives such as their parents, grandparents, spouse, common-law/ conjugal partners, dependent children, or adopted persons. As in the case for all other immigration categories, specific criteria are also applied to both the sponsors and the sponsored persons.

Finally, there is the programme for those who are likely to be in danger in their home countries.

Refugee/ Humanitarian Program: people inside or outside Canada who might face persecution upon returning to their home countries. People in this program can also be sponsored by Canadian citizens or permanent residents.

The provincial immigration program has its own categories.

Québec Immigration program¹⁴

Economic Class: there are two sub-categories are within this class, skilled workers and business people.

1) Skilled Workers: foreigners who want to settle and work in Quebec, have at least one diploma (secondary or vocational study) that corresponds to Québec's education system, and have training and occupational skills that will facilitate their integration

into the Quebec job market. Education, training, and work experience acquired before the application for immigration are evaluated based on Quebec’s list of areas of training¹⁵ and the Canadian national occupational classification system.

Eligible foreign students and foreign workers in Québec can also apply for immigration to Quebec either through the regular skilled workers program or the Quebec experience program (programme de l’expérience québécoise - PEQ). The latter is an accelerated selection program under the skilled worker category. It is designed for temporary foreign workers and foreign students who, along with knowledge of the French language, have a skilled job or have graduated or are studying toward a diploma in Quebec.

Table 7: Summarized selection factors¹⁶ – Quebec skilled worker program (CANADAVISA.COM 2014)

Education	Up to 12 points (Cut-off Score = 2 points)
Area of Training	Up to 16 points
Validated Employment Offer	Up to 10 points
Work Experience	Up to 8 points
Age	Up to 16 points
Language Proficiency	Up to 22 points
Stay and Family in Quebec	Up to 8 points
Spouse’s Characteristics	Up to 16 points
Children	Up to 8 points
Financial Self-Sufficiency	1 point (Cut-off Score = 1)

The pass mark for a single applicant to Quebec's skilled worker program is 49 points. It is 57 points for an applicant with a spouse or common-law partner. Up to 6 additional points may be awarded for adaptability.

2) Business People: this category is divided into three sub-categories: investor program, entrepreneur program, and self-employed worker program. Aside from other criteria specified for each of these three sub-categories, people applying through the Investor Program must have net assets of at least \$1,600,000, invest \$800,000 in Quebec, and have management experience in a farming, commercial or industrial business, or in a legal professional business. Net assets of at least \$300,000 are required for the Entrepreneur Program whereas net assets of at least \$100,000 are required for the Self-Employed Worker Program.

Family Sponsorship Program: as is the case with the Federal program, both sponsors and sponsored persons must meet all the selection requirements and be at least 18 years of age.

Refugee/ Humanitarian program: similar to the Federal program, refugees can be sponsored through collective sponsorship. The Québec and Federal governments share responsibilities with respect to this program.

In 2012, 55,036 immigrants were admitted to Quebec. The majority of the newcomers were Economic Immigrants (72%). Among these, 86.5% were skilled workers, 11.7 % were

Business People, and 1.6% was Live-in Caregivers. The top 4 sending countries are Morocco, Algeria, France, and China [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013c]. It is important to keep in mind that the immigrants' life after arriving in Canada continues to evolve and change just like anyone else's. They may get married, have children, obtain higher education, or improve their economic situation. As the anthropologist Clarkson (2005: 124) cautions:

"Les immigrants étudiés ne constituent surtout pas un groupe homogène. Il serait inexact d'affirmer que tous les immigrants ou, à tout le moins, les immigrants en provenance d'un pays ou d'une région donnée, partagent nécessairement les mêmes caractéristiques, alors qu'au-delà et parfois même à l'intérieur du pays d'origine, ils se distinguent par des valeurs socioculturelles, des caractéristiques socioéconomiques, des croyances et des pratiques. En outre, ils se distinguent non seulement par un contexte pré-migratoire mais aussi par les raisons qui ont motivé leur décision de migrer et par la durée de séjour dans le pays d'accueil."

In terms of location, 2002-2012 statistics show that more than 70% of immigrants to Quebec chose to live in Montreal and its peripheral suburban regions [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2007; Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2008; Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013c] (see table 8). This concentration of immigrants in Montreal makes for heavy competition for employment opportunities and the existing resources amongst the native-born and immigrants of different origins. In Chapter 3, I look at this more closely in the context of examining interprovincial migration among immigrants to Quebec.

Table 8: Initiate projected regions of immigrants to Quebec, 2008-2012 [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013c: 40].

Région projetée de destination	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012		2008-2012	
					n	%	n	%
Bas-Saint-Laurent	77	112	93	83	107	0,2	472	0,2
Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean	149	158	122	100	150	0,3	679	0,3
Capitale-Nationale	1 954	2 335	2 545	2 250	2 809	5,1	11 893	4,7
Mauricie	316	408	346	293	311	0,6	1 674	0,7
Estrie	1 127	1 049	1 205	1 010	1 016	1,8	5 407	2,1
Montréal	33 383	35 772	38 689	36 025	38 515	70,0	182 384	71,4
Outaouais	1 174	1 215	1 557	1 463	1 532	2,8	6 941	2,7
Abitibi-Témiscamingue	69	54	64	76	110	0,2	373	0,1
Côte-Nord et Nord-du-Québec	34	40	38	53	56	0,1	221	0,1
Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine	26	20	26	19	42	0,1	133	0,1
Chaudière-Appalaches	136	161	243	213	200	0,4	953	0,4
Laval	2 146	2 639	3 048	3 533	3 213	5,8	14 579	5,7
Lanaudière	431	466	642	878	810	1,5	3 227	1,3
Laurentides	597	710	689	673	638	1,2	3 307	1,3
Montérégie	3 116	3 925	4 316	4 706	4 484	8,1	20 547	8,0
Centre-du-Québec	288	272	247	273	223	0,4	1 303	0,5
Non déterminée	175	152	112	90	820	1,5	1 349	0,5
Total	45 198	49 488	53 982	51 738	55 036	100,0	255 442	100,0

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms: Mobility Rights and Interprovincial Migration.

Ever since the introduction of the point system and the subsequent Canada-Quebec Accord, foreign nationalities are not restricted to applying for immigration solely through the Federal or Quebec immigration program. Those who wish to settle in Quebec can apply through either one. Nonetheless, even immigrants admitted to Canada through Quebec immigration system

are not restricted by law to reside only in Quebec, as guaranteed by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which states that "every citizen of Canada and every person who has the status of a permanent resident of Canada has the right (a) to move to and take up residence in any province; and (b) to pursue the gaining of a livelihood in any province... (Department of Justice 1982)." Consequently, immigrants are free to migrate interprovincially.

Conclusion

Chinese immigrants started to arrive in Quebec from western provinces after the completion of the CPR in the late 19th century, where they had laboured as indentured workers. After the repeal of the Chinese Head Tax in 1947 and before the introduction of the 1967's point-system, most of the immigrants of Chinese origin were family class immigrants. However, most Chinese admitted to Quebec now are not family class but skilled workers from China. Since the mid-2000's, Chinese immigrants has been the fourth immigrant group in Quebec and almost half of them are skilled workers admitted either through Federal or Quebec immigration system. Yet, though they choose Quebec as their initial destination, according to Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms they are free to move to other provinces.

The following chapter will elaborate on the focus of my research- interprovincial migration of Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants. The first part of the chapter examines interprovincial migration trends of Quebec's immigrants as well as that of other provinces. In the second part, the emphasis is placed on Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants' out-migration since 1991. The last part presents a review the literature about interprovincial migration and the reasons why immigrants leave Quebec.

¹ Statistics Canada states that an Ethnic Chinese is a person whose ancestor was of Chinese ethnic or culture and that the term “ethnic origin” applies to “all persons, report the specific ethnic or cultural origin(s) of their ancestors, not the language they spoke.”

For more information on Ethnic origin, see <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/ref/dict/pop030a-eng.cfm>

²These 53,480 immigrants were born in mainland China. Hereinafter, the term “Chinese immigrant” denotes only Chinese immigrants born in and emigrated from mainland China.

³ This table is extracted from “Tableau 18 : Population immigrée selon les 50 principaux pays de naissance, par période d’immigration, Québec, 2006 “, of “*Population immigrée recensée au Québec et dans les régions en 2006 : caractéristiques générale* “.

⁴Information in Tables 3, 4, and 5 is compiled from “ L’immigration permanente au Québec selon les catégories d’immigration et quelques composantes 2006-2010 and L’immigration permanente au Québec selon les catégories d’immigration et quelques composantes 2008-2012 “.

⁵ In the outline of the Accord, it is stated that Quebec’s new objective:

"was to be achieved primarily by Quebec’s formal role in advising about the number of immigrants it wishes to receive, the attempt to ensure numbers of immigrants proportional to the population of the province, and Quebec’s assumption of all integration services, with a particular emphasis on providing permanent residents with the means to learn the French language. Canada remains responsible for national standards and objectives relating to immigration, the admission of all immigrants and the admission and control of visitors. Admission in relation to immigrants means the application of the criteria relating to criminality, security and health, in addition to the administrative processing of applications and physical admission to Canada at ports of entry. Quebec is responsible for the selection, reception and integration of immigrants to Quebec. Canada commits itself not to admit any independent immigrant or refugee into Quebec who does not meet Quebec’s selection criteria (except for adjudicating refugee claims from within the country).

⁶ Immigration program and selection criteria are subject to change. For the latest updates on the eligibilities and the detailed selection criteria, visit the websites of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) at <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/apply.asp>

⁷ For more information on Federal Skilled Worker (FSW), see: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/apply-who.asp>

⁸ For more information on eligible occupations, see “Specific eligibility criteria – Federal skilled workers”: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/apply-who-instructions.asp?expand=jobs#jobs>

⁹ For Canadian National Occupational Classification (NOC), see: <http://www5.hrsdc.gc.ca/NOC/English/NOC/2011/Welcome.aspx>

¹⁰ More detailed information on Ph.D. student’s eligibility for FSW, see: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/apply-who-instructions.asp?expand=jobs#jobs>

¹¹ According to CIC, “On February 11, 2014, Economic Action Plan 2014 announced the government’s intent to

terminate both the Federal [immigrant investor](#) and [Federal entrepreneur](#) programs, eliminate a large and longstanding backlog of applications, and pave the way for new pilot programs that will actually meet Canada's labour market and economic needs.”

For more information on Investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed programs, see:
<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/business/index.asp>.

¹² Canadian Experience Class was introduced in 2008.

¹³ Federal Skilled Trade Program (FSTP) is a new immigration program that was launched on January 2nd, 2013.

¹⁴ Immigration program and selection criteria are subject to change. For the latest updates, eligibilities, and detailed selection criteria, visit the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) websites at <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/fr/index.html>

¹⁵ For Quebec's List of Areas of Training, see:
<http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/publications/en/diverses/list-training.pdf>

¹⁶ For detailed selection criteria, see appendix C : Grille synthèse des facteurs et critères applicables à la sélection des travailleurs qualifiés, règlement du 1er août 2013.

Chapter 3: Interprovincial migration¹

In 2010, Okonny-Myers' research on the dynamic of immigrants' interprovincial mobility revealed that, between 1991 and 2006, Quebec recruited 350,500 immigrants from overseas, the number three province in attracting immigrants. Yet, during these 16 years, it had an outflow of 74,675 and only inflow of 29,715 interprovincial immigrant movers. It was the fourth province in retaining immigrants with a retention rate of 78.7 % and a negative net change of 12.8 % in in/ out migration rate (see Appendix D).

The same research also showed that, for a shorter period of time between 2000 and 2006, Quebec was the number two province for immigrant intake but remained as the fourth province in interprovincial migration of immigrants with a retention rate of 85.5% and a net change of -5.7%. Note that with a smaller number of immigrants intake from overseas, not only Alberta and British Columbia had an immigrant retention rate higher than that of Quebec (89.2 % and 87.1% respectively), they also had a positive net change in in/ out migration rate: Alberta (30.2%) and British Columbia (2.8%) (see Appendix E) (Okonny-Myers 2010).

During the same period of 2000-2006, among all immigration categories, economic immigrants in Quebec have the highest out-migration rate. Ten percent of skilled workers left for Ontario (62%), Alberta (19%), and British Columbia (15%); 61.4% of business immigrants, the highest out-migration rate of business immigrants among all Canadian provinces and territories, left for Ontario and British Columbia. Immigrants of other categories also had similar retention rates to that of those in the skilled workers program: the

retention rate of the family class being 91.1%; for refugees it was 79.8%; and for the live-in caregiver program, 92.6% stayed in Quebec (Okonny-Myers 2010: 7, 10, 21).

Table 9: Immigrants landed under the skilled worker category from 2000 to 2006 (2006 tax year) (Okonny-Myers 2010: 8).

Province	Destined at landing	Out-migration	Destined and resident in 2006	In-migration	Resident in 2006	Retention rate (%)	Net change (%)
Atlantic	3,675	1,445	2,230	1,750	3,980	60.7	8.3
Quebec	85,790	8,580	77,210	11,295	88,505	90.0	3.2
Ontario	269,480	33,640	235,840	17,895	253,735	87.5	-5.8
Manitoba	3,810	1,550	2,260	1,405	3,665	59.3	-3.8
Saskatchewan	2,180	950	1,230	780	2,010	56.4	-7.8
Alberta	30,885	4,720	26,165	16,410	42,575	84.7	37.9
British Columbia	67,615	13,825	53,790	14,000	67,790	79.6	0.3

Source: Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB).

Consistent with Okonny-Myers' findings, studies conducted in 2013 by the MICC (Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles) on the presence of immigrants admitted to Quebec during the period 2002-2011 also indicates that economic immigrants have the lowest presence rate (72.2%) (see table 10); in this category, almost 25% of skilled worker immigrants no longer resided in Quebec in 2013. In addition, regardless of their immigration category, those with more than 16 years of education have the highest absence rate² [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013a: 24, 30] (see table 11).

It is evident that immigrant out-migration is not just a Quebec phenomenon; all Canadian provinces experience interprovincial migration of immigrants. Immigrants chose

Quebec to be their initial destination but some eventually migrate to other provinces or even return to their home countries. In 2012, Quebec was the second province for attracting immigrants, with 21.3 % of the Canadian total; Ontario received 38.4%; while British Columbia attracted 14.1%; and Alberta, 14.0%. At the same time though, Quebec had a hard time retaining immigrants, losing many to other provinces (Girard 2013: 78).

Chinese skilled worker immigrants

In 2013, MICC's studies found only 51.8% of Chinese economic immigrants admitted to Quebec during 2002-2011 were still residing in the province; thus, it is safe to assume that a sizable of Chinese skilled worker immigrants under the economic category have also left Quebec for other provinces. Similar to the Chinese economic immigrants, immigrants of English and Indo-Iranian mother tone also have a very low presence rate: 57.8% and 45.4%, respectively [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013a: 26, 29] (see table 12 and 13).

Table 10: Population immigrante admise au Québec de 2002 à 2011 et présente en 2013 selon la catégorie³ (en %), par année d'admission [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013a: 24].

Catégorie	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
Immigration économique											
Travailleurs qualifiés	67,2	67,8	69,3	71,2	75,5	78,8	78,4	81,8	80,1	77,0	75,4
Parents aidés	54,7	58,5	54,5	58,2	66,3	76,1	41,2	-	-	-	58,0
Gens d'affaires, total	20,3	34,0	36,2	38,2	46,1	42,3	43,0	43,9	31,3	21,9	33,3
• Entrepreneurs	35,3	54,1	58,7	54,8	71,5	63,9	66,9	72,3	73,3	76,7	58,9
• Travailleurs autonomes	65,2	67,0	62,5	67,1	79,4	75,2	74,0	77,7	66,4	63,1	69,3
• Investisseurs	10,2	19,8	23,5	30,5	34,0	35,3	37,0	36,3	24,8	18,5	25,2
Aides familiaux	81,4	77,9	80,9	81,8	84,4	86,5	91,4	96,1	95,3	93,1	89,9
Autres ¹	100,0	61,1	42,5	65,4	57,6	40,0	67,2	51,3	39,5	24,5	49,6
Total	62,0	65,5	67,2	69,1	73,8	76,5	77,4	80,5	77,3	71,2	72,7
Regroupement familial											
Époux, conjoints, partenaires	72,3	75,0	77,3	80,3	83,2	85,4	89,3	90,7	91,3	88,9	83,8
Enfants	75,5	73,6	75,6	76,9	78,1	79,8	88,0	91,2	90,3	84,8	81,4
Adoption internationale	91,2	94,1	91,8	92,8	89,5	90,3	95,9	95,1	95,0	96,7	92,6
Parents ou grands-parents	62,3	62,1	65,7	68,9	70,5	80,3	80,1	85,5	84,4	83,9	75,3
Autres parents	83,3	76,9	81,3	83,4	85,9	85,6	88,7	91,5	92,4	88,8	87,6
Total	73,1	75,3	77,7	80,4	82,4	84,9	88,5	90,3	90,6	88,1	83,6
Réfugiés et personnes en situation semblable											
Réfugiés pris en charge par l'État	70,2	75,1	76,4	75,1	80,5	82,7	87,8	91,4	91,6	90,6	82,1
Réfugiés parrainés	70,3	65,7	75,6	78,9	84,9	85,0	85,7	88,6	89,2	89,4	82,6
Réfugiés reconnus sur place	60,6	64,3	64,9	71,5	77,5	82,0	86,6	90,1	95,0	97,6	75,5
Membres de la famille d'un réfugié ²	58,9	65,0	64,9	69,4	77,3	79,3	86,3	91,9	93,9	90,7	75,5
Autres réfugiés	62,1	92,9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70,5
Total	63,0	68,1	68,2	72,3	78,8	81,9	86,9	90,8	93,0	93,5	78,0
Autres immigrants³	81,8	73,1	81,5	85,8	80,9	87,0	85,5	90,9	93,0	92,3	85,8
Total	64,5	68,2	69,8	72,3	76,8	79,4	81,1	83,5	81,5	76,9	75,9

Table 11: Population immigrante âgée de 15 ans et plus, admise au Québec de 2002 à 2011 et présente en 2013, selon la catégorie et la scolarité déclarée lors de l'admission [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013a: 30].

Catégorie	Scolarité lors de l'admission	Immigrants	Présents	%
Immigration économique	0-6 années	1 484	986	66,4
	7-11 années	17 032	11 396	66,9
	12-13 années	24 315	17 542	72,1
	14-16 années	79 261	58 315	73,6
	17 années et +	96 853	67 974	70,2
	Inf. non disponible	8 855	6 894	77,9
	Total		227 800	163 107
Regroupement familial	0-6 années	4 025	3 294	81,8
	7-11 années	17 326	14 407	83,2
	12-13 années	16 709	13 913	83,3
	14-16 années	23 959	19 903	83,1
	17 années et +	15 617	12 813	82,0
	Inf. non disponible	6 067	5 223	86,1
	Total		83 703	69 553
Réfugiés et personnes en situation semblable	0-6 années	4 110	3 332	81,1
	7-11 années	14 235	10 797	75,8
	12-13 années	8 164	6 217	76,2
	14-16 années	7 979	6 135	76,9
	17 années et +	4 444	3 457	77,8
	Inf. non disponible	3 768	2 989	79,3
	Total		42 700	32 927
Autres immigrants	0-6 années	335	282	84,2
	7-11 années	1 985	1 727	87,0
	12-13 années	1 410	1 205	85,5
	14-16 années	1 244	1 089	87,5
	17 années et +	680	575	84,6
	Inf. non disponible	221	180	81,4
	Total		5 875	5 058
Total	0-6 années	9 954	7 894	79,3
	7-11 années	50 578	38 327	75,8
	12-13 années	50 598	38 877	76,8
	14-16 années	112 443	85 442	76,0
	17 années et +	117 594	84 819	72,1
	Inf. non disponible	18 911	15 286	80,8
	Total		360 078	270 645

Table 12: Population immigrante admise au Québec de 2002 à 2011 et présente en 2013 selon les 25 principaux pays de naissance, par catégorie [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013a: 26].

Rang	Pays de naissance	Immigration économique			Regroupement familial			Réfugiés			Autres immigrants			Total		
		Imm. ¹	Prés. ²	%	Imm. ¹	Prés. ²	%	Imm. ¹	Prés. ²	%	Imm. ¹	Prés. ²	%	Imm. ¹	Prés. ²	%
1	Algérie	30 931	26 622	86,1	5 798	5 371	92,6	565	490	86,7	711	654	92,0	38 005	33 137	87,2
2	Maroc	29 726	23 524	79,1	7 811	7 039	90,1	104	95	91,3	46	43	93,5	37 687	30 701	81,5
3	France	31 156	22 999	73,8	3 351	2 745	81,9	55	41	74,5	54	43	79,6	34 616	25 828	74,6
4	Chine	25 396	13 149	51,8	7 611	5 991	78,7	236	158	66,9	28	26	92,9	33 271	19 324	58,1
5	Haiti	9 577	8 852	92,4	8 463	7 827	92,5	2 813	2 639	93,8	591	564	95,4	21 444	19 882	92,7
6	Colombie	8 693	7 021	80,8	1 530	1 335	87,3	10 682	8 832	82,7	138	117	84,8	21 043	17 305	82,2
7	Roumanie	16 265	12 647	77,8	1 803	1 444	80,1	300	221	73,7	38	31	81,6	18 406	14 343	77,9
8	Liban	12 589	8 057	64,0	3 206	2 586	80,7	479	422	88,1	117	104	88,9	16 391	11 169	68,1
9	Inde	2 995	1 026	34,3	3 382	2 227	65,8	3 320	1 606	48,4	292	209	71,6	9 989	5 068	50,7
10	Mexique	4 209	2 974	70,7	2 314	2 060	89,0	3 095	2 739	88,5	279	248	88,9	9 897	8 021	81,0
11	Philippines	7 232	6 285	86,9	2 393	2 069	86,5	52	35	67,3	114	109	95,6	9 791	8 498	86,8
12	Iran	6 900	3 592	52,1	913	685	75,0	830	606	73,0	62	53	85,5	8 705	4 936	56,7
13	Tunisie	5 903	4 646	78,7	2 351	2 073	88,2	137	119	86,9	30	28	93,3	8 421	6 866	81,5
14	Pakistan	1 186	401	33,8	2 468	1 587	64,3	3 637	2 057	56,6	185	127	68,6	7 476	4 172	55,8
15	États-Unis	3 301	2 100	63,6	3 189	2 415	75,7	598	513	85,8	126	111	88,1	7 214	5 139	71,2
16	Pérou	3 591	2 809	78,2	1 853	1 635	88,2	1 482	1 307	88,2	167	155	92,8	7 093	5 906	83,3
17	Cameroun	5 229	3 946	75,5	1 121	992	88,5	502	429	85,5	35	31	88,6	6 887	5 398	78,4
18	Rép. dém. du Congo	1 001	793	79,2	1 028	883	85,9	4 243	3 329	78,5	542	467	86,2	6 814	5 472	80,3
19	Moldavie	6 328	5 546	87,6	281	246	87,5	59	50	84,7	15	15	100,0	6 683	5 857	87,6
20	Égypte	5 780	3 886	67,2	686	528	77,0	187	148	79,1	26	24	92,3	6 679	4 586	68,7
21	Russie	3 748	2 779	74,1	1 289	1 039	80,6	592	460	77,7	112	106	94,6	5 741	4 384	76,4
22	Bulgarie	4 911	3 777	76,9	347	274	79,0	52	35	67,3	9	6	66,7	5 319	4 092	76,9
23	Brésil	4 352	3 453	79,3	638	530	83,1	19	16	84,2	6	5	83,3	5 015	4 004	79,8
24	Sri Lanka	213	69	32,4	1 615	1 324	82,0	2 185	1 407	64,4	847	680	80,3	4 860	3 480	71,6
25	Côte d'Ivoire	3 498	2 879	82,3	746	663	88,9	409	353	86,3	40	36	90,0	4 693	3 931	83,8
Total, 25 principaux pays		234 710	173 832	74,1	66 187	55 568	84,0	36 633	28 107	76,7	4 610	3 992	86,6	342 140	261 499	76,4
Autres pays		57 323	38 416	67,0	31 308	25 906	82,7	21 893	17 518	80,0	2 393	2 019	84,4	112 917	83 859	74,3
Total		292 033	212 248	72,7	97 495	81 474	83,6	58 526	45 625	78,0	7 003	6 011	85,8	455 057	345 358	75,9

1. Imm. : Immigrants

2. Prés. : Présents

Table 13: Population immigrante admise au Québec de 2002 à 2011 et présente en 2013 selon la catégorie, par langue maternelle [Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) 2013a: 29].

Catégorie	Langue maternelle	Immigrants	Présents	%
Immigration économique	Français	51 470	38 658	75,1
	Anglais	6 196	3 584	57,8
	Langues arabes	80 439	60 408	75,1
	Langues chinoises	26 710	13 747	51,5
	Langues créoles	11 797	10 276	87,1
	Langues indo-iraniennes	11 378	5 166	45,4
	Langues latines	51 435	39 971	77,7
	Langues slaves	17 805	13 688	76,9
	Autres langues	34 803	26 750	76,9
	Total	292 033	212 248	72,7
Regroupement familial	Français	9 057	7 744	85,5
	Anglais	6 091	4 589	75,3
	Langues arabes	19 557	17 081	87,3
	Langues chinoises	8 169	6 447	78,9
	Langues créoles	8 403	7 747	92,2
	Langues indo-iraniennes	8 516	5 920	69,5
	Langues latines	15 850	13 676	86,3
	Langues slaves	4 018	3 236	80,5
	Autres langues	17 834	15 034	84,3
	Total	97 495	81 474	83,6
Réfugiés et personnes en situation semblable	Français	2 620	2 146	81,9
	Anglais	1 043	855	82,0
	Langues arabes	3 715	3 075	82,8
	Langues chinoises	259	185	71,4
	Langues créoles	2 910	2 738	94,1
	Langues indo-iraniennes	13 494	8 944	66,3
	Langues latines	17 854	15 089	84,5
	Langues slaves	1 079	830	76,9
	Autres langues	15 552	11 763	75,6
	Total	58 526	45 625	78,0
Autres immigrants	Français	418	344	82,3
	Anglais	596	523	87,8
	Langues arabes	877	799	91,1
	Langues chinoises	40	36	90,0
	Langues créoles	618	587	95,0
	Langues indo-iraniennes	709	532	75,0
	Langues latines	1 107	957	86,4
	Langues slaves	314	282	89,8
	Autres langues	2 324	1 951	84,0
	Total	7 003	6 011	85,8
Total	Français	63 565	48 892	76,9
	Anglais	13 926	9 551	68,6
	Langues arabes	104 588	81 363	77,8
	Langues chinoises	35 178	20 415	58,0
	Langues créoles	23 728	21 348	90,0
	Langues indo-iraniennes	34 097	20 562	60,3
	Langues latines	86 246	69 693	80,8
	Langues slaves	23 216	18 036	77,7
	Autres langues	70 513	55 498	78,7
	Total	455 057	345 358	75,9

Langues latines : espagnol, italien, portugais, roumain, catalan.

Langues chinoises: cantonais, mandarin, taïwanais, hakka, autres chinoises.

Langues indo-iraniennes: bengali, gujarati, hindi, konkani, ourdou, penjabi, sindhi, népalais, kurde, persan, farsi.

Langues slaves: russe, polonais, bulgare, serbo-croate, tchèque, slovaque, ukrainien, croate, slovène, serbe, macédonien, bosniaque.

Autres langues: toute autre langue qui n'apparaît pas dans les regroupements définis plus haut.

Interprovincial migration of Quebec's immigrants

Leaving Quebec, their initial destination, was largely linked to immigrants' employability. Schellenberg and Maheux (2007) surveyed immigrants' perspectives and assessments four years after their arrival in Canada and found that climate/ physical environment, cultural aspects such as freedom and rights, safety, politically stable/ peace, and educational opportunities were their top five favorite aspects of Canada, while lack of employment/ business opportunities was the least favourite aspect. Most of the immigrants were satisfied with their decision to come to Canada and wished to stay because they thought they could have a better future here; however, they reported that finding a job/an appropriate job or business opportunities was the biggest difficulty for them due to factors such as their credentials not being recognized, not having Canadian work experience and lack of social networks. In order to find employment opportunities, many of them left for provinces offering greater possibilities of employment: British Columbia, Ontario, and Alberta.

A number of authors have argued that lack of French knowledge is a major handicap for immigrants' employability. Bernard (2008b) and Finnie (2004) found that not only were native-born English speakers twice as likely to leave Quebec as francophone, but that the proportion was the same for newcomers. A report by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) indicates that immigrant tax filers who reported ability in English upon arrival were those who tended to leave Quebec. By 1995, as compared to 1980, Québec was left with over 24% fewer immigrant tax filers who spoke English-only at landing. In contrast, Québec lost

3.7% of immigrants who spoke French only and not English [IMDB (Longitudinal Immigration Database) Profile Series 2000: 37].

Given that most of the immigrants admitted to Quebec are skilled workers and business immigrants who are either professionals or people with recognized business skills, the underutilisation of their foreign credentials qualification, and work experience has been lamented as "brain abuse (Bauder 2003)" and "brain drain (Li 2010)". Deskilling might have contributed to the exodus of Quebec's immigrants. Bauder (2003) argues that non-recognition of immigrants' foreign credentials, qualifications, as well as their work experience acquired outside of Canada is systemic discrimination. On the one hand, the Canadian educational system ensures the social reproduction of Canadian norms. The Canadian regulatory institutions and professional associations, on the other hand, exclude immigrants from entering certain high status labour segments but at the same time favor and give preference to those who are Canadian-educated or trained.

Peter Li, arguing from a knowledge economy point of view, also echoes the idea that immigrants with higher education and qualifications acquired before coming to Canada should have saved Canada the funds and resources that would have been spent by the native-born for attaining higher education in Canada, the disqualification of immigrants' foreign education and qualification was an issue of "brain gain" and "brain loss". According to his research on the value of human capital imported by Chinese, one of the top three source countries of immigrants, who immigrated to Canada between 1996 and 2000 with university degrees, the

disqualification of their foreign credentials caused Canada about 0.7 billion dollars in human capital loss (Li 2008).

Nevertheless, arguing the lack of French knowledge and non-recognition of foreign credentials and work experience as the major causes of immigrants' exodus is not a sufficient explanation. Quebec and the rest of Canada have gone through many political and economic changes that have affected the dynamic of immigrants' interprovincial migration. I have found that the interprovincial migration of Quebec's immigrants is rather the result of change in the composition of the immigrant group, change in number of immigrants admitted to Canada/ Quebec, and the concentration of immigrants in Montreal. I argue that the age of admission to Quebec/ Canada, and ethnic communities /network of kin/ friends greatly influence future immigrants' decision of leaving Quebec. Moreover this will continue in the future unless Quebec creates more jobs and resources in the CMA.

Change in the composition of immigration to Quebec

Compared to the rest of Canada that has recruited immigrants mainly from Asia, Quebec has become much more heterogeneous in terms of population composition (Cousineau and Boudarbat 2009; Nadeau and Seckin 2010; Pinsonneault 2005) . Since the 1980's, Quebec has welcomed more and more immigrants coming from non-traditional sending countries. Instead of arriving from the United States, the U.K., Eastern Europe, and Central/ South America, immigrants after the 1970s have increasingly come from Africa, Asia, and Central/ Western Europe. They also have a higher level of education in college and university degree than the previous cohorts. In a global competition in the knowledge economy, the increase in higher

education of immigrants should have brought benefits to Quebec as well as to immigrants. Nevertheless, the change in immigrant composition has brought problems of linguistic integration to the fore, along with issues around the recognition of foreign credentials, qualification, and work experience.

Figure 1: Évaluation de la structure des pays d'origine des nouveaux immigrants (Cousineau and Boudarbat 2009: 234)⁴

Évolution de la structure des pays d'origine des nouveaux immigrants (ceux arrivés il y a cinq ans ou moins)

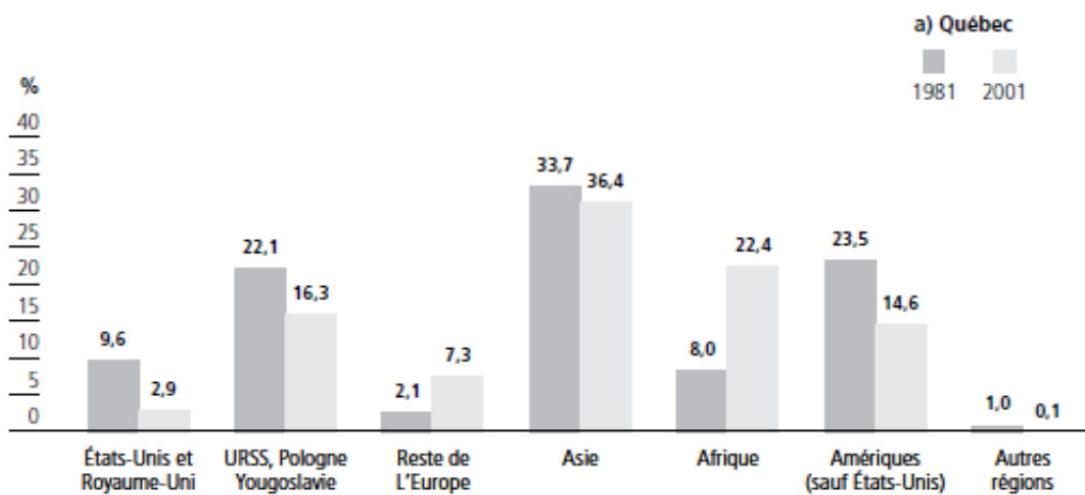
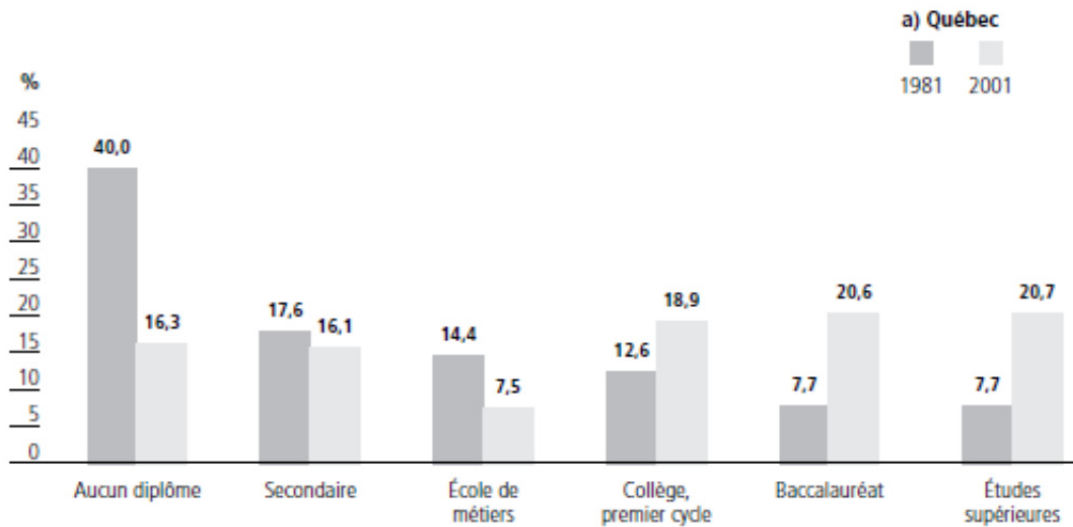


Figure 2: Grade, certificat ou diplôme le plus élevé (Cousineau and Boudarbat 2009: 235)

Grade, certificat ou diplôme le plus élevé (immigrants de 25 ans et plus)



In terms of linguistic integration, Nadeau and Seckin (2010) emphasize that, first, in the whole of Canada, not only has the average wage gap between native-born workers and immigrants grown since the 1980s, but compared to immigrants in the rest of Canada, those in Quebec have always had more difficulty integrating into the labour market. The wage gap in Quebec between the native born and immigrants has also almost doubled between 1980 and 2000. Second, in order to be successful in Quebec's labour market after Bill 101 (1977), it has become indispensable to know French. Yet, there are fewer immigrants who can speak French than who can speak English. Third, immigrants admitted to Quebec are more often from countries that have different education systems than that of Canada. This, according to the authors, explains why their foreign credential, qualification, as well as work experience and culture are less compatible and transferable to Quebec. Finally, they argue, since Quebec had always put more emphasis on French and less on education and work experience for its immigration selection criteria⁵, it is possible that Quebec has recruited immigrants with less human capital than the rest of Canada.

According to the findings of Nadeau and Seckin, the cause of the worsened wage gap in Quebec was not due to Quebec government's immigration policy that put more weight on French language. Rather, they hold, if Quebec recruited immigrants with the same French proficiency as the local born francophone, the wage gap could have been reduced by 4.6 points. Moreover, Quebec's immigration policy actually reflects Quebec's linguistic reality; it should continue to have its own immigration policy. The authors strongly recommended that Quebec should even put more emphasis on its French language requirement for immigrant selection. Knowing French will help immigrants integrate both socially and economically

much better in Quebec. The Quebec government should continue providing French language trainings to immigrants and make known to its future immigrants that it is advantageous for them to learn French. The example of Sinai and Rajabian, a couple presented in Paperny's (2012) studies, mirrors the findings of Nadeau and Seckin.

Both Sinai and Rajabian obtained their master's degrees in universities in Montreal and spoke French well enough for everyday living. Yet, they considered their French was not adequate for employment purpose, as one of them said, "We're sure that we'd have to write in French...It's very difficult for us (Paperny 2012)." With their degrees in construction management and in geology, respectively, neither Sinai nor Rajabian could find a job in Quebec. As a result, they left for Calgary and hold bitter feelings towards Quebec, the province where they originally landed and where they had hoped to establish their family.

Indeed, one might think that being able to speak French would certainly make immigrants' life in Quebec easier. Yet, speaking French does not guarantee successful integration in the labour market because knowing only one official language in Quebec is proving less and less advantageous, as is the lack of networks. Jedwab warns that unilingual people are less marketable than bilinguals and that it is not easy to find a job in Quebec's network-oriented job market (Paperny 2012). People tend to land a job through their connections or referrals. Other barriers, such as lack of Canadian credentials/ work experience, and discrimination can also influence immigrants' economic outcome in Quebec and their decision to leave.

DeVoretz and Pivenko (2008: 373) state that "increased educational credentials are positively associated with probability of choosing Quebec as a destination but have a negative effect on the probability of staying during subsequent periods." As the authors note, anglophone immigrants are less likely to choose Quebec than other provinces as their destination. Those who do come have a lower probability of staying there. The effect of speaking French at home has the opposite effect on the initial choice of destination and subsequent stay, according to the same study. Immigrants who are skilled or professional are less likely than others to stay in Quebec.

Many francophone skilled workers immigrants choose Quebec as their initial destination, thinking that their French language ability and work qualifications would be advantageous in the French speaking province. However, according to the demographer Marc Termotte, within eight years of their immigration, 50 % of immigrants from France who want to settle in Quebec will leave (St-Pierre 2004). Instead of looking for "an acre of France in America", French immigrants realize upon their arrival in Quebec that Quebec is in fact "America in French (Olivier 2007)". In spite of cultural shocks, many French find Quebec's quality of health care, education, language, as well as business etiquette and practices less satisfactory than those in France. Moreover, Yann Takvorian, the founder of the web site *Immigrer-contact*⁶, asserts that "in order to join their ranks, a number of professionals who were already practicing in France find themselves having to retake exams, attend classes or sometimes even retrain completely (Olivier 2007)."

Francophone immigrants of other countries also have employment difficulties in Quebec. As a consequence, they opt for other provinces. Ibbitson (2012) argues that Quebec attracts many francophone immigrants but a lot of them are from some of the world's poorest regions and these immigrants unlikely to have the education and the skills that Quebec needs. Furthermore, Hautin's (2008) research shows that even francophone immigrants from poor countries are educated either in their home countries or in Quebec and have diploma and qualifications that Quebec needs, they can still encounter difficulties in finding a job that matches their qualifications. Angeline, one of Hautin's informants who has a bachelor of business administration, asks,

"Pourquoi les gens de l'immigration veulent faire émigrer des gens alors qu'ils ne sont pas capables de les recevoir correctement? Si c'est les postes dans les manufactures que vous laissez pour eux (immigrants), pourquoi vous ne prenez pas des gens qui n'ont pas de diplôme chez eux (Hautin 2008: 31)?"

Estelle, another of Hautin's informants, relates that,

"Ce n'est pas facile parce que je suis arrivée à Montréal et j'ai constaté que Montréal est encore plus bilingue que Toronto, alors il faut être parfaitement bilingue pour trouver un emploi quelque part. C'est ça la difficulté que j'ai rencontrée. En entrevue on me disait, vous parlez très bien français mais malheureusement vous êtes un peu bloquée en anglais. Allez vous préparer (améliorer votre anglais) et puis revenez (Hautin 2008: 33)."

Garneau's (2008) research finds that Moroccan immigrants have the same kind of problems in Quebec's labour market. While some persist in finding a job in Quebec, others

leave for other provinces, such as Alberta. The shock of unemployability traumatizes many immigrants. Fatima, a senior manager in a bank in Morocco who spent months searching unsuccessfully for a job in Quebec, recalls her experience of visiting the employment center:

"C'était désespérant, je me suis retrouvée en train de faire la queue avec des gens qui ne sont pas instruits, des pauvres gens. Moi qui étais un cadre supérieur là-bas (au Maroc), c'était horrible, une expérience horrible (Garneau 2008: 177)."

Though less often than anglophone and allophone immigrants, francophone immigrants also fail to find jobs, such that "the movement of francophone immigrants from elsewhere in Canada to Quebec fails to offset the opposite flow from Quebec to the rest of Canada, and the net interprovincial migration of francophone immigrants definitely favours Canada outside Quebec (Houle and Corbeil 2010: 6)."

Change in the number of immigrants to Canada/ Quebec

Another cause of immigrant out-migration from Quebec is the change in immigrant quotas and the changes in the Canadian economic context during the last three decades. Cousineau and Boudarbat (2009) argue that, first, immigrants' economic situation was negatively affected by the economic downturns and the increased number of immigrants to Canada as a whole.

According to the authors, there was more supply than demand in the labour market due to the "l'effet d'offre classique", in that increases in human capital, i.e. more immigrants with university degrees, led to decrease in salary and increases in unemployment. Second, there was a discrepancy between the kinds of jobs available, due to the abandonment of the selection criteria of professions in demand by the Quebec government in 1996 and the Federal

government in 1993. Cousineau and Boudarbat find that immigrants' country of origin is problematic; while diversity in immigrant composition might be culturally beneficial for Quebec, from a labour market point of view, it is not so advantageous to have immigrants from a wide variety of countries because their education, training, and work experience may not be compatible with that of Quebec and Canada. Immigrants from United States and the U.K. have much fewer problems in transferring and being recognized in Quebec and Canada for their credentials and work experience acquired in their country. Finally, the recognition problem of foreign credentials, qualification, and work experience is affected by the age of the immigrant upon immigration. Immigrants who came to Quebec before the age of 18 had a much higher employment rate than those arriving later in life because of having gone to school in the host country:

“Le fait que ceux qui immigreront très jeunes transitent par le système scolaire canadien ou québécois et n’ont pas d’expérience étrangère à faire reconnaître et, par conséquent, devraient performer mieux sur le marché du travail d’accueil" ... "Ceux qui immigreront à un jeune âge ne subissent pas les problèmes liés au transfert du capital humain étranger (scolarité et expérience) que rencontrent les immigrants admis moins jeunes (Cousineau and Boudarbat 2009: 240).”

Li (2003: 315, 330) argues that discourse centered on, for instance, language and heterogeneity in human capital,

“endorses a conformity model in assessing immigrants and a monolithic cultural framework that preaches tolerance in the abstract but remains intolerant toward cultural specificities deemed outside the mainstream... becoming similar to

Canadians is integration and maintaining cultural difference is opposite to integration... The multiculturalism policy may have created an ideal of incorporating diversity, but this in itself is no assurance that immigrants in Canada are not expected to succumb to the forces of assimilation, especially when the actual forces of conformity remain compelling.”

Interviewed by Paperny (2012), Isabelle and Adan are black immigrants from former French colonies. They immigrated to Quebec as teenagers and hold a university degree from Quebec. Their story illustrates how young immigrants who receive their education in Quebec and have absorbed Quebec cultural norms and “succumbed to the forces of assimilation”, can still be excluded from the labour market because of their visible minority status. Paul Eid (2012) finds that Quebec firms are 62-per-cent more likely to hire people with "non-African" names over African names.

Isabelle says: “Quand tu es une minorité visible au Québec, ce n’est pas facile de percer le marché de l’emploi (Hautin 2008: 29).”

In Adan's words: “Après ma maîtrise [en génie], j’ai envoyé des tonnes de CV et j’ai jamais reçu de nouvelles. À Montréal, c’est zéro pour le travail. J’ai juste réussi à trouver des jobines (Hautin 2008: 30).”

Isabelle and Adan see themselves as victims of discrimination. As a result, they both left Quebec for Ontario.

Concentration of newcomers in Montreal

After the change in immigrant composition and the change in the number of immigrants to Quebec and the rest of Canada, the last cause of the out-migration is the concentration of newcomers in Montreal. As mentioned earlier, in 2011, 70 % of immigrants chose Montreal to be their initial destination. This concentration of immigrants in the metropolis intensifies and worsens the competition between the native and the foreign born for employment opportunities and existing resources (Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) 2001; Germain and Trinh 2010; Jedwab 2006)].

Research conducted by Jedwab on employment issues and immigrant destinations in Montreal and the rest of Quebec reveals that immigrants in Montreal have unemployment rates twice as high as the native-born. (6.2% vs. 12.0%) and earn less than average income (Jedwab 2006). Except for immigrants in Chicoutimi/ Jonquière and Trois-Rivières, who fare better, twice as many immigrants as non-immigrants in the three Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) – Montreal, Quebec City, and Sherbrooke – are of low income. African-born immigrants have the highest unemployment rates as compared with Europeans and Asians.

In *Immigrants in the Hinterlands*, Bernard (2008) suggests that, location plays a role. For example, Asians tend to settle in large urban centers because most of them are skilled workers of urban origins, while those in the rural areas come mostly from United States and European countries. Second, economic class immigrants, regardless of their education level, ability in one of the official languages, and country of origin, encounter more difficulties in integrating in CMAs than those who settle in smaller towns and rural areas. Third, in order to

achieve income parity between Canadians and immigrants in urban centers, it would take more than 13 years for all immigrants groups; in rural areas, it would take only 7 years for immigrants of non-Asian and non-African origin with a university degree. Immigrants in the smaller agglomerations and rural areas integrate and achieve parity faster due to the fact of being exposed to more English or French language groups in the rural areas might facilitate their official language learning. Their foreign credentials and experience might be more advantageous there too.

Consequently, to ease the tension over employment and resources in CMA, as well as to combat the aging and loss of population in the rural areas, Quebec has been trying to recruit and to disperse its immigrants to rural regions or non-urban centers. In this regard, numerous plans, agreements, and collaborations⁷ have been set up by various ministries, the city of Montréal, and educational institutions (Germain and Trinh 2010).

On the other hand, Jedwab's (2006) research on immigrants arrived in Quebec after 2001 holds that community belonging plays an important role in recently arrived immigrants' adjustment process. This factor attracts immigrants to pre-existing ethnic communities mostly located in big cities with better economic conditions and opportunities, and also lures immigrants away from smaller towns. Many immigrants who were initially settled in the rest of Quebec eventually move to Montreal or other Canadian cities. Notwithstanding findings to the effect that the reason of their subsequent migration is the lack of employment opportunities, ethnic community attachment in the process of settlement plays the most

important role. Jedwab concludes that the number one reason for immigrants to settle in CMA is joining family or friends whereas the prospect of a job is second.

A Statistics Canada report shows that in 1981, 10 years after arriving in Canada, 58% of immigrants were found living in the three CMAs: Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal; by 2001, the concentration of immigrants in the CMAs went up to 74 % (Statistics Canada 2003). This concentration level of immigrants in the three CMA in the 1970's and the 1980's was due to a demand for both high-skilled and ancillary workers; in the 1990's, it resulted from a shift in immigrant sending countries as Canada received more immigrants from Asia. They tended to settle in gateway cities where co-ethnic communities have been already established (Chui and Tran 2005; Hou 2005). According to Hou (2005: 25):

"A location's overall attractiveness to immigrants, rather than the sheer size of pre-existing immigrant communities, plays a major role in location choices.

Immigrant communities develop and grow in major gateway cities because of the economic and noneconomic opportunities. The size of pre-existing immigrant communities correlates very strongly with the size of the city of settlement, and the latter is virtually collinear with presence of amenities and opportunities."

In the U.S, immigrants also tend to live in states or areas with large existing co-ethnic communities, which in turn acts as a cultural constrain to both retain potential out-migrants and attract new immigrants. However, immigrants with higher education appear to be less affected by this cultural constraint. They are more likely to reside in states with an average higher employment rate; more sensitive to economic conditions in their states of residence, they are more likely to migrate than are natives (Frey and Liaw 2005; Gurak and Kritz 2000).

It is thus safe to say that, for immigrants, the benefits of living close to people with whom they can share a common language and culture might offset their negative labour market outcome of clustering in the major CMA (Hou and Picot 2003). Even though, over time, some professional and investor immigrants with higher education, business know-how, and ability to speak English would not be content with this trade-off. They would seek better opportunities with monetary returns in other provinces. This might explain why, during the period 2000-2006, 10% of skilled workers immigrants and 64% of business immigrants left Quebec for other provinces.

The case of Sherry, from China, interviewed by Montsion (2011), is an example of skilled worker immigrants who initially chose to immigrate to Montreal, but eventually found the grass to be greener in other provinces – Vancouver, in her case. Sherry immigrated to Montreal but moved to Ottawa and Toronto before finally settling down in Vancouver to "realize her professional dreams...because it is close to Asia and because her skills as an Asian-Canadian are in higher demand in Vancouver...Vancouver is a better place to find employment while working towards her citizenship (Montsion 2011)". She reasons that while getting her Canadian citizenship, the most important thing for her is to find a job, whereas the city where she resides is less important.

Conclusion

Chinese skilled worker immigrants have been fourth in that category in Quebec for the last 8 years. Yet, many of them have left Quebec for other provinces. Other studies show that lack of French language ability, the difficulty transferring foreign credentials and trainings, change in the number of immigrants and in the composition of immigration in Canada and Quebec,

concentration of new comers in Montreal, as well as higher education level have all contributed to the out-migration of immigrants to other provinces. The following chapter will set out the ethnographic findings of my research on interprovincial migration of Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants.

¹ Parts of this chapter are also in Fan's "*Causes of Interprovincial Migration of Quebec's Immigrants*".

² According to MICC, 24.1% of immigrants admitted to Quebec between 2002- 2011 were not present in 2013. Among them, 16.4% had expired health cards, 0.3% had deceased, or were not located. Immigrants who could not be located may have left for another country, another province, or returned to their country of origin.

³ Parent aidé immigrants are defined as follows : "Sous-catégorie de l'immigration économique abolie en 2002. Les candidats de cette sous-catégorie de travailleurs obtenaient des points supplémentaires parce qu'ils avaient un lien de parenté avec un résidant du Québec (père, mère, frère, sœur, oncle, tante, neveu, nièce, fils, frère) (Tableaux sur l'immigration permanente au Québec, Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC), mars 2012 : 6)."

⁴ Please note that there is a minor error in this figure that Cousineau and Boudarbat failed to correct. The bar showing the percentage of immigrants from Asia during the 2000's should have been higher than that of the 1980's.

⁵ Quebec modified its immigration rules and procedures on August 1st, 2013. The new modifications will enter into effect on April 1st, 2014 requiring immigrants to have a higher level of French knowledge and in a certain training that reflex Quebec's labour market demand...etc. For more information, please consult: <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/informations/rules-procedures.html>

⁶ www.immigrer-contact.com is a website for French migrants to post opinions and their experience of immigration to Quebec/ Canada.

⁷ For other partners, programs, and services, consult "Partenaires du Ministère" at <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/fr/partenaires/index.html>

Chapter 4: Remaining in Quebec or Leaving

This chapter presents the results of my interviews with Chinese skilled workers who stayed in Quebec and with those who left for other provinces. All respondents in the In-Quebec group and the Exit group are from mainland China who came to Canada and arrived after 1991. They applied for immigration either through the Federal or Quebec immigration programs. The focus of my research was to find out whether the level of education is the main factor that affects Chinese skilled worker immigrants' decision to leave Quebec. The following section examines interview data and identifies differences and similarities between the two groups in terms of pre- and post-immigration education levels. The analysis then shifts to the respondents' life course and focuses on elements which may have played a role in their decision to leave Quebec: age, length of stay in Quebec, marital status, proficiency with official languages and ability to use them at work, employment path, as well as kin, friends, and cultural constraints. The last section presents the voices of both types, those who stay in Quebec and those who left.

In-Quebec group respondents

The In-Quebec group is made up of 2 women and 3 men. All arrived in Quebec as their initial immigration destination between 2000 and 2007 and have since lived in Quebec. Most of them live in the Montreal metropolitan area. Four respondents mentioned that their main reason for leaving China was to live in a different environment, to pursue their aspirations, and to experience life in another country. Some also viewed immigration as a way to deal with

problems in their marital relationship or job situation. One informant's motives for coming to Quebec were to pursue an interest in Quebec's legal system.

Exit group respondents

The Exit group is made up of 1 woman and 4 men. All of them came to Quebec between 1991 and 2009 as their initial destination. They initially lived in the Montreal metropolitan area, but subsequently moved to other Canadian provinces: Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia.

Two respondents were international students in a Montreal university and applied for immigration during their Ph.D. studies. The Exit group's reasons for leaving China vary greatly: to live in a liberal Western country; to join their spouse's siblings who had already immigrated to North America; to live a new life; to be able to have more than one child; to realize their parents' wishes for them to see the world outside of China; to live in North America; or to pursue a higher education in order to have better career opportunities.

Level of education¹

In terms of education, my results are consistent with the finding that immigrants with higher levels of education tend to migrate to other provinces (DeVoretz and Pivnenko 2008; Frey and Liaw 2005; Gurak and Kritz 2000). On average, at the time of the interview, respondents who left Quebec for other provinces had higher levels of education than those who remained. The In-Quebec group had accumulated 21.5 years of schooling whereas the Exit group had 22 years.

Note that since there are only 5 respondents in each of the groups, the 0.5 year of difference in schooling may not be significant. Moreover, all of the three female respondents of this research had higher level of education than their spouses at the time of immigration. Man and Preston, for example, have done extensive studies on the impact of migration on Chinese immigrant women's lives (Man 2002; Man 2004; Man and Preston 1999) ; however, unlike the Chinese immigrant women studied by Man and Preston, the female respondents in my study are all the main applicants for the skilled worker program because their education levels were higher than their spouses'; hence the women had a better chance of being selected for immigration. Even if they have experienced deskilling in Canada and are working at a lower skill level in their old field or have changed career completely, all of them are presently working and have had a more positive employment experience in Canada than their spouses.

Pre-immigration experience

Before coming to Quebec, all of the In-Quebec group respondents had at least a bachelor's degree from China. One respondent had 15² years of formal education (bachelor's degree from China), 3 had 18 years (master's degree from China), and one had accumulated 22 years (junior college degree from China and bachelor's degree from France). My interviewees hold degrees in various fields: biology, math, civil law/civil code, information technology, or international trade. The average number of years of schooling before immigration is 18.2 years.

Before coming to Canada, as with the In-Quebec group, all respondents in the Exit group had at least a bachelor's degree from China. Two respondents had 16 years of formal

education (bachelor's degree from China), two had master's degree from China, and one had 22.5 years of schooling (master's degree from China and Ph.D. degree from Japan). These interviewees had majored in engineering, information technology, or physics. The average number of years of education before immigration was 18.4 years. Thus their level of education pre-migration was higher than that of those who remained in Quebec, but again, not necessarily enough to be significant given the small size of the study group.

Post-immigration

After arriving in Quebec, only one informant among those remaining in the province already had a master's degree from China; this person did not pursue a higher degree in the host society. Two of those who had master's degrees from China attended trade colleges and changed careers. The other two respondents who had a bachelor's degree, one from China and one from France, went on to study for master's degrees in Quebec. The average number of years of education was 21.5 at the time of the interview.

As for those who left the province, two of those who arrived with a master's degree from China obtained a Ph.D. degree in Quebec before going elsewhere. One with a bachelor's degree from China attended a 2-year master's degree program for one year. Another one, also with a bachelor's degree from China, acquired a trade college diploma. The informant who had a Ph.D. degree from Japan before arriving in Canada did not study further in Quebec. The average number of years of education before moving to other provinces was 22 years. Thus, those in the Exit group were only slightly more educated upon arrival than those who remained in Quebec.

Age, length of stay in Quebec, and marital status

Age, length of stay, and marital status are three other important factors that might give some insight into motives for staying in Quebec or leaving the province. Research shows that immigrants who had been in Canada 5 years or less (Ostrovsky 2008), who were married or who had children (Minasyan 2011) had a higher interprovincial migration rate than others. In my research, the results are consistent with findings from Ostrovsky and Minasyan to the effect that the out-migrants' average length of stay in Quebec is less than 5 years and that, compared to the In-Quebec group, also, out-migrants are more likely to be married and have young children.

In-Quebec group

Upon arriving in Quebec, the In-Quebec group's age varied between 26 and 43 years old, with an average age of 33.6. Three were married at the time of immigration and were older than the two single respondents in this group. Two of the 3 married respondents already had children, aged 4.5 and 17, at the time of immigration. These children also immigrated to Canada with them. At the time of the interview, 4 out of the 5 respondents were married and had children (aged 6, 17, and 26).

Exit group

Upon arriving in Quebec, the out-group's age varied between 26 and 35 years old, with an average age of 30.6, somewhat younger than those who remained. While two were married and had immigrated with their spouses, only one already had a child, aged 5, at the time of immigration. The other 3 respondents were still single when they arrived in Quebec. Married

respondents were older than single respondents. When leaving for other provinces, the out-group's average age and length of stay in Quebec was 34.9 years old and 4.3 years. When they left Quebec, all respondents were married and 4 of them had children (aged between 2 and 7 years old).

Official languages ability and use at work

All my respondents had Chinese university-level English language training, but only three had studied French before coming to Quebec. Finnie (Finnie 2004) and Bernard (Bernard, et al. 2008b) argue that immigrants unable to speak French tend to have negative labour market outcomes and a higher probability of moving. Yet, contrary to the findings of these authors, although most of those I interviewed did initially encounter employment difficulties related to their lack of French language ability after they arrived in Quebec, they eventually acquired further education or changed careers. All but one were working in the mainstream labour market in Quebec or other provinces. Among In-Quebec group respondents, only one individual frequently used French at work. Most of the respondents in both the In-Quebec and Exit groups indicated that they would like to learn French; however, they did not think that it was necessary and cost-efficient to invest the required time and energy since they were already able to speak English. As Conrick and Donovan (2010) assert, English is a global language; most non-French speaking immigrants already had some knowledge of English before being admitted to Quebec and preferred to improve their abilities in English.

“Quebec’s language policy is more active in encouraging allophones to acquire French, but perhaps the main struggle facing Quebec authorities is not teaching

allophones French but convincing them that French is a language worth learning (Conrick and Donovan 2010:11).”

Among those who stayed in Quebec, two who had taken French courses before their arrival and all the others subsequently underwent French language training. Aside from the informant who works in the Chinese business enclave and uses Mandarin at work, three others mainly use English and only one frequently uses French at work. As for the Exit group, four had either studied French in China or after they came to Quebec. Only one informant had never studied French before migrating to another province. All respondents had working experience in Quebec yet none of them spoke French at work regularly.

Employment path

All those whom I interviewed had working experience in Quebec and were employed at the time of the interview. In general, the number of years of work experience is proportional to their age. Most of the respondents encountered hardship while seeking a job in Quebec. They either pursued further education, worked on jobs that were at a lower skill level, or changed careers. Except for the one respondent who works in the Chinese business enclave in Montreal, all work in the mainstream labour market. Cousineau and Boudarbat (2009) argue that the older the immigrants, the poorer their economic performance due to the difficulties associated with transferring skills and credentials acquired in the home country. In contrast, my findings indicate that difficulties with transferring foreign credentials and skills may depend on the occupational field and on pre-migration preparation; for example, acquiring information on employment opportunities, the labour market, local culture and climate, as well

as psychologically preparing oneself for the new life ahead in the adopted country. The oldest respondent, 43 years old at the time of immigration, had spent the least time seeking employment, in the life science field. Working as a professor at a Chinese university, this respondent had gathered and studied information on Quebec and Canadian history, culture, climate, labour market, as well as the experiences of those who already emigrated from China to Quebec/ Canada.

Work experience

All respondents had work experience before immigrating. Four who ended up staying in Quebec had been teachers or researchers in universities while the other one had experience in the service and trade industries. After immigration, three had trouble finding a suitable job in their occupational fields: math, civil law, and international trade. Consequently, they acquired new skills and changed careers. Two other respondents continued to work in their original fields, life science and information technology, after immigration and did not encounter major employment setbacks. Even though respondents who used to work in the civil law and teaching fields mentioned that not being able to speak French fluently had been one of the obstacles that they encountered during their job search, none of them were actually required by their employers to speak French at work.

All exit group respondents had worked in Quebec. Nevertheless, four did not find jobs or markets that were compatible with their training in education, information technology, and engineering in Quebec. The other informant's reason for moving out of Quebec was to pursue a career opportunity in his field of online games technology. Most of the respondents'

occupations are in engineering and technology related fields, except for one who is in social services and education.

Kin, Friends, and Cultural Constraints

Research on the chain migration of lower-skilled immigrants indicate that migrants are provided information, influenced, and sponsored by previous migrants with whom they have a primary social relationship (Boyd 1989; MacDonald and MacDonald 1964; Massey, et al. 1993). However, Grillo finds that higher-skilled migrants are more likely to acquire only general information from their networks, are able to find information themselves through impersonal sources, and do not need sponsorship, material or employment assistance from their personal networks (Grillo 2000). Research on Chinese skilled immigrants in New Zealand also supports this finding (Johnston, et al. 2006).

My research shows that kin and close family friends still play an important role in supporting and even retaining Chinese skilled worker immigrants in Quebec. As I have shown in chapter 3, regarding interprovincial migration during the period of 2000-2006, Quebec had a very high retention rate of family class migrants (91.1%); family ties also have a very strong effect on skilled worker immigrants who already had family members or relatives in Canada before immigration. Many of the respondents had acquaintances, relatives, or close family friends in Quebec at the time of immigration. These contacts in Quebec served as information channels and helped the respondents to establish a new life. This included finding a place to live; acquiring phone and electricity services; and applying for a social insurance number and provincial health care. None of the respondents received help finding employment or material

assistance from their contacts. Immigrants who already had kin or close family friends in Quebec tended to stay in the province. Those who left tended to have no pre-migration acquaintances, kin, or close family friends in Quebec or other Canadian provinces. In terms of cultural constraints, only one informant from the Exit group mentioned that the Asian community in Vancouver, his target market, was one of his reasons for leaving Quebec.

Among the five who stayed in Quebec, two had acquaintances and the other three had family members or close family friends there when they applied for immigration. Most had acquired information on Quebec and Canada through contacts whom they considered to be trustworthy insiders since they had already experienced immigration and had gone through the experience of establishing a new life in Quebec. The informant who had initiated the most intensive pre-migration research was well prepared for her new life in Canada; as mentioned earlier, she was the oldest informant in this research, working in the life sciences.

Of the Exit group, only 2 respondents had acquaintances and none had kin or family in Quebec when applying for immigration. In fact, none had acquaintances or family in the rest of Canada. Respondents who already had acquaintances in Quebec were initially helped by their network for initial settlement needs. None of the 5 respondents had material or employment assistance from their network.

Reasons to stay: the voices of those who stayed in Quebec

When asked about their immigration experience and their thoughts on interprovincial migration, all In-Quebec group respondents shared about their lives before and after

immigration, and added that they might move away if a better job offer came along in another province. They considered that they had already settled down in Quebec, held a satisfying job, and established social networks. Those who had children mentioned that their children had spent many years studying and living in Quebec and that, for them, Quebec was already their home and they were happy there. It would not be practical to move elsewhere, either to another Canadian province or to China. As one female informant at her early 50s explains: “We won't think about it until our children are older and independent”; another female informant at her late 40s claims:

“We think of moving back to China one day because after all, our parents are getting older now and we would like to be close to them and be able to take care of them; yet, it would be very difficult to move back and live in China because we have left China for so many years and invested so much time and life in Quebec already.”

All those who have stayed in Quebec know people (Chinese skilled worker immigrants) who moved to other provinces. According to them, the others left because they found better jobs outside of Quebec. Yet, one informant, Mr. P., to whom we return shortly, voiced a very interesting opinion on knowledge of the French language and employment opportunities in Quebec. In what follows I present some of the In-Quebec informants' immigration trajectories and their opinions on interprovincial-migration.

Mrs. X., the oldest informant of this research, came to Quebec in her early 40's, with her husband and daughter. She had a good teaching job in a university in China; yet, in order

to solve her marital problems, immigrating to Canada would be a good excuse, she thought, to be away from the people involved back home. Although she experienced downward career mobility in the same field, she found a job as a researcher 2 months after arriving and has been working for almost 10 years in Quebec. She was well prepared for her immigration and was ready for the hardships that she had anticipated.

“There are many different kinds of immigrants... Some, they know what they are looking for. They prepare for their immigration well and they are also psychologically well prepared... You prepare for the worst! Because once you have a goal, you try to achieve it. In the process, it is fine if you encounter difficulties. But as for other immigrants, they were fooled by immigration agencies because the agencies committed fraud... They made Canada look too wonderful. They came to Canada with fairy-tale like ideas. They just follow others; they don't know what they want. They only thought that their life (in China) was not so good, so they want to try somewhere else. When you don't know what you want, you are lost. Because when you get here, you realize that there is such a big difference (between China and Quebec). There are many blind followers. After staying here a couple of months, they left. There are different people with different expectations... In the end, their reactions are different too. I just thought that I wanted to leave because I might be able to change my life.

I know many people who moved to other provinces and we still keep in touch. It is not easy to find a job and salaries are lower here in Quebec... for many reasons. I know people who moved to Ontario, to Windsor, to Edmonton, to Calgary. They all found jobs there. Salaries are much higher than in Quebec and they pay less taxes too. As for housing price, some places are more expensive, some are cheaper... They all left.

If I get a better job offer, I might just move... As for other cities, I would choose other cities that are closer to China because my parents are getting older and older now and I have to go back to China every year to visit them. Now my mother has a heart failure problem and cannot travel by airplane... Vancouver is closer to China... However, it is just an idea because it is not easy, after all, to move to another province with my whole family.”

Mr. Z. in his late 30’s now, was 26 when he came to Quebec. He used to work as a researcher in a university computer lab in China. After coming to Quebec, he obtained a master’s degree in information technology, met his future spouse, a Chinese Canadian born in Quebec. They got married in Quebec, and he has been working in the IT field for almost 10 years.

“I thought I was still quite young and thought I would like to see other places... Check out other places no matter what would happen. At least, I would be out of China and see what the world was like outside. After I arrived, I went back to school to study for a master's degree because it was not easy to find a job and my language (French) was not so good. At the beginning, it was rather difficult because I didn't have the local work experience... There are no restrictions for me. I can move to another province, but the main reason would be for work. Other things would not really make me move. My wife is fine with the idea of moving to another province.

I know people who already moved to another province and, as far as I know, it was all because of work. They got job offers, and then they left. They were working here but got better job offers, and then they moved to another province.”

Mr. H. was an international student in France before immigrating to Quebec. After realizing that his studies in France would not help him secure a long-term job, he decided to get a master's degree in a different field. He is content with the decision he made and is happily living in Quebec.

“After 8 years of studying and working in France, I realized that France was not an immigrant-friendly country; so, I had to think about where I should go next. Many of my friends and classmates went back to China to look for opportunities because (in China) the economy was developing very fast and employment opportunities were very good too. I also thought about many things, but at the same time I knew I would have the opportunity to come to Quebec... People speak French here too. So, I thought I could come here to check it out. I also had a friend here at that time. I knew my friend would help me if I came to Quebec. I liked it very much after I arrived here. So, I stayed.

I think the reasons that people move to other provinces are first related to work, then to life in general and the climate. In regards to these last two reasons, I have adapted quite well... I haven't thought about moving to another province yet. I know people who already moved to another province... It was due to employment issues.”

Mr. P. immigrated with his wife. He was a lawyer in China and was very interested in Quebec's legal system. His plan was to get a Ph.D. and a job teaching law in Quebec. He attended law classes for half a year but the 3 years of time invested in learning French before and after he came to Quebec produced disappointing results. Finally, he gave up his dream and changed careers.

“Before I immigrated to Quebec, I was working in the legal field as a lawyer. I was very interested in Quebec's civil law. So, one of my immigration motivations was to understand Quebec's civil law, the intersection of civil law and common law. I thought Quebec's civil law was very special... I studied French in China and continued to study French after I arrived in Montreal since I was going to study Quebec's civil code. After two years of studying French, I thought my French was not bad, but having to use French for seminars, presentations... You know, having to listen to their accent (Quebec students' accent)... Even now I still think it is very difficult for me to understand their accent. They asked many questions that I didn't really understand. After class, I felt very uncomfortable. Really, every single class was like hell for me. While I was still in university in China, my grades were pretty good. After I came here, what they said, I didn't understand, and what I said, they didn't understand... It made me feel very bad, like a bad student. It is a very bad feeling, you know. It was very damaging for my self-esteem. So I thought that I wasn't young any more...at the end, I withdrew from the course.

I think they (the Quebec government) have lots of good initiatives; however, they should tailor their services/ programs to meet immigrants' different needs. I spent 2 years studying French, but there was not much progress. They have to know that there is a big difference between the different kinds of immigrants. For example, while I was studying French, there were some Spanish-speaking immigrants in the class. They spoke and understood very well, but their grammar was very bad. They didn't seem able to master that. As for Chinese immigrants, their grammar was very good, like mine. In class, the teacher praised me a lot. However, I was far from their oral communication goals. It is important for the government to distinguish different immigrant groups in order to tackle specific problems.

I think language is very important. If you want to look for a job but your language is not good enough, then you will have a lot of trouble. Basically, in Quebec, as long as you are able to speak English, it is already not that bad. You can survive

in Quebec. But if you cannot speak both English and French, then your life won't change (get better).

...Well, we all have the freedom to come to or move out of Quebec. I heard people talking about it and they said that it was because of French that they... I cannot really accept this kind of opinion that blames everything on French. If you thought that all of Canada spoke English, then you would say that you were fooled. But they should have known this before they came here (Quebec), but, in the end, they blame it on French.

They are not 3-year-old children. Information is accessible everywhere nowadays. When they make a decision, they can say that they don't like it. If they just want to experience life in Quebec and then say that winter is very long and, in Quebec, they speak French... That's fine too. But some people say, "Hey! Over there (Quebec), people speak French!" It's like they never heard about it before (that Quebec is a French speaking province)! It is so unbelievable!

Many people (immigrants) studied here. After they finished, they looked for jobs here but they were required to speak French. However, they didn't want to study French. As a result, they moved to another province. Their salary is relatively higher... That I can accept. It's just that I don't think it is right to say that Quebec is not good... But if they say, "Quebec is not suitable for me because, in Quebec, I couldn't find a good job, I found a good one in another province", then that's fine. It's not right to criticise and belittle Quebec. I don't know. I have no way of finding out their initial motivation for coming to Quebec. As far as I know, the ones who left, it was usually because their spouse found a job in another province."

Reasons to leave: the voices of those who left Quebec

The main motivation for leaving Quebec is employment-related even though proficiency in French is also involved. All who left the province explained that finding a suitable market, a job, or a career opportunity that matched their studies and training was difficult in Quebec. This corresponds to Brown and Scott's (Brown and Scott 2012) finding that as people invest more in education, their earning power increases and at the same time their skills are also more specialised (human capital). This in turn causes structural mismatch between the location of job and skills and the result would be structural sorting- people with higher level of education or specialised training would migrate to places where they can find jobs that pay better and also match their training.

Mr. B. was a visiting scholar in France before coming to Quebec as an international student. He applied for immigration during his Ph.D. studies in Quebec. Yet, being alone in a foreign country while juggling his studies and personal life made him severely depressed. Eventually, he finished his studies and, during his depression, discovered a new passion in a totally different field. He met his wife in Montreal. She is also of Chinese origin, born in a Chinese diasporic country in Asia. Together, they moved to Vancouver where they both trained in a new field in social services. After completing this training, they decided to settle there. He now has two jobs, in social service and education. He explains, "there was no suitable training in Quebec for my new found passion in social service. Thus, I sought training in another place."

“There are many reasons why we (me and my wife) stay in BC. First of all, it is for the training related to our new field of work. It was destiny. Second, it is for the labour market. When I was doing my Ph.D. in Quebec, I also worked as a tutor. It is something that I really like because I am very good at that. It is better in Vancouver because there are more immigrants such as Indians, Chinese, and Koreans.... They care very much and like to invest in their children's education. There were not so many opportunities like this while I was in Quebec. Thus, in Vancouver, there is this kind of Asian market. I can work and support my family. Third, the target audience for my other job (my new field) is mainly Chinese students and Chinese immigrants. Lastly, my wife is from southern Asia and the climate there is tropical... She doesn't like Quebec because it is too cold and the winter is too long there. Because I love her, we moved here. Overall, those are the reasons we came to BC... We came here to study, to pursue a passion in a new field in social service, and to work. We can say that we have already settled down here.

I like Quebec very much because first of all, it has a very strong cultural atmosphere. Second, I like French/francophone culture a lot because it is passionate. There are many activities in summer and lots of beautiful architecture/buildings too. There are many good things about Quebec; for example, the people are very humane. I had many experiences in Quebec, painful ones as well as good ones... That is why I like Quebec so much. However, being a human being, I need to have a career and my own pursuit.”

Mr. H. and his family chose to come to Quebec because it was closer to his wife's siblings who live in a nearby US state. Mr. H was not willing to learn French and had a rather disappointing employment experience in Quebec. As a result, he had to acquire Canadian

experience by getting a diploma in Canada in order to find a job. Shortly after finishing his studies, he found a job in Alberta and left Quebec. He only lived in Quebec for 2 years.

“...It was my wife's influence because her brother and sister were in the US. My wife wanted to immigrate, so she asked me to take the exam (English language proficiency exam). My wife decided everything for us... She decided to go to Montreal. I was not prepared for anything. I didn't expect anything. I just came here innocently. I was working (in China) at that time. I didn't pay much attention to other things. My wife only told me that we would have to learn French.

Three or four days after I arrived in Quebec, I started looking for a job. I wanted to find a professional job, but I could not find one. I was stressed and couldn't sleep at night. I was very worried. I couldn't find a job in Quebec and couldn't speak French. I couldn't speak French and my English was not so good either. I didn't want to learn French at all because I already knew English. If I had to study and master the French language then look for a professional job in my old field, it would be too time consuming... Too much! It was almost impossible for me.

I then worked at several odd jobs in Chinatown. Later, I studied in a trade college. I already learned all that they taught at that college before I went to study there. It was very similar to what I had learned back in China so I thought it would be easier for me to find a job. Later, I tried to look for a job for about 2 months, but I needed to speak French... I wasn't interested in French at all. As a result, I looked for a job in the rest of Canada.

It was definitely the right decision to leave Quebec. In Quebec, there was the so-called language policy but not here. My son came to live with me. I also wanted my son to learn English, not French; otherwise, if he studied French, we would be in two totally different worlds. I know English so all that he is reading and

studying, I am able to understand too. Here, it is very good for me and my son. In Quebec, there was really no job for me at all.”

Mr. W. has a Ph.D. degree from Japan and was working in Japan before immigrating to Quebec with his wife. After a negative job hunting experience, he stayed in Quebec for only one and half years before moving to Ontario.

“I expected to have a higher quality of life and thought it would be easier to find a job in Canada. After working in Japan for a couple of years, I didn't feel like going back to China anymore.

Basically, I didn't specifically look for information before I came to Canada. My friend who was living in Montreal already told me many things... For me, I think the place and the country that you want to go to are the main focus and once you know where you are going... You don't really have to concern yourself much with details. I asked my friend about the city of Montreal, employment opportunities, the lifestyle... Once I had an overall picture, I didn't fret too much about the little things. My friend was my main source of information.

Right after I arrived in Quebec, I started looking for a job. I sent out lots of resumes, but couldn't find a job during that first year. I found my first job exactly one year after I came to Montreal. A friend referred me.

...I was prepared for the labour market (in Quebec) but the level of difficulty in landing a job went far beyond what I had imagined. For example, if looking for a job is difficult then I thought 3 months would be enough... However, in Quebec, it might take up to one whole year to find a job or even 2 to 3 years without a friend's recommendation... No matter what, it was impossible to imagine.

The reason I left Quebec was because I accidentally found a job in Ontario that matched my training very well. I only lived in Quebec for one and a half years. I was looking for a job during the first year. For me, that was beyond anything I had imagined. At first, I thought it would be easy, but it turned out to be very difficult and unimaginable. However, regarding life in general, I was very happy. No matter where you go or what kind of environment you are in, you just have to try hard to adapt. The only thing that worried me was that I didn't really like French environment... I was very happy to get rid of French. However, in Montreal, life was less stressful. There were good things about Montreal too. That's why I say I miss my days in Montreal. But I'm not sorry I left Quebec. I don't think about moving back to Quebec. As long as my work is fine, we will stay here.

I prefer big cities. Montreal is fine, but French really bothers me because I think I would have to spend 5 to 10 years mastering the language... It is too big of an investment. I might move to another province for a better job, as long as it is an English-speaking province.”

Mrs. J. was an international student when she came to Quebec. During her Ph.D. studies, she decided to apply for immigration. She got married in Montreal and moved to Ottawa with her husband and 3 kids to accept an offer for a better job.

“I came to Canada as a foreign student. At that time, it was my parents who wanted me to come to Canada... They thought that one should aim high, that I should pursue an even higher level of education.

I wanted to stay in Canada and work here because it was better here than in China... Since other people were doing this (applying for immigration), it was very natural that I also felt I should apply too even though I didn't

particularly plan to do so. I just wanted to improve my life. I chose to immigrate to Quebec because I was already in Montreal. Honestly, I didn't have any expectations. I really didn't think much of it because I was already here. I already understood life in Quebec... Whether I would be accepted for immigration didn't really affect my situation at that time.

Two years after I graduated, I still wasn't working. I looked for a job for one and half years and couldn't find one. So, I just stayed home to take care of my kids. In the end, I found a job at the company that I am working for now. The work is compatible with what I studied. The job is in Ottawa. That is why I moved here with my family.

I think two reasons contributed to my inability to find a job after graduation. The first was me, while the other was what I studied. There weren't many companies specialised in what I studied. Also, there were not so many companies specialised in my field. What I studied was not so suitable for the industry either. Thus, it became even more difficult to find a good job. It also had something to do with the global economy because during the second half of 2008, the economy started to go down... For me though, this was not the main issue.... The job I found was in Ottawa, so we moved to Ottawa. The work was more compatible with what I studied.

Actually I came to Ottawa first to work. I came here alone without my family and I wanted to find a job back in Montreal. I worked here for about 6 months. At that time, my husband was still working in Montreal. Later, I found a job in Montreal and it was a two-year contract. The salary was very low... Coincidentally, I also found a job in Ottawa so we decided to come here (in Ottawa). It was mainly for work. Even though I managed to find a job in Montreal, the salary was very low – only half of what I make in Ottawa. Moreover, the job I found in Montreal was only for 2 years but the one in Ottawa was a permanent position.

My husband came as a family reunification immigrant. He came directly to Quebec. He didn't go back to school after he came to Canada. He already got a Ph.D. in China before he came here. A while after he moved to Quebec, he found a job. It was in the field that he studied in China. The good thing about his employment experience was that he was lucky to find a job shortly after he moved to Canada. It was a small Caucasian-owned company. We are both working in Ottawa now.

After I had kids, I thought life was pretty good in Montreal because (by comparison), it was very expensive to send kids to daycare here (in Ottawa). We both work and it is very stressful at home. We have lots of concerns such as their health, their schools, and their daycare centers. In Quebec, daycare centers are cheaper and my husband's pay was higher there. With his pay alone, we could feed the whole family but now in Ottawa, it is impossible. My husband's company back in Quebec was better. Also, it is true that the cost of living is higher in Ottawa than in Montreal.

I think I am fine now. It is also important to have a job. At least I am not isolated from society. After all, I studied so much, it is useful. I also needed to feel satisfied with myself. It is necessary. Moreover, it is also because we now have kids. While we were in Montreal, most of that time we didn't have kids. We are happy to have kids. Before he (my husband) came over from China, I was alone. Honestly, it was pretty lonely.

I think if I had had a good job in Montreal, I would be as happy as I am now in Ottawa. Yet, if I had no job, I would feel depressed. For me, the difference between Montreal and Ottawa is that I would prefer Montreal because Montreal is more convenient. Here in Ottawa, you have to drive to get anywhere. I find it very irritating. Thus, as I said, work defines all

other things. If I had a job in Montreal, even if the pay was slightly lower, I think I would choose Montreal to live.”

Mr. F. lived in Quebec for 11 years. He got married and established a family in Quebec before accepting a better job offer in a Prairie province.

“Before I immigrated to Canada, I was working as a university researcher and a small part of my work was teaching. Basically, in China, I had a relatively stable job working on the university campus. Before I left China, I had no worries. As for immigration, it came up because, at that time, an opportunity came up. It was also because of me and my family... A long time ago, my father went to the US as a visiting scholar for about a year. It must have influenced me.

...I left Quebec for work. At that time, the company where I am working now was recruiting. An agent called me, told me that there was an opportunity and asked me if I would be interested. I thought fine, let's go and try it out because after all, my position now is at a higher level than my previous one in Quebec. Now, it is a manager, a team leader position. So, I thought this was a good chance for me to move up, to be promoted to a higher level. It seemed good for my career. So, I thought I should give it a try... It was quite a good opportunity. Thus, they gave me the job and I had to move with my whole family. They called me from L.A. in California to interview me because they had a studio here and there was a position. They asked me if I was interested.

I had been working in Montreal for 7 or 8 years and I was always at a lower level doing development work. I wanted to get to a higher position, to move up. However, I thought I was limited by my environment, especially the language barrier. It was more difficult to find a better career opportunity in Montreal

because, after all, if you want to work at the management level in Quebec, you have to be bilingual.

My job is fine now. It is a new job and a new challenge. For me, it is fine. Nevertheless, in terms of the living experience, it is not quite what I had expected. It is not as good as I expected. I thought it would be better than Montreal. As long as it relates to family life, I have to think and compare with Montreal. First off, the city here doesn't have the same kind of cultural atmosphere you find in Montreal. There are many more holidays, cultural activities, and social activities in Montreal. Before I moved here, I had done research and looked for information... But there are many things you cannot find out from websites or books until you are actually living here.”

Conclusion

In sum, immigrants who stay in Quebec tend to have relatives or close family friends in Quebec, or have immigrated with school-aged children. They have also studied French or been fluent in French at the time of immigration. Older immigrants do not necessarily have poorer economic outcomes and difficulties with transferring foreign credentials and training, as we see from the case of the oldest informant. As this research shows, the ability to acquire information on immigration, life, and employment in Quebec is not dependent on age. It is essential to a better transition and adaptation to the culture, the labour market, and life in Quebec.

Overall, the immigrants who left Quebec have a slightly higher level of education, 0.5 years, than those who stay. Although some did mention that investing in learning French was not worth it, the lack of French language ability was not their main reason for migrating to

another province. In point of fact, none of the out-migrants used French at work in Quebec and only one respondent from the In-Quebec group actually uses French at work. All out-migrants claimed that they left Quebec because of the need to match their employment with their training, to find the right market for their business, and to have better career opportunities. Young married immigrants who have higher levels of education, young children, and no relatives or close family friends in Quebec also have a higher chance of leaving Quebec.

¹ The average number of years of education in the post-immigration period also includes time spent in French language training; however, only French training that is not part of the course requirement for a degree is counted toward schooling.

² According to this respondent, instead of 16 years, it would only take 15 years to obtain a bachelor's degree in some areas in China.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Final Remarks

Conclusion

Level of education plays a determining role in interprovincial migration of Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants. Some research shows that skilled worker immigrants with higher education levels tend to choose Quebec as their initial immigration destination; yet, many of them subsequently leave for other provinces. Other research finds that the reasons behind the migration might be due to various factors such as inadequate knowledge in French language, lack of Canadian work experience and network at Quebec's labour market, competitions among immigrants and the local born workers for existing resources and employment opportunities as a consequence of increased number of immigrants to Quebec. As Chinese is one of the leading immigrant groups to Quebec and the rest of Canada, this research examined whether Chinese skilled worker immigrants left Quebec for other provinces do have higher levels of education than those who stayed. It looked into the history and the evolution of the Chinese immigration in Canada, analysed the statistical data on the intake and the presence of Quebec's Chinese immigrants, and conducted a literature review on interprovincial migration of Quebec's immigrants. Last, it compared the In and the Exit groups of Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants' pre-immigration and post-immigration level of education as well as other factors that possibly influenced immigrants' decision of moving to other provinces.

The result shows that the Exit group has a slightly higher level of education, at the time of immigration to Quebec and moving to other provinces. Due to the small number of respondents this research recruited and the small difference in education level between these

two groups, it might not be convincing to argue that Chinese immigrants with higher level of education tend to leave Quebec for other provinces. However, this research sheds light on several influencing factors in immigrants' adaptation to the new life in Quebec as well as their decision to stay in or to leave the province.

First, contrary to what some previous research claims, older immigrants do not necessarily have more difficulty in transferring their foreign credentials and work experience. Rather, it depends on the field of occupation and pre-immigration preparation. As the oldest respondent of this research shows that the psychological preparation before immigration and acquiring information, from both personal contacts and impersonal sources, on Canadian and Quebec history, the climate, the culture, the labour markets, and employment opportunities, are very important for a successful transition and positive labour market outcome in Quebec.

Second, kin ties are still one of the main forces in keeping immigrants in Quebec. Immigrants who do not already have family members, relatives, or close family friends in Quebec at the time of immigration tend to move to other provinces.

Third, family composition and age of children also play an important role in interprovincial migration. Young, married immigrants with pre-school age children have more possibility of leaving Quebec whereas older immigrants who immigrate to Quebec with school age children tend to stay.

Fourth, lack of French language ability is not the main reason of leaving Quebec, as all of the immigrants have experience working in Quebec and only very few actually speak French at work. Many of them lament that since they already know English and that as adults and having to support their family, it would be too much an investment in time, money, and energy to master the language even though they do recognize that it might be employment and culturally beneficial.

Fifth, immigrants with higher levels of education or have more specific trainings, such as a Ph.D. degree or in engineering fields, claim that it is more difficult to find jobs in Quebec that match their skills and carrier expectations.

Last, all immigrants show their nostalgia for life in Quebec. They like Quebec for the cost of living is in general lower than many other Canadian provinces. They also find that Quebec is more cultural and humanistic.

Final remarks

Interestingly, other than the influencing factors in the decision of interprovincial migration, my findings suggest that Chinese university level English is not adequate for employment purposes in Quebec and in Canada. Both prospective immigrants and immigrant recruiting agencies should be aware of the advantages for future immigrants to not only acquire the official languages of Canada but also do so at a level of competence that is adequate for functioning on the labour market. As for the Quebec government , they should offer French language programs that are tailored to immigrants of different language groups. In addition,

Quebec should not underestimate the social heterogeneity of immigrants or the diversity in their pre-immigration experience; as mentioned, some immigrants have lived in other countries before coming to Canada. Their foreign experience should be regarded as a cultural capital as well as an asset that might bring economic ties and opportunities to both Quebec and the rest of Canada. Finally, in order to prevent the loss of Quebec's Chinese skilled worker immigrants, the Quebec government should inform potential immigrants from China as to the history, the climate, the culture, the labour market, and the employment opportunities in Quebec. For their part, immigrants should not solely depend on the information gathered from their own personal contacts in Quebec or from recruiting agencies. They should also learn about previous immigrants' stories and obtain information from impersonal and reliable sources that is specific to their own needs for getting established in Quebec.

Appendix A

Ad for recruiting study participants posted on major Chinese web sites in other Canadian provinces

你好，我是蒙特利尔大学文化人类学系的硕士生。此公告的目的是为我的毕业论文研究招募受访者。

本研究的主要目的是求证从 1991 年到目前为止的中国技术移民从魁北克省搬离到加拿大的其他省份原因是否与学历高低或其他因素有关。

如果你或你所认识的人符合以下的条件且有兴趣接受访问，请与我联系。

- 魁北克省必须是你到加拿大后所居住过的第一个省分。
- 你已住在魁北克省 5 年已上，或已从魁北克省搬离到加拿大的其他省份（你在魁北克省居住过的时间长短不限）。
- 不论你是透过加拿大联邦或魁北克省移民局的移民方案而移民，你必须是从 1991 年到目前为止从中国本土移民到加拿大的中国技术移民。
- 你必须是在申请移民的主申请人。
- 女，男皆可 参与此

研究没有金钱报偿。

English translation of the recruiting ad:

Hi, I am a master's degree student in anthropology at Université de Montréal. The purpose of this ad is to recruit participants for my thesis' research.

The purpose of this research is to find out whether the reason for interprovincial migration of Quebec's Chinese Skilled Worker immigrants who have arrived in Quebec since 1991, lies in their educational level or is due to other issues.

If you or people you know meet the following qualifications and would like to be interviewed, please contact me.

- Quebec must be the first province, the initial destination, of your immigration to Canada.
- You have been living in Quebec for 5 or more years or you have lived in Quebec but moved to another Canadian province, regardless the length of time that you were in Quebec.
- Whether you immigrated to Quebec through the Canadian federal or the Quebec government's immigration program, you must be a Chinese Skilled Worker immigrant from mainland China after 1991.
- You must be the chief applicant of your immigration application.
- Both men and women are welcome.

Participation in this research has no monetary compensation.

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

All interview questions are the same for both In-Quebec and Exit groups except in section 6 that In-Quebec group respondents share their thoughts on interprovincial-migration whereas Exit group talks about its reasons and experience of leaving Quebec for other provinces.

1. Pre-immigration

1.1. Please briefly describe your work and family life in China.

1.2. Please talk about your education and training received in China or elsewhere, from childhood to the time of immigration to Canada.

-What was your major/ specialization?

1.3. Please talk about your job, access to employment, and employment experience.

1.4. Please describe your family situation.

- Are you married? If yes, how did you meet your spouse? Please briefly talk about your spouse's education and job.

1.5. Please describe your foreign experience, if there is any. Did your foreign experience influence your decision of immigrating to Quebec/ Canada?

2. Immigration

2.1. Please briefly describe your immigration application process and experience.

2.2. How did you find out about Quebec/ Canada?

2.3. What made you immigrate?

2.4. Why did you choose Quebec as your initial destination?

2.5. What were your expectations before immigrating to Quebec/ Canada?

2.6. To acquire information on immigration, did you ever visit Quebec/ Canada's overseas immigration recruitment offices or Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC)/ Quebec Immigration Ministry's website?

2.7. Did you acquire information on Canadian or Quebec culture, transportation, living cost, housing, climate, and employment/ labour market before immigrating?

-Through what channels did you acquire the information? For example, websites, newspapers, magazines, books, friends and relatives?

3. Post-immigration settlement and employment experience

3.1. Please describe your settlement experience; for example, how you found a place to live after arriving in Quebec.

-Who helped you?

3.2. Please describe your first impression of Quebec/ Canada and your first neighbourhood in Quebec.

3.3. Please describe your employment experience in Quebec.

- Did you encounter any specific difficulties or problems in terms of the work culture, language, work environment, colleagues, wages... etc?

3.4. Did you encounter any discrimination related to age, sex, race...etc.?

3.5. How did you find your first job? Was it through government employment assistance/ settlement services, friends, job posting web sites, school's career counseling center...etc.?

- Did the work match your education and training acquired before immigration? Was the salary reasonable?

3.6. In terms of language (French/ English/ Mandarin/ others) and culture (work culture/ Quebec/ North American culture); do you think you were prepared for Quebec's labour market?

3.7. What do you think of the work culture in Quebec? Do you find any differences from that in China?

-What do you think of your employer/s and coworkers in Quebec?

3.8. How satisfied are you with your present job?

4. Post-immigration education trajectory

4.1. Did you attend any school or training programs after you came to Quebec? Why/ why not?

-What did you study?

- Did the diploma improve your life or the chance of finding a job?

5. Life in Quebec

5.1. Please describe how your life has developed in Quebec.

5.2. How do you feel in Quebec now? How about your spouse and family?

6. Interprovincial migration

For In-Quebec group

6.1. What is your opinion on the migration of Chinese skilled worker immigrants in Quebec to other provinces?

6.2. Do you know any Chinese skilled worker immigrant who has moved to other provinces? Why did they leave Quebec?

For Exit group

6.1. Which province did you move to?

6.2. What was your motivation for leaving Quebec?

6.3. Please describe your moving and settlement experience in another province.

6.4. Please describe your employment experience in your newly adopted province.

-Are you satisfied with your work now?

6.5. How did you and your family feel after leaving Quebec?

6.6. How do you and your family feel now in the province where you live?

7. Future perspectives

7.1. What is your future plan for your life in Quebec/ Canada?

7.2. Do you plan to move to another province or back to China?

7.3. What is your suggestion and advice on immigration to Quebec for future Chinese immigrants?

7.4. What is your advice or opinions for Quebec/ Canada; Immigration Quebec/ CIC (Citizenship and Immigration Canada); Quebec people; labour market in Quebec...etc.?

APPENDIX C

GRILLE SYNTHÈSE DES FACTEURS ET CRITÈRES APPLICABLES À LA SÉLECTION DES TRAVAILLEURS QUALIFIÉS RÈGLEMENT DU 1^{ER} AOÛT 2013

			POINTS MAX 107 / 123 (28 max.)
FORMATION			
Seuil éliminatoire : 2 points au critère Niveau de Scolarité	Niveau de scolarité	Secondaire général	2
		Secondaire professionnel	6
		Postsecondaire général 2 ans	4
		Postsecondaire technique 1 an ou 2 ans	6
		Secondaire professionnel 1 an ou + ou postsecondaire technique 1 an ou 2 ans ET domaine de formation à 12 points ou à 16 points	10
		Postsecondaire technique 3 ans	8
		Postsecondaire technique 3 ans ET domaine de formation à 12 points ou à 16 points	10
		Universitaire 1 ^{er} cycle 1 an	4
		Universitaire 1 ^{er} cycle 2 ans	6
		Universitaire 1 ^{er} cycle 3 ans ou +	10
		Universitaire 2 ^{ème} cycle 1 an ou + ou 3 ^{ème} cycle	12
	Domaine de formation	Points à la partie I (diplôme étranger) ou à la partie II (diplôme du Québec ou l'équivalent) de la Liste	0, 2, 6, 12 ou 16
EXPÉRIENCE			
	Durée de l'expérience professionnelle du travailleur qualifié	Moins de 6 mois	0
		6 mois à 11 mois	4
		12 mois à 23 mois	4
		24 mois à 35 mois	6
		36 mois à 47 mois	6
		48 mois ou +	8
ÂGE			
		18 ans à 35 ans	16
		36 ans	14
		37 ans	12
		38 ans	10
		39 ans	8
		40 ans	6
		41 ans	4
		42 ans	2
		43 ans ou +	0
CONNAISSANCES LINGUISTIQUES			
	Français (interaction orale et interaction écrite)	Compréhension orale	0, 5, 6 ou 7
		Production orale	0, 5, 6 ou 7
		Compréhension écrite	0 ou 1
	Anglais (interaction orale et interaction écrite)	Production écrite	0 ou 1
		Compréhension orale	0, 1 ou 2
		Production orale	0, 1 ou 2
SÉJOUR ET FAMILLE AU QUÉBEC			
	Séjour au Québec	Travailleur étranger ou étudiant étranger 6 mois ou +	5
		Travailleur étranger ou étudiant étranger 3 mois à moins de 6 mois	5
		Participant à un PVT aux fins de travail 3 mois ou +	5
		Autres séjours 3 mois ou +	2
	Famille au Québec	Autres séjours (2 semaines à moins de 3 mois)	1
		Cit. pr. mr. fr. sr. fils, fille, gp. gm	3
CARACTÉRISTIQUES DE L'ÉPOUX OU DU CONJOINT DE FAIT QUI ACCOMPAGNE			
	Niveau de scolarité	Secondaire général	1
		Secondaire professionnel	2
		Postsecondaire général 2 ans	1
		Postsecondaire technique 1 an ou 2 ans	2
		Postsecondaire technique 3 ans	3
		Universitaire 1 ^{er} cycle 1 an	1
		Universitaire 1 ^{er} cycle 2 ans	2
		Universitaire 1 ^{er} cycle 3 ans ou +	3
	Universitaire 2 ^{ème} cycle 1 an ou + ou 3 ^{ème} cycle	3	
	Domaine de formation	Points à la partie I (diplôme étranger) ou à la partie II (diplôme du Québec ou l'équivalent) de la Liste	0, 1, 2, 3 ou 4
	Âge	Moins de 18 ans	0
		18 ans à 35 ans	3
		36 ans	2
		37 ans	2
		38 ans	2
39 ans		2	
40 ans		1	
41 ans	1		
42 ans	1		
43 ans ou +	0		
Connaissances linguistiques (interaction orale en français)	Compréhension orale	0, 2 ou 3	
	Production orale	0, 2 ou 3	
OFFRE D'EMPLOI VALIDÉE			
Offre d'emploi validée dans la RMM			6
Offre d'emploi validée à l'extérieur de la RMM			10
SEUIL ÉLIMINATOIRE D'EMPLOYABILITÉ			
			42 ou 50
ENFANTS			
			(8 max.)
	12 ans ou -	Par enfant	4
	13 ans à 21 ans	Par enfant	2
CAPACITÉ D'AUTONOMIE FINANCIÈRE (ÉLIMINATOIRE) (SIGNATURE DE L'ENGAGEMENT)			
			1
SEUIL DE PASSAGE À L'EXAMEN PRÉLIMINAIRE			
Sans conjoint / avec conjoint			49 / 57
ADAPTABILITÉ			
			0 à 6
SEUIL DE PASSAGE EN SÉLECTION			
Sans conjoint / avec conjoint			55 / 63

APPENDIX D

Immigrants landed from 1991 to 2006 (2006 tax year) (Okonny-Myers 2010: 3)

Province	Destined at landing	Out- migration	Destined and resident in 2006	In- migration	Resident in 2006	Retention rate (%)	Net change (%)
Atlantic	30,255	17,140	13,115	5,120	18,235	43.4	-39.7
Quebec	350,500	74,675	275,825	29,715	305,540	78.7	-12.8
Ontario	1,165,105	99,320	1,065,785	113,780	1,179,565	91.5	1.2
Manitoba	49,835	16,010	33,825	5,360	39,185	67.9	-21.4
Saskatchewan	18,095	9,390	8,705	2,930	11,635	48.1	-35.7
Alberta	150,830	28,610	122,220	56,125	178,345	81.0	18.2
British Columbia	366,805	51,080	315,725	80,045	395,770	86.1	7.9

Source: Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB).

APPENDIX E

Immigrants landed from 2000 to 2006 (2006 tax year) (Okonny-Myers 2010: 7)

Province	Destined at landing	Out- migration	Destined and resident in 2006	In- migration	Resident in 2006	Retention rate (%)	Net change (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	1,655	935	720	350	1,070	43.5	-35.3
Prince Edward Island	925	425	500	165	665	54.1	-28.1
Nova Scotia	6,175	2,000	4,175	1,545	5,720	67.6	-7.4
New Brunswick	3,250	1,300	1,950	775	2,725	60.0	-16.2
Quebec	166,835	24,170	142,665	14,620	157,285	85.5	-5.7
Ontario	539,955	46,470	493,485	35,155	528,640	91.4	-2.1
Manitoba	26,570	6,415	20,155	2,650	22,805	75.9	-14.2
Saskatchewan	7,610	2,700	4,910	1,375	6,285	64.5	-17.4
Alberta	72,045	7,790	64,255	29,555	93,810	89.2	30.2
British Columbia	160,830	20,750	140,080	25,235	165,315	87.1	2.8

Source: Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB).

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