

**The Individual and Community-Level Determinants of Retention of Anglophone
and Francophone Immigrants across Canada**

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Introduction

Canada has long been a bilingual country. Federal policies on linguistic duality date as far back as the Constitution Act of 1867, with the enshrinement of the right to use French or English in Parliament in Federal Courts in Section 133. Canada's 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms extends linguistic duality even further, declaring that "English and French are the official languages of Canada and have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada" (Government of Canada, 1982). Clearly, the Government of Canada is dedicated to preserving the vitality of the French language and the communities that Francophones live in.

Although English is spoken most widely across the country, there is a considerable proportion of the Canadian population either also speaks French or speaks French exclusively. According to the 2011 Census of Canada, 7.7 million people, or 23.2% of all Canadians, identified French as their first official language spoken (Statistics Canada, 2011). While the vast majority of French speakers live in Quebec (6.1 million people in Quebec, or around 18% of the total population of Canada, list French as their mother tongue), there are a considerable number of Francophones across the rest of the country, just as there are Anglophones in Quebec.

In our current era of low fertility, however, immigration is responsible for nearly all population growth, suggesting that Anglophone and Francophone immigration is extremely important for maintaining Official Language Minority Communities.¹ The central purpose of this report is to analyze the factors at the individual and community level that affect the retention of Anglophone and Francophone immigrants in Canada. Of particular interest is the role that OLMCs might play in immigrant retention.

¹ The challenge is to decide on what constitutes an Anglophone or Francophone for the purposes of this study. See below for a discussion and rationale for our choices.

The primary questions that this study addresses are the following:

1. Where are the Francophone communities outside of Quebec²? How many Anglophone communities are there within Quebec?
2. Where do Anglophone and Francophone immigrants settle? How does this differ from where Anglophone and Francophone communities are located? Does this differ by arrival cohort? Do Francophone immigrants remain where they land? Do retention rates vary depending on other variables, such as level of education, marital status, presence of children, landing category and so on?
3. What are the individual and community characteristics that determine whether or not Francophone immigrants stay in their respective province? How likely is it that a Francophone immigrant will stay in a predominately Anglophone versus Francophone environment?

To answer these questions, this study employs Cox Proportional Hazards models and the 1991-2006 Harmonized Census Files and the Longitudinal Immigrant Database (IMDB).

We first briefly outline current immigration policies and trends, followed by a discussion of recent initiatives to promote Francophone immigration. We then describe recent trends in Francophone immigration, followed by a literature review on the factors that shape recruitment and retention of immigrants. Next, our methodology is discussed, followed by a presentation and discussion of results.

² Francophone Minority Communities (FMC) are defined as “all Francophones living in provinces and territories other than Quebec are considered part of the FMCs” (CIC, 2006). (This is defined in the “Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to FMCs” report (2006). The Department of Canadian Heritage’s Official Languages Branch (2013) has developed a map of Official Language Minority Communities (OLMCs) based on Census 2011 data, which will be employed by this study.

Immigration Intake and Settlement Trends

Canada is one of the world's most popular immigrant destinations (United Nations Population Division, 2013). Between 2008 and 2012, an average of approximately 250,000 permanent residents came to Canada every year, ranging in recent years from 247,000 (2008) to 280,000 (2010) (CIC, 2013)³. In addition to this, roughly 200,000 Temporary Foreign Workers (TFWs) also came annually for at least some part of the year (CIC, 2013)⁴. The effects of this influx are palpable; between 2006 and 2011 alone, the proportion of the Canadian population born elsewhere increased by nearly a percentage point (from 19.8% in 2006 to 20.6% in 2011 (Statistics Canada, 2011)). This proportion will likely increase more rapidly; by 2031, more than 80% of Canada's population growth will occur as a result of immigration, compared to 67% presently (Yssaad, 2012).

Although the number of immigrants has remained fairly constant in recent history, changes to federal immigration system have clearly shifted towards economic immigration as a percentage of the total permanent residents admitted to Canada per annum⁵. Jason Kenney, former Minister of Citizenship, Immigration, and Multiculturalism, has stated that the Government's fundamental priority is job creation and the economy (CIC, 2012), and immigration is one important vehicle through which Canada's economic growth can be sustained.⁶

³ These data come from www.data.gc.ca. This site provides one-stop access to the Government of Canada's searchable open data and open information. The site can be accessed at <http://data.gc.ca/eng>. (Accessed January 24, 2014).

⁴ For example, in 2012, there were 213,573 TFWs in Canada, and 257,887 Permanent Residents.

⁵ Currently the distribution of economic immigrants versus other categories, including refugees and family class, is approximately 62 per cent versus 38 per cent for non-economic. The fulcrum is expected to shift even further to support more economic immigrants entailing a higher percentage of the total annual distribution.

⁶ Since the mid-2000s, more changes to Canada's immigration system have occurred than times previous. It is rare for a week to go by without an announcement by a federal or provincial government department related to immigration either directly or indirectly. Clearly it is an area of considerable public interest, and a tool utilized by lawmakers to engineer a more robust and skilled workforce designed to meet Canada's immediate, intermediate and

As a result of both the ongoing recognition of the need for dispersion, a heightened focus on increasing the focus on economic factors, and a growing recognition of the importance of immigration, immigration policy in Canada has changed considerably in recent years. Some of these changes are highlighted below.

Canada's Immigration Policy and the Implications for the Distribution of Immigrants

The regionalization of immigration through Provincial Nominee Programs (beginning with Manitoba in 1998) across provinces and territories has resulted in a greater distribution of immigrants across the country and away from the large urban centres of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver (MTV). For example, between 1995 and 2012, the proportion of immigrants who went to Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia went from 88% in 1995 to 73% in 2012 (Seidle, 2013). Furthermore, in 1995 Ontario received 55% of all immigrants, while that number declined to 38% in 2012. The Provincial Nominees Program is likely responsible in part for the increase in dispersion, as is economic growth in other parts of the country.

Canadian immigration legislation and policy has continued to change rapidly in recent years (with more undoubtedly to come), such as the imminent launch of a new immigration application management system named the “Expression of Interest (EOI)” or “Expressed Entry” model in January 2015 (Government of Canada’s Economic Action Plan 2014, p. 82).⁷

ultimate economic needs. One need only follow the popular media to see regular announcements regarding the introduction of a new federal stream for immigration to Canada, the pause or cancellation of an existing federal stream; while most announcements would link to economic immigration, there are also other topics related to immigration overall, such as stories articles on the Family Class (January 2014), changes to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA), as well as various provincial and territorial announcements related to specific jurisdictional programs.

⁷ Beginning May 2013, CIC also began requiring that applicants applying to the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) submit an Educational Credential Assessment (ECA) along with their application, to verify and establish comparability to Canadian education.

Roadmaps and Frameworks for Increasing Francophone Immigration Outside of Quebec

Although there are Official Language Minority Communities across Canada, most Anglophone and Francophone immigrants settle in a region where they can function in the official language of their choice.

For example, the majority of Francophone immigrants continue to settle in Quebec. While the Francophone immigrant population outside of Quebec is small – in absolute and relative numbers – “the relative weight of Francophone immigrants within the French speaking population has increased, going from 6.2% to 10% between 1991 and 2006” (Houle & Corbeil, 2010). In British Columbia, for example, Francophone immigrants as a percentage of the French-speaking population grew from 18% in 1991 to 24% in 2006; Ontario grew during the same period from 8% to 13%, Alberta from 9% to 13%, and the Northwest Territories from 5% to 10% (Houle & Corbeil, 2010). Growth was considerably more muted in the Atlantic region, as well as in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Of the permanent resident population that landed between 2008 and 2012, 76,315 identified French as their first official language spoken, while 133,275 identified both official languages spoken. Employing the First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) approach developed by Statistics Canada (discussed below), this amounts to 76,315 plus $133,275/2$, or roughly 143,000 people, with the ability to speak French. As a percentage of the total number of permanent residents landing for this period, 5.9% identified French as their only official language spoken and 5.2% identified speaking both official languages, thereby totalling roughly 11% of all landings (CIC, Q3 2013 Data Cubes, 2013).

Though a sizable number, it still does not reflect the current linguistic balance of the country's two official languages. Between 1999 and 2001, a tour across Canadian Francophone communities by the *Federation des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada* (FCFA) occurred, and the topic of immigration and its importance to the vitality of the Francophone communities was discussed at great length (Marcoux, 2009, p.1). Especially concerning was that FMCs were not benefiting from immigration to the same degree as Anglophone communities (Marcoux, 2009).

A set of recommendations to create an action plan on Francophone immigration emerged from the tour to help address this perceived imbalance. As a result, the FCFA and CIC partnered and developed the Citizenship and Immigration Canada – Francophone Minority Steering Committee (Marcoux, 2009). The Committee introduced (2003) the *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities* (Strategic Framework) (Marcoux, 2009). The goals of the Framework are as follows:

- Increase the number of French-Speaking immigrants to give more demographic weight to FMCs
- Improve the capacity of FMCs to receive francophone newcomers
- Strengthen their reception and settlement infrastructures for newcomers
- Ensure the economic, social and cultural integration of French-speaking immigrants into Canadian society and into FMCs, and
- Foster regionalization of francophone immigration (Marcoux, 2009).

The Strategic Plan to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities, engendered by the Framework above, defined FMCs broadly as “all Francophones living in provinces and territories other than Quebec are considered part of the FMCs” (CIC 2006).

Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality 2008-2013: Acting for the Future

The Federal Government released the *Roadmap for Canada's Linguistic Duality 2008-2013: Acting for the Future*, as a reaffirmation of the Government's commitment to linguistic

duality and Canada's two official languages. Contained within were five priority sectors, along with substantial financial commitment:

1. Health
2. Justice
3. Immigration
4. Economic development; and
5. Arts and culture

Additionally, five key areas were articulated through a series of public consultations, and contained the core of the Roadmap:

- Emphasizing the value of linguistic duality for Canadians;
- Building the future by investing in youth;
- Improving access to services for official-language minority communities;
- Capitalizing on economic benefits; and
- Ensuring efficient governance to better serve Canadians (Government of Canada, 2008 P.6-7).

The third priority sector is immigration. The Government was committed through the Roadmap to facilitate the efficacious integration of French speaking immigrants by enabling their access to French services reflecting their needs.⁸ Funding was provided and analysis directed on issues specifically concerned with Francophone immigration outside of Quebec. In particular, the Roadmap articulated the dual faceted intent of augmenting the number of French speaking immigrants in FMCs: FMCs gain numerically while simultaneously increasing the opportunities for French speaking immigrants to contribute to their respective community; these goals would be enabled through the intensification of recruitment and integration efforts, particularly in Canada's only officially bilingual province, New Brunswick (Government of Canada, 2008, p.11-12). The theme of integration has recurred consistently and figured prominently in the literature around immigration to minority communities (Thomassin, 2008, p.

⁸ Since Quebec is largely responsible for its own immigrant streams, and minority communities are defined as Anglophone in the province, most of the report focused on Francophone immigration in the rest of Canada.

117) and factored prominently in the 2013 *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages: Education, Immigration, Communities* discussed below.

The 2013 Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages: Education, Immigration, Communities

While considerable resources were mobilized in pursuit of realizing the policy goals of the Roadmap, and though much success was achieved, a new iteration was released in 2013: the *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages: Education, Immigration, Communities*. Analogous to its predecessor, the latest incarnation of the Roadmap (herein referred to as Roadmap 2) specifically addresses the area of immigration, especially recognizing the need to improve efforts to successfully recruit and retain French-speaking immigrants to Canada's FMCs and Anglophone immigrants to Quebec. Over the 2013-2018 period, the federal government will further invest in language training programs for *economic* immigrants (italics added), ramp up recruitment efforts, with an additional focus on supporting projects developed from 2009 through “the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) to attract, recruit, integrate and retain French-speaking immigrants in the Acadian community of New Brunswick, particularly rural areas” (Roadmap 2013, p. 10). Government will also build on successful overseas activities, such as Destination Canada, to reach a wider audience of prospective Anglophone and Francophone immigrants.

Federal policy related to Francophone immigration, settlement and integration remains a key priority and exhibits noteworthy continuity over the preceding decade, and continues to be a major area of focus over the next five years, at a minimum. One effective way to help policy makers understand the degree to which the efforts to date have helped improve the attraction, recruitment, settlement, integration and retention, of Anglophone immigrants in Quebec, and Francophone newcomers in the rest of Canada, is to extract, from the data, patterns and trends

indicating positive relationships/correlations among individual Francophone immigrants and the communities to which they have been attracted and into which they have been integrated into and retained by. This will help provide policy makers with the tools they need to begin making evidence-based decisions regarding Canadian immigration policy, especially as it pertains to the recruitment and retention of Francophone immigrants, and for Quebec's immigration policies around Anglophone immigration.

Methodology and Scope

Data

This study uses two sets of data. The first one is the Longitudinal Immigrant Database (IMDB), a file that contains immigrant landing records linked to T1 tax return data. These data are annual, and span from 1982-2011.

The longitudinal nature of this dataset allows us to identify and track individual immigrants according to place of tax filing so that we can trace their geographical location over time. Detailed information on the immigrants' location at the level of census subdivision, and neighbourhood and some individual characteristics are obtained from the 1991-2006 harmonized census files. Neighbourhood information is linked to longitudinal IMDB records using longitudinally consistent CSD identifiers. Since we only have community information in census years (1991, 1996, 2001, and 2006), it was necessary to impute data for the remaining years. We chose linear interpolation, which equates to a 'straight line' of data for adjoining censuses. For example, if the Consumer Price Index-adjusted median income in 2001 was \$30,000 and in 2006 it was \$35,000, the values for intervening years would be as follows:

2002: \$31,000
2003: \$32,000
2004: \$33,000
2005: \$34,000

Values for 2007-2011 were taken from the 2006 census. Generating annual Census Subdivision information allows us to identify Official Language Minority Communities and model how community characteristics affect migration as close to time of move and as accurately as possible. We describe the analytical technique for doing so below.

Statistical Methods

We use Cox proportional hazard models to analyze the risk factors of out-migration. To formulate this problem into survival analysis, an event is defined as leaving a province in a given year. Let T be a random variable, denoting an individual's event time, i.e. leaving province of landing (as defined by the first province where tax return is submitted). The hazard function of exiting a province is defined by

$$h(t) = \lim_{\Delta \rightarrow 0} \frac{P(t \leq T < t + \Delta | T \geq t)}{\Delta}$$

Then, a Cox-proportional hazards model is linked to the data as follows:

$$\text{Log}(h_i(t)) - \text{log}(h_0(t)) = a_1 \text{Individual} + a_2 \text{Community}$$

where $h_i(t)$ is the hazard function of a Canadian returning to his/her birth province after 1991, $h_0(t)$ is the baseline hazard,

To denote any major differences between immigrant cohorts, separate regressions are performed on 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2005 arrivals in the following five years.⁹ Furthermore, we run separate models for Quebec and the rest of Canada.

Measures

Independent Variables

Individual-level Variables

Age is calculated from date of birth of the respondent.

Knowledge of English (reference in Canada Minus Quebec Models), French (reference in Quebec models), or No Charter Language is a categorical variable about an immigrant's knowledge of an official language indicating if a respondent is capable of speaking English only, French only (includes those that speak both French and English), or no charter language.

Marital status is a binary variable indicating the status of marriage of the respondent: 'not married' includes never legally married (single)/ separated, but still legally married/ divorced/ widowed, and 'married' includes legally married (and not separated).

Presence of Children: does the respondent have at least one child under the age of 18?

Education: Refers to an individual's highest degree or diploma at time of landing. Options include no High School degree (reference), High School Diploma, College Diploma, or a Bachelor's degree or higher.

Admission category refers to the immigrant class based on which the immigrant received admission into Canada. It includes conventional refugee, provincial nominee principal applicant, provincial nominee spouses and dependents, federal skilled worker principal applicant, federal skilled worker spouses and dependents, and family class. Since the provincial nominee program

⁹ This means that there may be missed mobility in the landing year. We chose to begin observing individuals in year t+1 because we didn't know when individuals landed in the prior year, thereby introducing error into many of our parameter estimates (particularly the income variables).

was only introduced in the late 1990s, these variables are omitted for the 1990 and 1995 arrival cohorts.

Income: Individual income from all sources in year t-1. All dollar values are in 2002 dollars, and represented by four binary variables: <\$0, \$0-\$50,000, 50,001-\$100,000, and more than \$100,000 (reference group).

Province of filing indicates the immigrant's place of residence in terms of province and territory as of December 31 of year t-1.

Country of Citizenship: indicates an individual's citizenship country, and only a small number of countries could be included. These include France, Haiti, China, Algeria, Romania, Other French, and Other English for Quebec, and China, India, Philippines, United Kingdom, United States, Other French, and Other English for the rest of Canada.

Community-level Variables

Please note that each of the community variables below indicate the community characteristics of an individual at time t-1. The reason for doing this is that we want to know the characteristics of where people lived in *before* they moved, rather than where they're currently situated.

OLMC: Indicates that an individual lives in a community that is an Official Language Minority Community. As mentioned above, we define an OLMC as any census sub-division where there are either 1,000 or 10% of the population that is either Anglophone (Quebec) or Francophone (Rest of Canada).

*English*OLMC*: Indicates that an individual is both Anglophone and living in an OLMC. Quebec models only.

*French*OLMC*: Indicates that an individual is both Francophone and living in an OLMC. Non-Quebec models only.

% Homeowner: Indicates the proportion of taxfilers who live in an owned dwelling.

% University Degree: Indicates the proportion of taxfilers who hold a bachelor's degree or higher.

% Immigrant: Indicates the proportion of taxfilers who are immigrants.

Rural: A binary variable that indicates if a census subdivision is primarily rural.

% Low Income: Indicates the proportion of the population living below the low income cut-off.

Dependent variable

The dependent variable is a binary variable that measures if person i at time t pays taxes in a different province at time t than they did in $t-1$. We use this to identify if a person moves between years.

Descriptive Results

Individual-Level Characteristics of Canadian Immigrants

In Table 1 below, we outline the sample characteristics of the four arrival cohorts of interest.

Table 1: Characteristics of Immigrants to Canada except Quebec, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2005 Arrival Cohorts

	1990	1995	2000	2005
Age	35	37	36	35
Married	66%	76%	81%	74%
Presence of Children	55%	54%	57%	52%
High School Degree	45%	42%	23%	19%
College Degree	47%	49%	60%	61%
University Degree	5%	7%	13%	17%
Refugee	20%	14%	11%	14%
Federal Skilled Worker - Spouses and Dependents	13%	16%	23%	20%
Federal Skilled Worker - Principal Applicants	21%	25%	36%	39%
Family Class	30%	29%	22%	19%
Less than \$0	0%	1%	0%	0%
\$0-\$49,999	78%	89%	72%	86%
\$50,000-\$99,999	20%	9%	24%	13%
China	11%	11%	21%	11%
India	5%	8%	11%	9%
Philippines	5%	9%	13%	4%
UK	8%	10%	6%	9%
USA	16%	14%	5%	7%
Other French	3%	2%	2%	7%
Other English	2%	4%	3%	6%
Other	51%	44%	38%	47%
Speaks English	55%	66%	59%	82%
Speaks French	6%	5%	7%	6%
Speaks Other Language	39%	29%	34%	12%
Number of Observations	71375	74675	93025	93025

Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database

Most of the socio-demographic information is consistent across cohort. The average age ranges by only two years, of newcomers remains relatively consistent across cohorts. The percentage of immigrants that is married starts at 66% for 1995 arrivals, peaks at 81% among the 2000 cohort, before returning to 74% among 2005 arrivals. The percentage of individuals with children ranges from 57% (2000 cohort) to 52% (2005 cohort).

Overall educational attainment levels trend upwards across cohorts, and the proportion of Federal Skilled workers and Provincial Nominees trends upwards, alongside decline in the number of refugees and family class landings. There are only slight differences in the income distribution of cohorts.

The distribution of immigrants from different countries (as defined by citizenship status) remains relatively constant, with the only consistent trend being a general decline among arrivals from the United States, and a steady increase in newcomers from India and Other French and Other English countries.

Finally, there is a notable increase in the proportion of the landing population that speaks English, and virtually no change amongst the proportion that speaks French.

Table 2: Characteristics of Immigrants to Quebec, 1990, 1995, 2000, and 2005 Arrival Cohorts

	1990	1995	2000	2005
Age	35	35	35	35
Married	63%	72%	72%	74%
Presence of Children	57%	55%	51%	52%
Less than High School	2%	2%	3%	3%
High School Degree	47%	35%	25%	19%
College Degree	46%	52%	59%	61%
University Degree	5%	11%	13%	17%
Refugee	13%	24%	20%	14%
Provincial Nominee - Spouses and Dependents	0%	0%	0%	0%
Provincial Nominee - Principal Applicants	0%	0%	0%	0%
Federal Skilled Worker - Spouses and Dependents	16%	14%	16%	20%
Federal Skilled Worker - Principal Applicants	32%	29%	38%	39%
Family Class	19%	26%	22%	19%
Other Admission Category	20%	7%	4%	8%
Less than \$0	0%	0%	0%	0%
\$0-\$49,999	89%	92%	85%	86%
\$50,000-\$99,999	10%	7%	13%	13%
\$100,000 or More	1%	1%	2%	1%
France	11%	11%	11%	8%
Haiti	5%	12%	11%	9%
China	3%	6%	11%	9%
Algeria	4%	5%	3%	4%
Romania	2%	4%	9%	9%
Morocco	1%	5%	4%	7%
Other French	3%	3%	8%	7%
Other English	2%	4%	5%	6%
Other	68%	51%	39%	42%
Speaks English	21%	22%	19%	19%
Speaks French	37%	37%	45%	57%
Speaks Other Language	42%	41%	36%	24%
Number of Observations	14015	11680	16195	11680

Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database

Turning now to Quebec (Table 2), we see similar trends in many cases. Average age is stable across cohorts, there's an increase in the percent married, the Federal Skilled Worker Program represents a growing share of each landing cohort.

There is a considerable change in the proportion of newcomers from several countries. China increases from 3% to 9%, Romania from 2% to 9%, and Morocco from 1% to 7%. The

single biggest jump is in the proportion that come from Other French-Speaking countries, which experience an increase of twenty percentage points. Not surprisingly, the growth in immigrants coming from French-speaking countries increases the proportion of French speakers.

Intended Destination

In table 3 below, we display the intended destination of immigrants across Canadian provinces.

Table 3: Intended Destination by arrival cohort

Province	1990	1995	2000	2005
Newfoundland	265	285	195	225
PEI	90	75	85	125
Nova Scotia	645	1285	630	825
New Brunswick	385	310	365	480
Quebec	16680	11995	16860	23565
Ontario	48775	49595	65775	65060
Manitoba	3175	1735	2150	3765
Saskatchewan	1030	980	920	1005
Alberta	8270	6155	7165	9775
British Columbia	11595	18165	18470	20330
Total	90645	90295	112420	124930

Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database (IMDB)

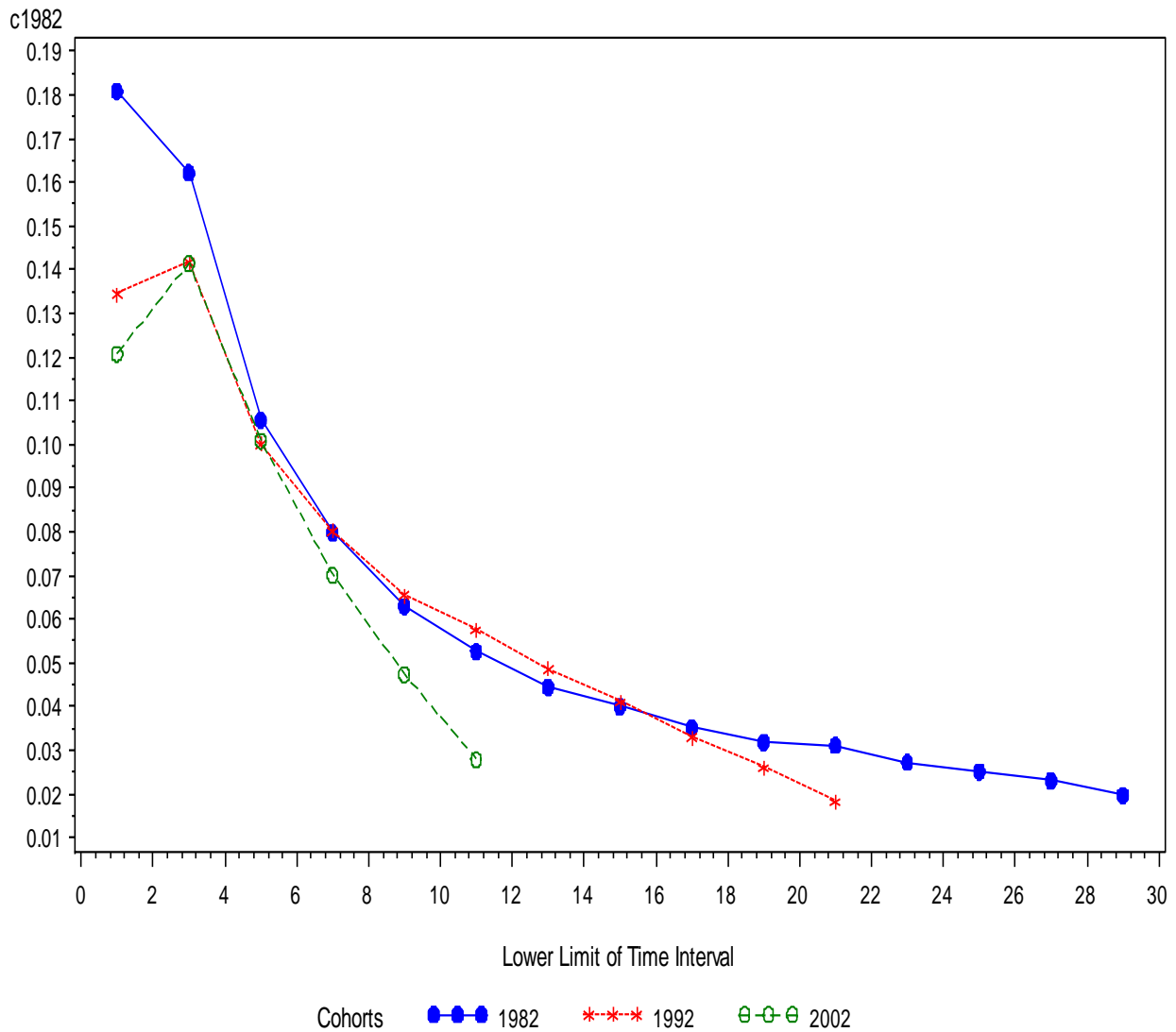
Note: In each Instance and OLMC is defined as a census sub-division where at least 10% of the population speak French, or there is a minimum of 1000 French-Speakers.

Note: Census subdivisions are identified by their 1991 geography.

For all four cohorts, Ontario is the most popular intended destination, with substantially larger numbers of people than any other province. One of the interesting trends in the table above is that although some provinces, such as British Columbia, experience an almost doubling in the number of people who plan to move there, most other jurisdictions only see slight changes over time. Ninety people in the 1990 cohort planned to Prince Edward Island, for example, and that number increased to 125 among 2005 arrivals. Newfoundland and Saskatchewan actually saw slight declines in the number of people who planned to move there.

Keep in mind that Table 3 indicates *intended* destination, and that people may not necessarily move to (or stay in) the province they plan to. Yet, as Graph 1 below shows, there is considerable interprovincial migration in the early years after landing, suggesting that intended destination may not be a good indication of where immigrants actually settle.

Graph 1: Hazard Rates of Moving for the 1982, 1992, and 2002 Immigrant Cohorts



Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database (IMDB)

Graph 1 presents the hazard rate lines for the 1982, 1992, and 2002 immigrant cohorts, where the hazard is defined as moving out of province. The y-axis indicates the hazard rates of moving for the three cohorts over different periods of time, and the x-axis indicates number of years after immigration. Since the 1982 cohort immigrated in 1982, their hazard rates of moving—probability of moving during a given period—are traced for about thirty years until 2010. Also, since the 1992 cohort immigrated in 1992, and their hazard rates are calculated for about twenty years. Likewise, the hazard rates for the 2002 cohort are traced for about ten years.

The hazard rates of moving are overlaid in Graph 1 for comparison. In general, all the three cohorts demonstrate similar patterns for the hazard rates of moving. During the first 4-5 years after immigration, all three cohorts show the highest hazard rates for moving. After this, the hazard rates drop dramatically and gradually stabilize at low levels, indicating that after the initial frequent moves, immigrants tend to settle and become decreasingly likely to move.

In Table 4, we present the disparity between where individuals plan to move at time of landing, and where they file taxes one year later (Table 4).

Table 4: Interprovincial Disparities between Intended Destination and Province of Tax-filing One Year after Landing.

Province	1991	1996	2001	2006
Newfoundland	105	85	85	100
PEI	40	25	50	70
Nova Scotia	240	300	390	330
New Brunswick	160	145	220	180
Quebec	1255	1555	2125	3085
Ontario	23535	25120	37935	31115
Manitoba	260	275	570	780
Saskatchewan	235	255	315	720
Alberta	1660	1745	3225	5990
British Columbia	7550	7755	8960	9290
Total	35040	37260	53875	51660

Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database (IMDB)

The effect of this disparity is that Ontario claims an even larger share of Canada's immigrants (nearly 2/3 of all interprovincial movers). British Columbia is also a large beneficiary, receiving roughly 1/5 of all interprovincial immigrant movers.

What Graph 1 and Table 4 suggest is that a) many immigrants either do not head to their intended destination, or, b) if they do, it is not for very long. In an era of below-replacement fertility, trying to identify the factors that predict where an immigrant individual or family ultimately settles is of critical importance, as the distribution and redistribution of newcomers is a large contributing factor to what makes demographic 'have' and 'have-not' provinces.

This report focuses on the extent to which community characteristics are a critical component of attraction and retention. In particular, we focus on the effect of an Official Language Minority Community, hypothesizing that Francophone or Anglophone immigrants will be more likely to stay in a community where there is a critical number (10% of the overall population or a minimum 1,000 people in a Census Sub-Division) of people that speak the same language as them. If there is a positive effect on retention, the preservation of OLMCs is not only important for diversity purposes, as argued in the introduction and literature review, but also as a means for attracting immigrants.

In the sections below, we look at these community characteristics in greater detail. In particular, we look at the number of Official Language Minority Communities by province. In everywhere but Quebec, this will be a Francophone Minority Community, whereas in Quebec it is an Anglophone community. In calculating this number, we define a Francophone as someone who speaks French only or French and another language; for Quebec, this would be someone who speaks English only or English and another language.

Table 5: Number of Official Language Minority Communities by Province

Province	1990	1995	2000	2005
Newfoundland	10	10	10	10
PEI	25	35	40	50
Nova Scotia	20	20	20	25
New Brunswick	185	190	205	200
Quebec	1250	1050	930	900
Ontario	270	245	240	260
Manitoba	50	45	40	45
Saskatchewan	100	105	95	85
Alberta	55	60	60	55
British Columbia	50	60	65	75
Total	2015	1820	1705	1705

Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database (IMDB)

Note: In each Instance an OLMC is defined as a census sub-division where at least 10% of the population speaks French (Canada Except Quebec) or English(Quebec), or there is a minimum of 1000 French or English-Speakers

Note: Census subdivisions are identified by their 1991 geography.

Table 5 shows that each province has at least 10 OLMCs (the representation of each province was a critical component of our definition), and that, as a result, each could potentially benefit from the prospect of using linguistic characteristics of a community to attract Official Language minority immigrants. Quebec has, by far, the greatest number of OLMCs, according to our definition, followed by Ontario. New Brunswick, with its Acadian population, also has a large number of OLMCs.

To identify the effect that OLMCs have on recruitment/retention, in the section below, we move to presenting multivariate analysis results.

Multivariate Results

Canada Excluding Quebec

Table 6 presents the results of four Cox Proportional Hazards models, one for each arrival cohort, on the propensity to move out of province.

Table 6: Inter-provincial Migration by Immigrant Cohort, Canada Except Quebec

	1990	1995	2000	2005
	Hazard Ratios	Hazard Ratios	Hazard Ratios	Hazard Ratios
<u>Individual Characteristics</u>				
Age	0.977 ***	0.980 ***	0.976 ***	0.978 ***
Married	1.005	0.944 ***	1.031	0.961 **
Presence of Children	0.775 ***	0.823 ***	0.859 ***	0.806 ***
Education				
Less than High School	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
High School Degree	0.812 ***	0.755 ***	0.849 ***	0.892
College Degree	0.914 ***	0.889 ***	1.019	1.042
BA or Higher	1.188 ***	1.119	1.066 **	1.088 **
Admission Category				
Refugee	1.220 ***	0.896 ***	0.866 **	1.002
Provincial Nominee Spouse and Dependent	(omitted)	(omitted)	1.429 ***	1.124
Provincial Nominee Principal Applicant	(omitted)	(omitted)	1.233	1.152
Federal Skilled Worker Spouse and Dependent	0.991	1.066	1.132 ***	1.277 ***
Federal Skilled Worker Principal Applicant	1.018	1.041	1.149 ***	1.278 ***
Family Class	0.881 ***	0.900 ***	0.912 ***	1.002
Other	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Total Individual Income (\$2002)				
Less than Zero	2.324 ***	1.276	1.232 **	1.275
0-49,999	1.479 ***	0.942	0.997	1.315 ***
\$50,000-\$99,999	1.173 ***	0.952	0.974	1.309 ***
\$100,000 or more	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Province of Residence in Previous Year				
NFLD	2.068 ***	1.317	1.155	1.919 ***
PEI	2.838 ***	1.676 ***	1.516 **	4.443 ***
NS	1.760 ***	1.397 ***	0.662 ***	2.362 ***
NB	3.008 ***	2.568 ***	0.731 ***	4.557 ***
ON	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
MB	0.884	0.610 ***	0.476 ***	0.688 ***
SK	1.502 ***	0.642 ***	0.744 ***	1.104
AB	0.581 ***	0.334 ***	0.462 ***	0.271 ***
BC	1.034	0.689 ***	0.753 ***	0.901 ***
Country of Citizenship				
China	0.912 ***	0.943 ***	0.930 ***	0.943 ***
India	1.457 ***	1.127 ***	1.110 ***	1.077
Philippines	0.902 ***	0.997	0.968	0.828 ***
UK	0.782 ***	0.757 ***	0.761 ***	0.675 ***
USA	0.987	0.805 ***	0.972	0.855 ***
Other French	1.350 ***	0.936	0.773 ***	0.829 ***
Other English	1.203 ***	0.918	0.935 *	0.907
Other	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Language Characteristics				
Speaks English	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Speaks French	1.630	1.085	1.667 **	0.906
Speaks Other Language	0.856 ***	0.899 ***	0.976 *	0.984
<u>Community Characteristics</u>				
French* OLMC	0.584 ***	0.930	0.635 **	1.082
OLMC	0.719 ***	0.375 ***	1.270 ***	0.249 ***
% Homeowner	0.019 ***	0.038 ***	0.210 ***	0.056 ***
% with University Degree	0.002 ***	0.001 ***	0.008 ***	0.002 ***
% Immigrant	0.390 ***	0.204 ***	1.092	1.470 ***
Rural	2.078 ***	3.117 ***	1.667	4.948 ***
Number of Observations	228,570	247,210	289,310	322,830

Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database-Harmonized Census Files Created by Author

Note: Number of Observations denotes the number of person-period observations, not the number of individuals

Controlling for other factors, the relationship between age and moving is negative, indicating a reduced propensity to move as age increases. Married immigrants are less likely to move than their unmarried counterparts, although the differences are only statistically significant cohorts. Children anchor their parents, and the propensity to move increases with education. The results for admission category are rather scattered; for some cohorts, people of a particular category are more likely than the reference category to move, and in others they are less likely. Many of the results are not statistically significant. Similarly, there appears to be no consistent trend across arrival cohort between income and the propensity to move.

For the most part, out-migration is highest in Atlantic Canada, with most provinces west of Ontario reporting lower out-migration propensities than the reference group. Turning now to country of citizenship, all four cohorts of immigrants from China are less likely to move than the reference group, whereas the 1990, 1995, and 2000 cohorts of Indian citizens are more likely. Nearly all other immigrant groups appear to be less likely to move than the reference group. Interestingly, this applies even for immigrants who are citizens of French-speaking countries, although when we see an increased propensity for outmigration amongst French-speaking immigrants for at least the 2000 cohort. Immigrants that speak neither English nor French seem to be more likely to remain in their original destination.

Turning now to community characteristics, most of the coefficients suggest that immigrants who live in an OLMC are less likely to move. The only exception is among the 2000 cohort, where there is actually an increased propensity to outmigrate. For Francophone immigrants, the level of retention is even higher. For two of the four cohorts, the likelihood of remaining in province is even higher, suggesting that OLMCs do indeed help provinces retain the immigrants they work hard to attract.

Additionally, retention in the province is further improved with several other community characteristics. Census sub-divisions with high homeownership rates, strong levels of human capital, have enhanced retention rates. For 1990 and 1995 arrivals, immigrant concentration positively predicts retention, but the effect dissipates and even reverses for successive cohorts. Immigrants who live in rural CSDs are less likely to stay in their province than those in urban areas.

Quebec

For the most part, there are similar trends in Quebec (Table 7).

Table 7: Inter-provincial Migration by Immigrant Cohort, Quebec Only

	1990	1995	2000	2005
	Hazard Ratios	Hazard Ratios	Hazard Ratios	Hazard Ratios
Individual Characteristics				
Age	0.988 ***	0.971 ***	0.974 ***	0.985 ***
Married	0.866 *	0.945	0.953	0.788 **
Presence of Children	0.855 **	0.953	0.997	0.956
Education				
Less than High School	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
High School Degree	0.702 **	0.516 ***	0.587 **	0.809 *
College Degree	0.885	0.640 ***	0.880	1.018
BA or Higher	0.913	0.975	0.960	1.221
Admission Category				
Refugee	1.222 **	1.530 ***	1.809 **	1.354 **
Provincial Nominee Spouse and Principal Applicant	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	1.117
Provincial Nominee Spouse and Principal Applicant	(omitted)	(omitted)	(omitted)	1.446
Federal Skilled Worker Spouse and Principal Applicant	0.610 ***	1.398 **	1.674 **	1.310 **
Federal Skilled Worker Spouse and Principal Applicant	0.607 ***	1.275 *	1.610 **	1.216 *
Family Class	0.507 ***	0.931	0.938	1.084
Other	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Total Individual Income (\$2002)				
Less than Zero	1.774	1.553	1.076	1.7728
0-49,999	1.135	1.007	1.088	1.346 **
\$50,000-\$99,999	0.907	0.863	0.948	1.171
\$100,000 or more	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Country of Citizenship				
France	0.434 ***	0.640 ***	0.521 ***	0.568 ***
Haiti	0.643 **	0.669 ***	0.441 **	0.488 *
China	1.144	1.478 ***	0.914	0.891
Algeria	0.255 ***	0.155 ***	0.221 ***	0.219 ***
Romania	0.544 **	0.618 ***	0.231 **	0.341 *
Morocco	0.652 *	0.621 ***	0.351 **	0.443 *
Other French	0.602 **	0.403	0.298 **	0.484 *
Other English	0.854	0.636 ***	0.636 **	0.614 *
Other	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Language Characteristics				
Speaks English	1.639 ***	1.581 ***	1.489 ***	1.284 **
Speaks Other Language	1.423 ***	1.104	1.320 ***	1.152 *
Speaks French	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Community Characteristics				
English *OLMC	0.370 ***	0.775 *	0.929	0.808 **
OLMC	0.257 ***	7.509 ***	7.164 ***	4.402 ***
% Homeowner	0.004 ***	0.857 ***	0.516	0.036 ***
% with University Degree	0.001 ***	0.098 ***	0.066 ***	0.010 ***
% Immigrant	0.001 ***	11.076	5.283 *	0.052 ***
Rural	3.295 ***	0.118 **	0.069 ***	4.512 ***
Number of Observations	56,035	44,130	66,220	90,000

Source: Longitudinal Immigrant Database-Harmonized Census Files Created by Author

Note: Number of Observations denotes the number of person-period observations, not the number of individuals

Outmigration declines with age, and married people with children are once again less likely to leave the province (though not all results are statistically significant). Refugees and Federal

Skilled Workers (except 1990 arrivals) are more likely to leave Quebec. There are few discernable trends regarding income and outmigration.

Immigrants who are citizens of French-speaking countries are more likely to stay in Quebec. Across all cohorts, French, Haitian, Algerian, Romanian, Moroccan, and other French immigrants are all likely to stay in Quebec. Interestingly, immigrants who are citizens of English-speaking countries also post a high likelihood of staying in the province, although it appears only to be true if they are also able to speak French, as both English-speaking and Non-French/English speakers have a higher propensity to outmigrate when compared to reference group French speakers.

The trends for linguistic characteristics of the community diverge somewhat from those in the rest of Canada. Although English speakers tend to stay in the province when they live in an OLMC (as reflected in the English*OLMC interaction term), the overall effect of living in an OLMC for three of the four cohorts strongly favours outmigration. For the 1995 and 2000 cohort, and individual who lived in an OLMC in year $t-1$ is over 7 times more likely to leave the province; for the 2005 arrival cohort, they are more than 4 times as likely to leave Quebec.

Similar to the rest of Canada, Census Subdivisions with high homeownership rates and highly educated residents tend to keep immigrants,

Discussion and Conclusion

In this report we identify several individual and community-level characteristics of Anglophone and Francophone immigrant retention. We find that the propensity to migrate declines with age, and that married people are less likely to move, as are individuals with children.

Although not true for all cohorts, for most the propensity to move increased with levels of education, and decreased as earnings increased. Outmigration from Atlantic Canada was clearly

evident in the Canada minus Quebec models, and there were wide differences across countries of citizenship.

For Canada minus Quebec, excepting for the 1995 cohort, Francophones do not have migration patterns that are discernably different from Anglophones. Immigrants who speak neither English nor French are, for the most part, more likely to stay where they land. It is difficult to identify why this is the case without looking at the migration trends more directly, although one possibility is that they are less dispersed at the outset, and therefore do not have the same motivations to move as other immigrants. In Quebec, by contrast, there is a clear outmigration trend among Anglophones and non-English/French Speakers.

One of the clear findings in this report is the importance of several community characteristics. High homeownership CSDs have much higher retention rates, as do regions with high average education levels. Rural areas struggle more deeply with retention than urban areas. Findings for immigrant concentration are more mixed, with some cohorts moving away from immigrants, others having no effect, and others staying close to other immigrants.

Finally, and of central interest to this study, is the effect that living in an Official Language Minority Community on retention. We define an OLMC as a Census Subdivision where either 10% of the population or 1,000 people are able to speak English (Quebec) or French (Rest of Canada).

This is an admittedly broad definition, and was chosen to ensure that each province contains an OLMC. One result of this choice, however, is that nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of all CSDs in Quebec were OLMCs. Future research could look more closely at the effect that choice of definition for OLMC has for results. How robust are the patterns outlined in this report? Do OLMCs composed of immigrants have different retention characteristics than more established OLMCs?

Furthermore, there are measurement issues. Self-reported language ability is imprecise, especially at time of landing, and it is possible that immigrants that identify as fluent in English or French are not as fluent as they initially believed. This could bias the OLMC effect towards zero, as individuals leaving an OLMC are actually not fluent in English or French, and would therefore gain none of the benefits of being surrounded by English- or French-speakers.

Finally, it would be useful to assess the comparative impact of community characteristics, by comparing the effect that lingual characteristics have on retention versus other characteristics.

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