

The Ghettoization of Quebec: Interprovincial Migration and Its Demographic Effects

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Abstract

Drawing upon the 1991 Statistics Canada Public Use Micro File (PUMF), this paper describes the nature of the interprovincial migration flows originating within Quebec and arriving in Quebec between 1986 and 1991. Both the overall population and specific personal attributes such as level of education, mother tongue and age are considered in order to determine the demographic impacts of migration on the province of Quebec. Results suggest that migration flows into and out-of the province continue a trend observed between 1976-81 and 1981-86, with an overall loss of population through migration. English speaking migrants represented a large proportion of the outmigrants and a small proportion of the immigrants to Quebec. Quebec must rely upon return migrants as a source of population growth.

Résumé

Fondé sur le Fichier de microdonnées à grande diffusion du recensement de 1991 de Statistique Canada, le présent article décrit la nature des mouvements migratoires interprovinciaux en provenance et à destination du Québec de 1986 à 1991. Il tient compte à la fois de caractéristiques globales et de traits personnels distincts tels que le niveau d'éducation, la langue maternelle et l'âge pour déterminer l'incidence des migrations sur le Québec. D'après les résultats, ces mouvements continueraient à entraîner une diminution de la population -- une tendance déjà observée de 1976 à 1981 et de 1981 à 1986. Les anglophones représentaient une grande partie des migrants quittant le Québec et un petit pourcentage de ses immigrants. Le Québec doit compter sur la migration à rebours en tant que source de croissance démographique.

Key Words: language, migration, Quebec

If, as some commentators have noted, Canada lacks a sense of national identity, perhaps it can be defined as a sense of national struggle to reconcile perceived differences between French and English Canada. While the original vision of Canadian Confederation in 1867 was to establish equality between the two groups (at least in terms of the government and political representation), differences were exposed through the quiet revolution of the 1960s, the FLQ crisis of the early 1970s and the election of the separatist Parti Québécois in 1976. Quebec's role, and indeed its very participation and presence within the Canadian Constitution dominated political discussion throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. In the fall of 1995, residents of Quebec, Canada's second most populous province and home to the majority of Canada's French-speaking population, voted once again on some measure of independence or Sovereignty Association with the rest of Canada, narrowly rejecting it. This was not the first time Quebecers went to the polls to determine the future political and economic direction of their province, as a similar question was posed in 1980.

Undeniably, French-English relations represent a recurring theme within Canadian politics. But it is more than just a struggle over language and is instead a "power struggle for the control of the means required for society building in its economic, cultural and linguistic dimension" (Breton 1988, p. 557). The on-going confrontation between Quebec and the rest of Canada has had a clear demographic impact, particularly since the mid 1970s and especially upon Quebec's population profile (Winer and Gauthier 1982; Beaujot 1991). The election of the Parti Québécois in 1976, the enactment of language policies such as Bill 101 and the 1980 referendum resulted in the outmigration of large portions of Quebec population, dominated by Anglophones. In part, this outmigration was led by the corporate sector, as they moved to re-establish their headquarters in Toronto instead of Montreal. It was at the same time in the mid to late 1970s that Toronto overtook Montreal as Canada's largest city (Anderson and Papageorgiou 1992). Between 1976 and 1981, the English outmigration rate from Quebec was 23 times that of the French, with approximately 20% of the English population leaving Quebec during this period. Conversely, French-speakers were 26 times more likely to migrate into Quebec than English-speakers (Beaujot 1991). Such trends continued between 1981-86 (Newbold 1994). The result is clear: French speakers residing in Quebec tended to remain within Quebec while the English left, and French-speakers outside of Quebec were more likely to migrate into Quebec than the non-French (Beaujot 1991). The net-result of these migration flows is a Quebec that is increasingly disconnected

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with the rest of the country (Termote 1987). Liaw (1986, p. 7) described the situation as a "cultural barrier around Quebec".

Quebec is also disadvantaged with respect to *immigration*. While the province receives the majority of French-speaking immigrants, has its own immigration department and has selection powers granted under the Culluen-Couture Agreement of 1978, entitling it to a proportion of the immigrants to Canada which is equal to Quebec's proportion of the Canadian population, many immigrants do not want to settle in Quebec. Language policies within Quebec that have promoted greater association of immigrants to the French language are often at the expense of English-speaking Canadians and other linguistic groups. Further, not all immigrants stay within the province, as many migrate again. Indeed, immigrants have favoured Ontario and British Columbia, which both have significantly higher proportions of the immigrant population than the national average, while immigration has been a disadvantage to the relative size of Quebec. For example, Ontario's native-born population is only 17% larger than Quebec's, but with a foreign-born population four times as large as Quebec's in 1986, the foreign-born made Ontario 39% larger (Beaujot 1991).

In this way, Quebec has become a Francophone 'ghetto', or at a minimum, a spatial enclave. Although debate continues on the exact definition of ghetto, dependent upon the scale of analysis, the level of segregation and geographic area, ghetto usually implies an area which is populated almost exclusively by one cultural group. With approximately 82% of the provinces population claiming French as their mother tongue in 1991 (Statistics Canada 1993), Quebec's relative isolation has persisted and reinforced by government policies and migration, as people 'vote with their feet', despite the attempts made by the Federal Government to create a bilingual state. The segregation between English and French is partly the result of historical divisions and the desire of Francophones to protect their culture and language.

Interprovincial migration flows have the potential to change the cultural makeup of both origin and destination populations. In turn, interprovincial migration flows may be sensitive to government policies and programs, such as Quebec's language bill. Although the purpose of this paper is not to model migration and its response to economic or political effects *per se*, it seeks to describe the nature of the interprovincial migration flows originating within Quebec and arriving in Quebec, based on an analysis of the 1991 Canadian census for both the overall population and by specific personal attributes. In this way, the demographic consequences of interprovincial migration can be evaluated as they relate to Quebec, and to determine whether they represent a

continuation of previously observed trends. The main finding suggests that Quebec remains at a disadvantage with respect to internal migration, with losses of population through migration amongst the highly educated, the highly skilled, English speakers and across all age groups. It would therefore appear that Quebec is becoming 'more French', or increasingly segregated, leading to the creation of a Francophone "ghetto".

The paper is organized as follows. Following discussion of the methods and data employed within the paper, the overall Canadian migration system is characterized. Second, analysis focuses upon the demographic effects of migration on Quebec, with reference to personal factors such as age, sex, education and previous migration experience. With the exception of previous migration experience, personal attributes are evaluated for both the Canadian-born and the foreign-born. Finally, origin-destination choices of interprovincial migrants are discussed with respect to Quebec for both the Canadian-born and the foreign-born.

Methods and Data

Data are drawn from the 1986-1991 Statistics Canada Public Use Micro File (PUMF), which represents a 3% sample of the Canadian population. All individuals whose place of residence at the beginning of the census interval was outside Canada were deleted from the sample. For the purposes of this analysis, migrants into and out of Prince Edward Island, the Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territories were excluded from the analysis since migration into and out of these areas is minimal. Immigrants arriving in Canada after 1986 were also deleted.

An individual is defined as a migrant if their province of residence at the start of the census interval differs from their province of residence at the end of the interval. This definition, however, results in the undercounting of both migrants and migrations (Morrison 1971). For instance, following an initial migration during the 1986-91 interval, some migrants may return to their 1986 place of residence, meaning that they did not appear to migrate during the interval. Similarly, a subsequent migration to another province would be 'missed'. Although a one-year migration interval was also available within the 1991 PUMF, the five-year interval was focused upon for two reasons. First, sample sizes were larger and therefore more accurate and second, the use of the five-year interval facilitates comparison with earlier census intervals.

Out- and immigration rates are defined by dividing the number of out- and immigrants by the corresponding at-risk population. The at-risk population for computing the outmigration rate is the number of people residing in a province at the start of the census period and eligible to migrate. For immigration, the at-risk population is the number of people residing outside of province X at the start of the census interval (i.e., the population of the rest of Canada minus the population of the province). Migration rates are calculated for both the Canadian-born and the foreign-born, as well as for various groups defined personal attributes.

Personal attributes may impact on the migration decision and on the demographic profile of Quebec's population. Discussion within this paper is limited to a set of personal attributes hypothesized to have the potential to influence the demographic profile, the relative sizes of the French and English population, and the competitive position of Quebec. Five personal attributes were selected for inclusion within the analysis. Although these attributes are measured at the end of the census interval in 1991, and may not necessarily represent the state at the time of the migration, they have been observed to be important indicators of migration. These personal attributes include;

Mother Tongue: *English, French and Minority.*

Knowledge of Official Language: *English, French, Both, and Neither.*

Education: *High-ed* (with degree), *Mid-ed* (with certificate or diploma), and *Low-ed* (without degree, certificate or diploma).

Age: Five year age groups from age 5, 10 year age groups from age 35, and an open-ended 65+ age group.

Occupational Skill Level: *High* (i.e., managers, professionals), *Medium-high* (i.e., semi-professional, technicians, supervisors), *Medium-Low* (i.e., clerical, skilled manual) and *Low* (i.e., sales, other manual) as defined by Statistics Canada, 1991. Individuals less than 15 years old were assigned to a 'not applicable' category, but were not excluded from the overall analysis.

One of the most important characteristics determining interprovincial migration patterns is nativity, a variable describing the previous migration experience of an individual (Liaw 1990). Using information on the province of birth, the province of residence in 1986 and the province of residence in 1991, the Canadian-born can be defined as one of three migrant types. First, *primary* migrants are individuals migrating from their province

of birth between 1986 and 1991 (although this may not reflect a first time migration). Second, *return* migrants are individuals who have made at least one migration out of their province of birth prior to 1986, with a subsequent migration returning them to their province of birth between 1986 and 1991. Finally, *onward* migrants are individuals who have made at least one migration out of their province of birth prior to 1986, with a subsequent migration to a province other than their province of birth between 1986 and 1991. Once again, however, these definitions tend to undercount both return and onward migration, since the propensity to migrate again tends to decline with the duration of residence, meaning that migrations are missed (Morrison 1971). To measure the propensity for leaving and entering a province, migration rates are defined using the appropriate at-risk populations (Long 1988; Newbold and Liaw 1990). For example, the at-risk population for making a return immigration to province X is the number of people born in province X and residing in the remaining eight provinces at the start of the census interval. All foreign-born are removed from the sample prior to the calculation of primary, return and onward migration rates, since a province of birth cannot be assigned to these individuals. Note that the immigration rates used in this paper are really the proper measures of the propensity to immigrate, whereas the conventional immigration rate obtained by dividing the number of immigrants by the destination population size is not (DaVanzo 1976). The latter would be more appropriately defined as the "population growth rate due to immigration".

Results

Overall Migration Patterns

The overall Canadian outmigration rate (i.e., the overall rate at which individuals leave their 1986 province of residence) between 1986 and 1991 was 3.9%, ranging from a low of 1.5% for Quebec to a high of 9.7% in Saskatchewan. The very low outmigration rate for Quebec over the period is likely associated with perceived or actual cultural and/or linguistic barriers between Quebec and the rest of Canada, as opposed to economic or amenity factors. Alternatively, Ontario and British Columbia had the second and third lowest outmigration rates of 2.8% and 4.3% respectively, suggesting the ability to retain their population, along with their strong economies and physical amenities. The continued decline of Alberta's economy following the oil bust of the early 1980s is reflected in Alberta's high outmigration rate (8.4%). Over the 1986 to 1991 period, Alberta failed to keep pace with the rest of Canada in terms of increases in gross domestic product per capita and average family income (in constant dollars), even though the average

unemployment level in the province (8.3%) was below the national average (Statistics Canada 1994).

In contrast, Alberta's immigration rate was an impressive 0.82%, nearly two times the national average. Immigration rates ranged from a low of 0.10% for Newfoundland to 1.55% for Ontario. Between 1986 and 1991, Quebec's GDP grew at a faster pace than Canada's and its average yearly unemployment rate was nearly identical to Canada's (10.3%). However, the growth of its average family income (measured in constant dollars) was only one-half that of Canada's (Statistics Canada 1993). Despite Quebec's economic performance over the 1986-91 period, which by many measures approached Ontario's or British Columbia's economic growth rates, the immigration rate to Quebec was statistically identical to the national average (0.49%). That is, Quebec's economic growth was not a sufficient attractor of migrants. In comparison, Ontario, with its low average unemployment rate of 6.5% and booming economy in the late 1980s also meant that it was an important destination for interprovincial migrants, as shown by its high immigration rate. Newfoundland's very low immigration rate is most likely a function of its remote location relative to the rest of Canada, its perceived lack of amenities and its continued poor economic performance. For instance, Newfoundland's average unemployment rate between 1986 and 1991 was 17.5%, compared to the Canadian average of 10.3%. Similarly, the low immigration rates for the other Atlantic provinces and the two prairie provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan indicates that there were few who had reason to migrate to these areas. Consequently, these provinces are more likely to lose population through outmigration.

Of the four larger and richer provinces, which include Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia, only Ontario and British Columbia had a positive net migration flow between 1986 and 1991. In fact, all other provinces lost population through migration between 1986 and 1991. While Ontario has traditionally experienced population growth as a result of net migration (with the exception of 1976-81), British Columbia was by far the clear gainer amongst the two provinces, attracting approximately 4.5 migrants for every one migrant selecting Ontario as a destination. While Saskatchewan was a clear loser of migrants, Quebec was an important loser as well. Therefore, despite relative economic prosperity for Quebec and the rest of Canada between 1986 and 1991, Quebec continued to lose population through migration.

Because Quebec lost population through migration, it is easy to assume that Quebec's migration flows were relatively unidirectional in their movement away from the province, but this is not the case. Migration efficiency, which

Table 1 In-, Out- and Net Migration Rates by Province: Canadian-born, 1986-91				
	Outmigration	Immigration	Net Migration	Efficiency (%)
Newfoundland	6.0	0.10	-11,588	-22.5
Nova Scotia	6.2	0.24	-1,532	-1.6
New Brunswick	5.6	0.16	-3,896	-5.8
Quebec	1.5	0.48	-15,218	-10.0
Ontario	2.8	1.55	21,545	5.5
Manitoba	7.7	0.19	-29,404	-28.3
Saskatchewan	9.7	0.19	-48,185	-39.7
Alberta	8.4	0.82	-8,924	-2.9
British Columbia	4.3	1.06	97,203	34.6
Canada	3.9	0.49	---	---

In- and outmigration rates are expressed as percentages.
 Population estimates of net migration flows are based on the 3 percent micro file.
 Efficiency = (Net Flows / Gross Flows) * 100

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describes the percentage of turnover due to migration that results in population change, is defined as the net flow (inflow-outflow) divided by the gross migration flow (inflow+outflow) for a specific province. A score of 0% indicates that inflows equal outflows, with no net population change. Maximum scores of either -100 or +100% indicate that the migration flow was completely unidirectional. With an efficiency of -10%, Table 1 demonstrates that Quebec was not the most efficient loser of migrants. Instead, Newfoundland, Manitoba and Saskatchewan were the most efficient losers of migrants. British Columbia was the most efficient gainer of migrants ($E = 34.6\%$). Alberta (-2.9%) and Nova Scotia (-1.6%) gained nearly as many migrants as they lost.

Throughout the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, political differences between French and English Canada were re-surfacing and aspirations for independence were once again appearing on Quebec's political agenda which may have contributed to its net outmigration. Much of the debate prior to the defeat of the Meech Lake Accord in 1990 centered upon the political recognition of Quebec as a 'distinct society'. Discussion and the eventual defeat of both the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord increased the schism between French and English Canada and political uncertainty, which was manifested by the election of the separatist Bloc Québécois to the Federal Government in 1993 and the 1994 re-election of the Parti Québécois in Quebec. The following section aims to determine what demographic effects this had on the province of Quebec.

Migration Patterns by Personal Characteristics

Table 2 focuses upon the demographic effects of in- and outmigration of the Canadian-born on Quebec by considering the role of personal attributes and their effect on the propensity to migrate. Migration rates are based upon the appropriate at-risk population for each personal attribute. For instance, English outmigration rates are based upon the English-speaking population within Quebec which were eligible to migrate. Five points are noted as follows. First, one of the most influential aspects of migration into and out-of Quebec is mother tongue. With an outmigration rate of 9.0%, English-speakers were much more likely to outmigrate from the province compared to French-speakers, who were much less likely to outmigrate (0.7%). Therefore, English-speakers were approximately 13 times as likely to outmigrate from the province as the French. In contrast, French speakers were much more likely to select Quebec as a destination, with an immigration rate of 4.59%, compared to 0.21 for English speakers and 0.29 for minority mother tongue groups. These distinctions highlight the important differences

Table 2
In- and Outmigration Rates and Net Internal Migration for Quebec by Selected Personal
Characteristics: Canadian-Born, 1986-91

	Outmigration Rate	Immigration Rate	Net Migration
Mother Tongue			
English	9.0	0.21	-16,783
French	0.7	4.59	3,064
Other	2.4	0.29	-1,499
Official Language			
English	11.8	0.11	-9,557
French	0.2	7.80	3,363
Both	2.6	2.80	-9,024
Education			
Low	0.9	0.30	-2,198
Medium	1.4	0.53	-3,830
High	3.9	1.08	-4,429
Age			
5-9	1.8	0.47	-1,765
10-14	1.5	0.30	-2,997
15-19	0.9	0.32	---
20-24	2.4	0.53	-3,863
25-29	3.2	0.97	-3,830
30-34	2.0	0.82	633
35-44	1.3	0.52	-333
45-54	0.8	0.39	---
55-64	0.6	0.23	-799
65+	0.8	0.16	-2,231
Skill Level			
High	1.3	0.38	-966
Med-High	1.6	0.46	-3,863
Med-Low	1.4	0.48	-899
Low	2.7	0.84	-3,330

In- and outmigration rates are expressed as percentages.

Population estimates of net migration flows are based on the 3 percent micro file.

Dashed lines indicate insignificant entries.

between mother tongue groups and the effect of language on interprovincial migration, and specifically the exchange with Quebec. This is reinforced by the net migration effect. Quebec lost a large number of migrants who were either English speaking or claimed a minority mother tongue while it gained French speakers. The slight gain was clearly insufficient to offset the loss of the two other mother tongue groups.

Second, knowledge of official language (which refers to the ability to conduct a conversation in French, English, both official languages or neither official languages) impacts migration flows into and out of Quebec in a similar way. Because of small sample sizes, the 'neither' category will not be discussed. Migration patterns by knowledge of official language were similar to those observed for mother tongue. Not surprisingly, migrants who were able to conduct a conversation in English only were the most likely to outmigrate from Quebec (11.8%) and the least likely to select Quebec (0.11%) as a destination. Similarly, migrants who were able to conduct a conversation only in French were the least likely to depart from Quebec (0.17%) and the most likely to migrate into Quebec (7.8%). In fact, French-only speakers posted a net population gain. Migrants who were able to conduct a conversation in both official languages had moderate migration propensities (2.6 and 2.8 for out- and immigration respectively). In terms of absolute numbers, individuals speaking both languages represented the largest number of gross interprovincial migrants, even though their net migration effect resulted in a loss of population.

The results therefore suggest and reinforce earlier findings (see Lieberman, 1970; Liaw 1990; Newbold 1994) regarding the negative effect of language on Quebec's participation in the interprovincial migration system. Overall, the migration flows into Quebec were relatively small, and Quebec lost population through migration between 1986 and 1991. Those who did migrate into Quebec were more likely to be either French or bilingual and therefore better prepared and able to adjust to the language and culture. Furthermore, migrants who were able to conduct a conversation in French alone were clearly much more likely to migrate into Quebec and the English were more likely to avoid Quebec.

Third, the selectivity of migration is once again evident with respect to education, with the propensity to migrate decreasing along with declining levels of education. Those with the highest levels of education (BA or better) were the most likely to migrate out of Quebec (3.9%) and also the most likely to migrate *into* Quebec (1.08%). The highly educated were most likely better able to gather and assimilate information, increasing their knowledge of opportunities both within Quebec and elsewhere in Canada. They may

also be bilingual, aiding their transition after arrival. The poorly educated were the least likely to depart from Quebec, and the least likely to select Quebec as a destination.

Despite the increased propensity amongst the highly educated to migrate into Quebec, the province still had a net loss of highly educated migrants. In contrast, both Ontario and British Columbia had a net-gain of highly-educated interprovincial migrants. If level of education within the population is argued to represent the ability to compete and grow in the national and international economy, then the loss of the highly educated from Quebec could damage or impede its future economic growth.

Fourth, a clear age pattern is observed with respect to age. A net loss of migrants is seen across almost all age groups (differences between in- and outmigration rates among the 15-19 and 45-54 year old groups were not statistically significant). Overall, Quebec's in- and outmigration age schedules were similar to the typical age schedule of migration, with a moderately high level in the young dependent age group (aged 5-9), decreasing in the teens, peaking in the early to late twenties, followed by a decline through the remaining age groups. A slight increase in outmigration rates is observed in the 65+ age group.

Finally, the outmigration rate from Quebec was highest amongst the lower skilled occupation groups (2.7%), and lowest amongst the high skills group (1.3%). While there was little variation in terms of the immigration rates, Quebec lost population through migration irrespective of skill level, with the greatest loss amongst the low skilled. The large loss of population in the lowest skill group is not surprising since it represents a larger proportion of the population relative to the highly skilled. For Quebec's long-term growth, the loss of the highly skilled is troublesome as well.

Similar trends were also noted among the foreign-born population who resided in Canada prior to 1986 (see Table 3). Migration rates were calculated based on the foreign-born population only, using the appropriate at-risk population. Not all personal attributes were considered at this point owing to small sample sizes. Overall, the foreign-born were more likely to depart from the province than the Canadian-born, with an overall outmigration rate of 4.2% and were less likely to select Quebec as a destination, with an immigration rate of 0.33%. Quebec also experienced a net loss of foreign-born interprovincial migrants between 1986 and 1991. Not surprisingly, the foreign-born who claimed French as their mother tongue were more likely to migrate into Quebec (5.5%), compared to the other mother tongue groups, and were less likely to outmigrate from the

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Table 3
In- and Outmigration Rates and Net Internal Migration for Quebec by Selected Personal
Characteristics: Foreign-Born, 1986-91

	Outmigration Rate	Immigration Rate	Net Migration
Total	4.2	0.33	-10,723
Mother Tongue			
English	8.7	0.29	-2,930
French	1.6	5.50	---
Other	3.9	0.28	-7,959
Official Language			
English	9.8	0.18	-6,727
French	---	---	---
Both	3.7	2.28	-3,929
Education			
Low	2.0	0.18	-2,031
Medium	5.0	0.34	-5,261
High	7.0	0.72	-2,398
Skill Level			
High	4.3	0.23	-1,166
Med-High	5.0	0.33	-2,964
Med-Low	3.9	0.32	-1,265
Low	5.5	0.52	-2,198

In- and outmigration rates are expressed as percentages.

Population estimates of net migration flows are based on the 3 percent micro file.

Dashed lines indicate insignificant entries.

province (1.6%). Similarly, knowledge of both official languages affected the migration patterns of the foreign-born. Migrants able to converse in both languages had moderate in- and outmigration rates from the province. English-speaking only migrants were the most likely to outmigrate and the least likely to immigrate. The highly educated foreign-born were more likely to migrate from Quebec than the poorly educated (7.0 and 2.0 respectively). Finally, the highly-skilled foreign-born were the least likely to migrate into Quebec (0.23%), while there was little difference among the three other groups. The highly skilled foreign-born had a moderate outmigration rate (4.3%). As such, the population loss noted among the Canadian-born is echoed among the foreign-born.

Primary, Return and Onward Migration

Nativity, or previous migration experience, is also an important determinant of migration behavior (Liaw and Ledent 1986; Liaw 1990). While primary migrants represent a large proportion of the total migration flow entering or leaving a province, closer examination of migration flows has revealed that return and onward migrants are important components of the total migration flow (Long 1988; Newbold and Liaw 1990). Onward migrants tend to resemble primary migrants in their response towards the attractions of potential destinations, while return migrants typically include a high proportion of those moving in the 'wrong' direction. Such moves may represent individual dissatisfaction with the current province of residence because of a disappointing income, employment or cultural experience or a planned desire to return home (DaVanzo 1976; Grant and Vanderkamp 1986).

With a return immigration rate of 16.8%, Table 4 demonstrates that the attractiveness of Quebec is greatest for French-speakers returning home. The dominance of the French language in Quebec meant that both English speaking Quebec natives (English-speaking individuals born within Quebec) and non-natives (English-speaking individuals born within Canada but outside of Quebec) had relatively high propensities to make a primary or repeat outmigration from Quebec, as compared to the French. Similarly, linguistic barriers worked to keep French natives and non-natives alike at home, as shown by their low primary (0.6%), return (4.7%) and onward (0.9%) outmigration rates. Consequently, the high outmigration rate from Quebec observed in Table 2 can be largely attributed to English-speaking non-native migrants returning to their province of birth. Similarly, Table 4 shows that French-speaking non-natives were much more likely to return to Quebec, with a high return immigration rate of 16.8%. Primary and onward immigration rates among the French were also greater than the corresponding rates for Anglophones.

It would therefore appear that Quebec receives relatively few interprovincial migrants, with a large proportion of these being Francophones. In fact, Quebec had a small positive gain of return and onward French-speaking migrants. With a weak ability to attract primary and onward migrants, Quebec must rely heavily on its former natives as a source of population growth. Overall, 58% of the migrants arriving in Quebec were return migrants. Of these, 74% were French-speakers. Therefore, the gain of French speakers reported earlier was largely confined to return migrants. Furthermore, among provinces with chronic outmigration such as Quebec, primary migrants represent a large proportion of the outmigrant flows. In

Table 4
In- and Outmigration Rates Based on Nativity and Mother Tongue: Quebec

	English			French		
	Primary	Return	Onward	Primary	Return	Onward
Outmigration	6.1	14.3	5.9	0.6	4.7	0.9
Immigration	0.1	3.0	0.2	1.5	16.8	2.2

All rates expressed as percentages

Table 5
Origin-Destination Matrix of the Canadian-born Migrants: Canada, 1986-91

Origin	Destination								
	Nfld.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.	Ont.	Mtb.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
Nfld.	0.0	20.2	4.6	---	55.5	---	---	9.7	6.2
N.S.	5.6	0.0	13.6	5.6	47.8	2.9	---	11.9	11.3
N.B.	2.9	22.2	0.0	15.6	39.9	3.2	1.8	8.2	6.2
Que.	3.4	3.0	8.2	0.0	64.2	2.3	0.9	7.4	10.7
Ont.	4.6	10.3	5.7	24.5	0.0	5.6	3.1	19.0	27.2
Mtb.	---	2.6	1.3	4.8	26.7	0.0	11.5	24.2	27.8
Sask.	---	0.9	---	1.1	10.6	10.7	0.0	47.2	28.7
Alta.	1.7	3.1	2.1	3.3	26.7	5.4	8.7	0.0	49.1
B.C.	1.2	3.4	1.8	5.4	31.9	5.0	7.9	43.4	0.0

All values represent the proportion of interprovincial migrants leaving province A and migrating to province B. Dashed lines indicate insignificant flows.

Quebec, nearly 67% were primary outmigrants, even though a large proportion of these were French-speakers. Because of the low immigration rates, Quebec has a small non-native population, with a correspondingly small number of non-native outmigrants.

Where Did The Migrants Go?

If Quebec is such a large producer of interprovincial migrants, where do they go? Given the complementarity of the Quebec and Ontario economies and their proximate location, it is not surprising that a large proportion of the flows originating in Quebec terminate in Ontario (see Table 5). What is surprising is the size of these flows and their relative direction. Approximately 64% of all interprovincial migrants from Quebec migrate to Ontario. In return, Ontario sends only 24% of its migrants to Quebec. This relationship is even stronger among the foreign-born. Over 77% of all foreign-born migrants leaving Quebec select Ontario as their destination, while Ontario sends 22% of its foreign-born interprovincial migrants to Quebec. Therefore, it would appear that the migration exchange between the two provinces is relatively uni-directional.

With the exception of New Brunswick, relatively few flows originating in Quebec terminate in the Atlantic provinces. Surprisingly, only 8% of all outmigrants from Quebec select New Brunswick, a province with a large French-speaking population. Disaggregation of these flows by mother tongue, however, reveals a somewhat different picture. Nearly 14% of French-speaking outmigrants from Quebec migrate to New Brunswick, but Ontario still attracts nearly 63% of the total flow originating in Quebec. Quebec also sends 7% of its total outmigrant stream to Alberta and 11% to British Columbia.

As a source of migrants, Quebec receives its largest share from Ontario. New Brunswick sends 16% of its migrants to Quebec, while the four western provinces contribute only 14% of the total immigration stream. Generally, Quebec is unable to attract a large proportion of the outmigration flows from most of the provinces. An indication of the role of language in shaping long-distance migration is noted with the outmigration from the three Atlantic provinces of Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Despite the distance involved, a large proportion of migrants from each of these three provinces avoid Quebec, choosing instead to migrate to Ontario or even further west to Alberta or British Columbia. This relationship is especially true for Newfoundland. Although the proportion of migrants leaving Newfoundland and selecting Quebec is insignificant, Newfoundland sends 56% of its migrants to Ontario. Interestingly, nearly 99% of

Newfoundland's population claimed English as their mother tongue in 1991 (Statistics Canada 1994).

Conclusions

This paper has provided an overview of the demographic effects of migration into and out of Quebec between 1986 and 1991. The reality of linguistic duality in Canada also involves the reality of territorial duality. Despite fears of the erosion of the French population, the French population (as a proportion of the total provincial population) has remained relatively stable, despite the departure of the English speaking population. The English represented only 9.6% of the provincial population in 1991, down from nearly 14% in 1951. At the same time, the share of its population claiming neither French nor English mother tongues increased from 3.7% to 8.2% (Statistics Canada 1994). In both absolute and proportional terms, the English population declined between 1986 and 1991. The French-speaking population increased in absolute numbers over the five-year period, but remained relatively stable in terms of its proportion of the total population (approximately 82%), largely due to an increasing proportion of minority mother tongue groups. This would suggest that Quebec is, at a minimum, becoming less 'English', which is reinforced through outmigration from the province. English speaking members of the Canadian population are less likely to migrate into Quebec and more likely to depart from Quebec. Conversely, French-speaking members of the Canadian population are less likely to outmigrate from Quebec and more likely to migrate into Quebec. Clearly, there is a duality with respect to migration streams. Despite Federal policies promoting bilingualism and biculturalism, the reality is that migration has made Quebec increasingly 'French'. Moreover, immigrants that settle within Quebec are more likely to speak French as a second language, given current government education and language policies (Beaujot 1991; Lachapelle 1989). As such, it is not just an issue of Quebec maintaining the position of French as an official language, nor of the maintenance of its demographic position with respect to the rest of Canada (Liebersohn 1970). Instead, the implications of these findings bear real significance in light of current political activities within Quebec. An increasingly French (or pro-French) population could tip the scales in favour of some form of Sovereignty.

Such effects are not limited to particular population groups. Across almost every age group, Quebec experienced a net loss of population through migration. Similarly, Quebec also lost population through migration across all education and occupational skill groups. This loss is especially

worrisome amongst the highly educated and the highly skilled segments of the population with a negative impact on its stock of human capital. The long-term effects of outmigration on Quebec's population and its ability to compete and prosper in the international economy may be weakened because of its population drain in general and its 'brain drain' in particular.

Because of the differences between French and English migration patterns, the results suggest that cultural or ethnic differences are important in shaping Quebec's (and Canada's) migration patterns and impact upon identity, perception and security. Migration, in turn, reflects the dimensions of cultural organization within Canada. While sociodemographic factors, socioeconomic factors and opportunities may differ between the two groups, it is likely that cultural, or more specifically linguistic differences exert an independent effect on the migration decision process, determining and constraining the spatial extent of the migration field among both groups. Cultural and ethnic groups have been observed to participate in networks that reduce the non-pecuniary costs of migration, easing the adjustment and settlement of newcomers. Social ties may motivate (or impede) migration amongst certain groups (Uhlenberg 1973; Trovato and Halli 1990), with family ties and community affiliation important considerations in the migration decision. Migration propensities amongst specific groups are likely to be reduced from areas where their social networks are in place and increased in places where they are lacking. Where other persons of the same cultural or ethnic groups are located, movement and transition into the community are eased by aiding the social and economic integration of the new arrivals (Kobrin and Speare 1983). Migration therefore provides the individual with the opportunity to interact within a similar cultural group.

Observed differences in migration patterns related to differences in sociodemographic effects, as opposed to culture or ethnicity *per se*, may dissipate over time as the discrepancies in the sociodemographic variables disappear. If, however, migration differences between French and English Canadians are based largely upon linguistic or cultural barriers, then it is unlikely that the observed migration differences between the two groups will disappear, especially as the Quebec Government seeks to strengthen the French language within Quebec.

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