



Canadian
Heritage
Statistics
Canada

Patrimoine
canadien
Statistique
Canada

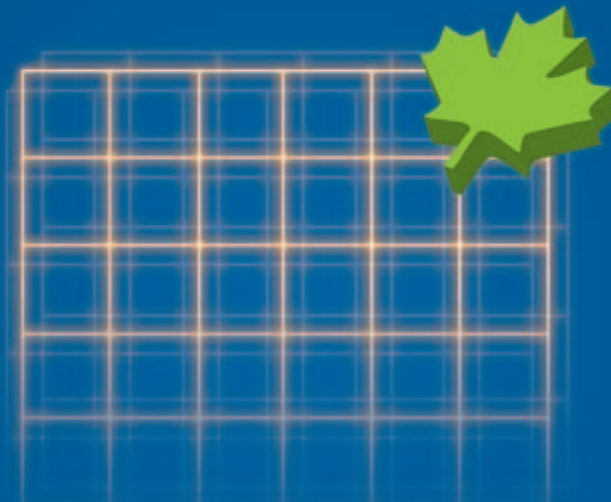
Canada



New Canadian Perspectives

Languages in Canada 2006 Census

Réjean Lachapelle and Jean-François Lepage



The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect federal government policy or opinion.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Languages in Canada: 2006 Census / Réjean Lachapelle and Jean-François Lepage.

(New Canadian Perspectives)

Also available on the Internet.

Text in English and French on inverted pages.

Co-published by: Statistics Canada.

ISBN 978-1-100-52492-4

Cat. no. CH3-2/8-2010

Canada – Languages – Statistics.

English language – Canada – Statistics.

French language – Canada – Statistics.

Linguistic minorities – Canada – Statistics.

Linguistic demography – Canada – Statistics.

I. Canada. Canadian Heritage

II. Statistics Canada

III. Title.

IV. Title: Langues au Canada : Recensement de 2006.

V. Series.

PREFACE

This is the fourth document in a series of studies on the evolution of Canada's linguistic situation published under the same title following the population censuses of 1991, 1996 and 2001. As with the previous publications, *Languages in Canada: 2006 Census*, is the product of a strong partnership developed over the years between the Department of Canadian Heritage's Official Languages Support Programs Branch and Statistics Canada.

This document is intended as an essential, unique reference tool for anyone who is interested in the languages and various linguistic groups that make up Canada. It presents the results of the Census on various language variables and analyzes the main factors and trends that influence the evolution of Canada's linguistic composition.

The growth of Canada's immigrant population is one of these factors that has a major impact on our linguistic landscape. With 250,000 newcomers to Canada every year, immigration is the primary driving force increasing the Canadian population. In fact, the most recent quarterly estimates released by Statistics Canada show that over two thirds of population growth is due to net international migration. According to the 2006 Census, between 2001 and 2006, Canada's foreign-born population—almost 6.2 million people—grew four times faster than the Canadian-born population.

Canada's foreign-born population is very diverse in terms of language. In 2006, 71% of immigrants reported having a mother tongue other than English or French. This figure rose to 80% among immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006. Given that almost 150 different mother tongues were reported by immigrants on the 2006 Census, it is clear that this group contributes significantly to Canada's linguistic diversity and that it has a substantial impact on the evolution of Canada's various linguistic groups. The report also shows the high propensity among immigrants residing outside Quebec to adopt English as their first—and often only—official language.

Besides international immigration, the report illustrates how an aging population, a fertility rate below the replacement level, whether the mother tongue is passed on from parents to children, the increase of marriages between spouses with different mother tongues (exogamy) and interprovincial migration are all factors that play an important role in shaping the linguistic characteristics and behaviours of Canadians.

Although data on the mother tongue of Canadians gives us information about Canada's linguistic diversity and language learning in early childhood, the information in this document on the languages used at home, language of work and knowledge of official and non-official languages shows how the home, work and school environments have a strong influence on the linguistic practices and knowledge of the various groups that comprise the Canadian population.

Analysis of these demographic factors and the use of official languages in society is particularly important to understanding the situation of official-language minority communities in Quebec and within each of the other provinces and territories. These communities face unique challenges and realities, which need to be considered in order to better understand how the dynamic relationship between English and French is evolving within Canadian society.

The information and analyses presented in this document encourage us to continue to reflect on how to protect Canada's French heritage and to ensure the vitality of Canada's official language communities. This document is undeniably one of the most useful tools that can contribute to informed discussion on this issue.

Hubert Lussier,

Director General, Official Languages Support Programs

Department of Canadian Heritage

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	1
INTRODUCTION	2
CHAPTER 1 – MOTHER TONGUE	6
<i>Definition and uses</i>	6
<i>Geographic distribution</i>	8
<i>Geographic concentration and contact between language groups</i>	18
<i>Evolution of language composition</i>	22
<i>Overview</i>	26
CHAPTER 2 – KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES	27
<i>Knowledge of official languages</i>	28
<i>Knowledge of “other” languages</i>	43
<i>Overview</i>	46
CHAPTER 3 – LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME	47
<i>Language spoken most often in Canadian homes</i>	48
<i>Language spoken at home at least on a regular basis</i>	54
<i>Language use according to mother tongue</i>	60
<i>Several languages spoken at home</i>	62
<i>Overview</i>	63
CHAPTER 4 – LANGUAGES USED AT WORK	65
<i>Language used at work</i>	66
<i>Language use at work according to mother tongue</i>	71
<i>Use of English and French in high contact areas</i>	76
<i>Overview</i>	80
CHAPTER 5 – LINGUISTIC REPRODUCTION	81
<i>Fertility</i>	81
<i>Transmission of mother tongue</i>	86
<i>Linguistic reproduction</i>	93
<i>Age distribution</i>	95
<i>Overview</i>	101

CHAPTER 6 – INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION	102
<i>Anglophones migrants</i>	<i>105</i>
<i>Francophone migrants</i>	<i>111</i>
<i>Migrants with a non-official language as mother tongue</i>	<i>118</i>
<i>Overview</i>	<i>122</i>
CHAPTER 7 – IMMIGRATION AND LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS.....	123
<i>Immigration and evolution of language groups</i>	<i>123</i>
<i>Knowledge of official languages.....</i>	<i>129</i>
<i>Language use</i>	<i>131</i>
<i>Language transfer.....</i>	<i>136</i>
<i>Overview.....</i>	<i>142</i>
CHAPTER 8 – OFFICIAL-LANGUAGE MAJORITIES AND MINORITIES: AN OVERVIEW	144
<i>Definitions and use.....</i>	<i>144</i>
<i>Mother tongue and first official language spoken (Method I)</i>	<i>149</i>
<i>Geographic distribution.....</i>	<i>151</i>
<i>Evolution.....</i>	<i>159</i>
<i>Age distribution</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>Overview.....</i>	<i>169</i>
CONCLUSION	171
APPENDIX – DATA QUALITY.....	174
<i>Language questions</i>	<i>175</i>
<i>Quality of responses.....</i>	<i>178</i>
<i>Coverage errors.....</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>180</i>
APPENDIX OF TABLES.....	181
BIBLIOGRAPHY	197

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This monograph was made possible with help and financial support from Canadian Heritage's Official Languages Secretariat and Official Languages Support Program. The authors would especially like to thank Jean-Pierre Corbeil, Chief of Statistics Canada's Language Statistics Section, who supervised the work and provided comments and suggestions on previous versions of this document. Sincere thanks also go to Julie Bertrand and Daniel Pereira of the Language Statistics Section, Social and Aboriginal Statistics Division, for their unwavering technical support and outstanding professionalism in developing the tables, graphs and maps for this monograph.

INTRODUCTION

A few years after the country's Constitution was adopted in 1867, the 1871 Census revealed the ethnic duality of the population, with 61% of British origin and 31% of French origin. In the 1901 Census, the relative proportion of individuals of British origin had decreased slightly to 57%, but the number of persons of French origin remained at 31%, despite the country's expansion well beyond the four provinces which were counted 30 years earlier.¹ In the preceding decades, Canada had experienced significant negative net migrations, as many people moved to the United States. This trend continued in the decades that followed, but was offset by strong international immigration. Following the Second World War, a few years after Newfoundland joined Canada, the 1951 Census showed that 31% of Canada's population still reported being of French origin, while only 48% of Canadians reported being of British origin. The stability in the proportion of individuals of French origin was due to their high fertility rate; the decrease in the relative proportion of persons of British origin stemmed from the significant role that international immigration played in demographic growth during the years before and after the First World War. Respondents who stated that they were of Aboriginal origin accounted for approximately 1% of the population. "Other" ethnic origins together represented 20% of the population in 1951, compared to 10% in 1901 and 8% in 1871. This broad subpopulation has continued to grow, even though it is increasingly difficult to compare ethnic statistics with previous data since self-enumeration became the primary method of data collection with the 1971 Census, among other reasons.

While ethnic duality dwindled in the 20th century, linguistic duality has persisted. In the 1951 Census, 29% of the population reported French as their mother tongue, 59% reported English and 12% reported "other" mother tongues. Only 1% of the population could speak neither English nor French. English played a dominant role in the public sphere because 79% of the population could speak it, which is significantly higher than the proportion of the population who reported it as their mother tongue. French was spoken by 32% of the population, which is slightly higher than the proportion of persons who reported French as their mother

¹ New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Quebec.

tongue. The total exceeds 100% because, according to the 1951 Census, 12% of the population could speak English and French.

Recent censuses identify more than one hundred languages, which can be grouped into three major categories: first, Aboriginal languages—these originated in North America and existed prior to the arrival of the Europeans;² second, English and French—languages of the colonizers who established and developed the country's institutions and, therefore, have official language status at the federal level and in New Brunswick; and third, other non-Aboriginal or non-official languages—these many and varied languages are spoken mainly by the immigrant population, sometimes by Canadian-born persons with one immigrant parent, rarely by third- or later-generation Canadians. Non-official or other languages sometimes include Aboriginal languages.³ The “allophone” population, a term used mostly in French and derived from the Greek word for “other languages”, refers to people with a mother tongue or language spoken most often at home other than English or French. The term usually includes Aboriginal languages, especially when their speakers represent a small proportion of the total allophone population. To avoid undue rigidity, the context clarifies the definition.

These distinctions help define the primary language groups and official-language minorities in Canada. For example, French, which is the mother tongue of 7 million Canadians or 22% of the population, is a minority language in the country as a whole as well as in all provinces and territories except Quebec. English, however, is a minority language only in Quebec, where it is the mother tongue of 700,000 inhabitants, or 8% of Quebec's population (80% of this province's population declare French as their mother tongue). As far as Aboriginal languages are concerned, Inuktitut is the majority language in Nunavut,⁴ a large northern territory with 30,000 inhabitants, where it is the mother tongue of seven out of ten residents according to the 2006 Census.

Language subpopulations, groups or communities are usually defined by mother tongue, although it is also possible to define them by the language spoken most often at home (or language used at home). It is easier to analyze demolinguistic dynamics on the basis of mother tongue, because censuses make it possible to not only measure fertility, internal migration and immigration by mother tongue, but also to directly estimate intergenerational linguistic mobility, i.e. whether or

² Michif is an exception. This language is derived from a mixture of French and Cree, and is still spoken, particularly by some Métis.

³ In the *Heritage Languages Institute Act* passed in 1991 by the Parliament of Canada (but never came into force), heritage languages refer to “languages other than Canada's official languages.” The expression “ancestral languages” is also used. All these expressions exclude, in certain contexts, Aboriginal languages.

⁴ Inuktitut is an Aboriginal language concentrated in Inuit Nunangat—the Inuit homeland—, that is to say Nunavut, a territory officially incorporated in 1999 where most of its speakers live, as well as in Northern Labrador (Nunatsiavut), Quebec (Nunavik), and the Northwest Territories (Inuvialuit region).

not a mother's (or father's) mother tongue is transmitted to the children.⁵ In order to estimate all factors likely to account for demolinguiistic dynamics from one census to the next, the phenomena not directly measured by censuses would have to be evaluated. Namely international emigration, mortality and, of course, linguistic mobility during the intercensal period if the evolution in the language spoken at home is of interest.⁶

The primary purpose of this document is to present basic statistics on the country's demolinguiistic situation using the information available from Canadian censuses since 1951. The first part focuses on general trends that emerge from a summary examination of the statistics taken from census questions concerning mother tongue, knowledge of languages, and language(s) spoken or used at home and at work. Several of these were added in recent censuses. The results are discussed in turn in four separate chapters, which provide an introduction to the primary uses of each language variable in the census. Each chapter first defines the language characteristic(s) considered. This is followed by a general presentation of the geographic distribution and concentrations of each language group; the subject is mainly addressed in the first chapter, which is devoted to mother tongue. Then, for each variable observed, developments that enhance the description or provide factors for analyzing the demolinguiistic situation are discussed.

Demolinguiistic dynamics and the factors that account for them are the main focus of the second part. These are the same factors that explain general demographic change: mortality, fertility, internal migration and international migration. However, a new phenomenon specific to the study of demolinguiistic evolution has been added: linguistic mobility. Fertility and linguistic mobility are addressed in the first chapter, which focuses more generally on linguistic reproduction. Two other chapters are devoted respectively to internal migration, which is basically interprovincial migration, and to international immigration. Each chapter discusses the role that the specific factor plays in demolinguiistic dynamics, among other things.

The third part deals with official language majorities and minorities. This single chapter discusses the many ways to estimate the Francophone or Francophile subpopulation and the Anglophone or Anglophile subpopulation. It not only refers

⁵ An analysis of demolinguiistic dynamics based on language spoken at home is more complex, mainly because censuses do not directly estimate intragenerational linguistic mobility, or the transfer of language spoken at home to another (or its persistence) for a set time period, for example five years. All we have is an estimate of intragenerational mobility (life span) by cross-referencing mother tongue and language spoken at home. The length of exposure to the risk of linguistic mobility varies from one person to the next and depends on age as well as the situation in which the person has spent the different stages of his or her life cycle.

⁶ Differences in mortality have very little, even negligible effects except for Aboriginal language groups. With regard to other phenomena that are not directly measured, the only possible estimates are based on the residual method, which mainly implies that census data is completely or mostly comparable from one census to the next, which is very rarely the case. Because estimates obtained this way are imperfect, these processes are usually only conducted for demographic projections. It is not the purpose of this document to make such projections.

to the variables discussed in turn in the first part, but also to one variable, first official language spoken, which combines information obtained from the responses to several questions in the censuses. Using all of these variables, the evolution of the linguistic situation can be examined from different aspects. Two variables are the subject of a more thorough comparison: mother tongue and first official language spoken. Both have been or are used in the implementation of language policies.

There are abundant possibilities for analyzing the language data from the census and this document by no means exhausts them all. It simply provides the reader, whether a specialist or not, with a general statistical profile of Canada's demolingistic dynamics that is accurate, relevant and accessible. Moreover, the data tables in the appendix serve to support and supplement the analyses proposed in the eight chapters that comprise this document.

CHAPTER 1

MOTHER TONGUE

Canada's ethno-linguistic situation was traditionally described using statistics related to ethnic origin and mother tongue. Since the 1970s, interest has shifted and attention is focused on the situation of language and language groups. In this regard, mother tongue plays an important role, as do other linguistic characteristics that will be discussed in later chapters.

Definition and uses

A person's mother tongue refers to the first language learned or spoken in early childhood within his or her family; it may also correspond to the language spoken most often at home until the age of five. This data is usually a factor in personal or family identity and, by extension, cultural identity. When the parents speak only one language at home, transmission of this language to the child is inevitable. The same cannot be said if two or more languages are spoken in the family: one language may be learned first, then another language may take over and be spoken much more often in later childhood; two languages may also be learned simultaneously and then both may be spoken frequently or one may dominate. In addition, a young child may attend a daycare centre where the prevailing language is not the language spoken at home. What is the mother tongue in these complex situations? Are there two or, if there is only one, which is it? The parents' response is likely to vary based on the child's age and, once an adult, the child might sometimes respond differently. As a retrospective concept, the reported mother tongue depends on the recollection of past situations that occurred in early childhood and on a person's portrayal of them. When language practices are well-entrenched before the age of five or six, there should obviously be very little subsequent variation in the answers.

In recent censuses, the question refers to the "language that this person first learned at home in childhood and still understands." The condition "still understands" is unique to Canada. This or a similar condition has always been part of the question on mother tongue. The origin of this peculiarity is unknown, but there is a legal basis for keeping it in recent censuses. The question on mother tongue

appeared for the first time in the 1901 Census and was subject to the condition “if spoken”; the same condition was kept in the 1921 and 1931 censuses. A new condition, “still understood,” appeared in the 1941 Census and remained until the 1961 Census.⁷ It has been subsequently maintained because the censal definition was explicitly mentioned in the *Official Languages Act* of 1969, and then in section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* adopted in 1982, a section on minority-language educational rights.⁸

In censuses elsewhere in the world that contain at least one language question, the question on mother tongue is the most popular. However, it is not defined in the same way everywhere. Some mean “first language” not in the sense of “first in childhood” but in the sense of “current dominant language,” in Switzerland and Bulgaria for example, and refer to the language spoken best and in which the respondent thinks (in Switzerland) or generally uses at home (in Bulgaria). This definition is close to the question on language spoken most often at home, a question included in Canadian censuses since 1971. On the other hand, in the 1970 United States Census, mother tongue referred to a language other than English spoken at home in the respondent’s early childhood. The respondent may never have spoken or learned this language him or herself.

The size of a minority language group subject to linguistic mobility from one generation to the next will be greater if we use statistics on mother tongue rather than those on language used predominantly at home. Only the second variable refers to current behaviour. The first corresponds instead to close linguistic origin, with mother tongue referring to the respondent’s practices during early childhood rather than current practices.

Mother tongue has been used for many purposes. The simplest is using it as a classification variable to identify differences between language groups in terms of their socio-demographic, ethno-cultural, health or economic conditions. For example, we will compare the proportion of the adult population with a university degree according to mother tongue.

The population can be classified into language groups based on mother tongue. These constitute subpopulations whose evolution is subject to the same processes as regional populations. This means that each language group in a specific geographic entity (province or region) grows as a result of its members’ fertility and international and internal immigration. It declines as a result of mortality and international and internal emigration. Another factor affecting language groups is intergenerational linguistic mobility, or the transmission (or not) of the

⁷ Mother tongue was mainly cross-referenced with ethnic origin until the 1961 Census. If the mother tongue that corresponded to a given origin had not been spoken or even understood, “linguistic assimilation” would have been underestimated because those who did not speak or, from 1941, did not understand their mother tongue would not have been counted among “assimilated” persons.

⁸ There is specific mention of children of “citizens of Canada whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside” as having this right.

mother's mother tongue⁹ to her children. If the mother transmits a mother tongue that is not her own because she speaks that other language predominantly at home, the child will contribute to a decline in the mother's heritage language group (this is a form of language transfer) and an increase in the destination language group. Mothers in other language groups are also subject to the same process. Overall, some groups will win in these intergenerational exchanges and others will lose. The linguistic reproduction of each group can be estimated by combining fertility with intergenerational mobility. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Geographic distribution

Language groups are not distributed in the same way over an area due to the varied history of how Canada was populated. Before discussing the geographic distribution of the major language groups, specifically Francophones¹⁰ and Anglophones, we should examine population distribution based on mother tongue in the last census, which identifies more than a hundred different languages. To simplify matters, populations whose mother tongue is neither English nor French will be grouped in a residual category labelled "other."¹¹

Although the question on mother tongue is asked in the singular, some respondents nonetheless report more than one language. They appear in one of the four categories of multiple responses in Table 1.1.¹² In total, 393,000 respondents, or 1.3% of the population, responded in this way. Although few in number, multiple responses complicate the population estimate for each language group. Should we only consider single responses and ignore multiple ones on the ground that they are not valid because the question was asked in the singular? This would mean, by default, a minimum estimate for each language group; in addition, the total of all groups would be lower than the total population because some respondents would be excluded from the calculation. Should we instead count them several

⁹ Because women's fertility is always better known than men's, demographers usually give priority to women when studying linguistic reproduction, without disregarding the father's contribution, as his mother tongue plays an important role in the transmission (or not) of the mother's mother tongue to the children.

¹⁰ These are individuals whose mother tongue is French. Of course, the Francophone population can be defined in several other ways depending on the requirements of the study or the needs of the users. The same applies to the Anglophone population. This subject will again be addressed in Chapter 8, which deals with official-language majorities and minorities.

¹¹ This very diverse subpopulation will sometimes be called "allophone." This term is also used, especially in Quebec, to refer to people whose language spoken most often at home is neither English nor French.

¹² The data is taken from the long-form questionnaire distributed to one in five households (the figures are obviously adjusted and correspond to the environment from which the sample is taken). This questionnaire contains several questions on language characteristics, one of which concerns mother tongue. Four out of five households answered a short form that contains far fewer questions; only one question concerns language characteristics, focusing on mother tongue. Data on mother tongue taken from the short forms is of lower quality and presents a much higher proportion of multiple responses than that taken from long-form questionnaires. Except in specific circumstances, analysts prefer to use statistics taken from the long-form questionnaires, which allow them to compare data on mother tongue with data on other language characteristics.

times, adding them to each reported mother tongue? This would produce a maximum or overestimate for each group, and this time, the total of all groups would be higher than the total population, because respondents reporting more than one language would be counted several times. If we hope to take multiple responses into account and have the total of all language groups correspond to the total population, two options are possible: either keep the multiple response categories and treat them as separate language groups, or distribute the multiple responses among the reported languages. The first option has the disadvantage of adding small vague groups for which estimates can vary from one census to the next due to reporting fluctuations which are not linked to demographic factors that determine the evolution of language groups. That leaves the second option, but how do we estimate the distribution of each multiple response category among the reported languages? One very simple method is often and will subsequently be used: it consists of distributing each multiple response category equally among the reported languages. The resulting language group estimate is robust when the multiple responses represent a small proportion of the population.¹³

Table 1.1
Population according to mother tongue, Canada, 2006

Mother Tongue	Census Data	Estimates		
		Minimum	Maximum	Based on equal distribution of multiples
	Number in thousands			
English	17,883	17,883	18,232	18,056
French	6,818	6,818	6,970	6,892
Other	6,148	6,148	6,442	6,293
English and French	99	...	...	...
English and other	240	...	...	...
French and other	43	...	...	...
English, French and other	11	...	...	...
Total	31,241	30,848	31,645	31,241

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Individuals with English as their mother tongue represented 58% of Canada's population in 2006. If the proportion is higher than the national average in a region, the proportion of this region's Anglophones in the country's entire Anglophone population will exceed the proportion of the regional population in the national population (Table 1.2). This is found to be the case in all provinces and territories except Quebec and Nunavut. In Quebec, where there is a strong Francophone majority

¹³ Since the 1991 Census, the proportion of multiple responses scarcely exceeds 1%. However, it was higher in the 1981 Census and particularly in the 1986 Census. Choosing a distribution method for multiple responses in these censuses has been the subject of thorough analysis using other data sources (Lachapelle, 1991).

(80%), individuals with English as their mother tongue represent only 8% of the population. In Nunavut, the predominant language is Inuktitut (70%); people with English as their mother tongue make up 27% of the population there.

Respondents with French as their mother tongue represent a percentage higher than the national average (22%) in only two provinces, Quebec (80%) and New Brunswick (33%). In the other provinces and territories, the proportion of Francophones is always less than 5%, although there are twice as many Francophones in Ontario than New Brunswick. The absolute majority of Francophones in Canada live in Quebec (86%).

Table 1.2
Population according to mother tongue,
Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	Mother Tongue					
	Total	English	French	Others		
				Total	Aboriginal languages	Non-Aboriginal languages
Number in thousands						
Newfoundland and Labrador	500.6	488.8	2.1	9.8	2.2	7.3
Prince Edward Island	134.2	125.6	5.6	3.0	0.1	2.9
Nova Scotia	903.1	833.9	33.7	35.5	4.2	30.5
New Brunswick	719.7	465.7	235.3	18.7	3.1	15.3
Quebec	7,435.9	607.2	5,916.8	911.9	40.2	846.1
Ontario	12,028.9	8,313.9	510.2	3,204.8	23.3	3,110.8
Manitoba	1,133.5	845.6	45.5	242.4	35.7	200.6
Saskatchewan	953.8	815.4	16.8	121.7	34.1	84.3
Alberta	3,256.4	2,593.4	64.7	598.2	27.0	556.5
British Columbia	4,074.4	2,900.9	58.9	1,114.6	13.1	1,078.5
Yukon	30.2	25.8	1.2	3.3	0.9	2.3
Northwest Territories	41.1	31.7	1.0	8.3	5.7	2.4
Nunavut	29.3	7.9	0.4	21.0	20.5	0.4
Canada minus Quebec	23,805.1	17,448.5	975.4	5,381.2	169.9	5,091.7
Canada	31,241.0	18,055.7	6,892.2	6,293.1	210.1	5,937.8

Table 1.2 (cont'd)
Population according to mother tongue,
Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	Mother Tongue					
	Total	English	French	Others		
				Total	Aboriginal languages	Non-Aboriginal languages
	Distribution in %					
Newfoundland and Labrador	1.6	2.7	0.0	0.2	1.1	0.1
Prince Edward Island	0.4	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Nova Scotia	2.9	4.6	0.5	0.6	2.0	0.5
New Brunswick	2.3	2.6	3.4	0.3	1.5	0.3
Quebec	23.8	3.4	85.8	14.5	19.1	14.2
Ontario	38.5	46.0	7.4	50.9	11.1	52.4
Manitoba	3.6	4.7	0.7	3.9	17.0	3.4
Saskatchewan	3.1	4.5	0.2	1.9	16.3	1.4
Alberta	10.4	14.4	0.9	9.5	12.8	9.4
British Columbia	13.0	16.1	0.9	17.7	6.2	18.2
Yukon	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0
Northwest Territories	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	2.7	0.0
Nunavut	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	9.8	0.0
Canada minus Quebec	76.2	96.6	14.2	85.5	80.9	85.8
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 1.2 (cont'd)
Population according to mother tongue,
Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	Mother Tongue					
	Total	English	French	Others		
				Total	Aboriginal languages	Non-Aboriginal languages
	Composition in %					
Newfoundland and Labrador	100.0	97.6	0.4	2.0	0.4	1.5
Prince Edward Island	100.0	93.6	4.2	2.3	0.1	2.1
Nova Scotia	100.0	92.3	3.7	3.9	0.5	3.4
New Brunswick	100.0	64.7	32.7	2.6	0.4	2.1
Quebec	100.0	8.2	79.6	12.3	0.5	11.4
Ontario	100.0	69.1	4.2	26.6	0.2	25.9
Manitoba	100.0	74.6	4.0	21.4	3.2	17.7
Saskatchewan	100.0	85.5	1.8	12.8	3.6	8.8
Alberta	100.0	79.6	2.0	18.4	0.8	17.1
British Columbia	100.0	71.2	1.4	27.4	0.3	26.5
Yukon	100.0	85.4	3.9	10.8	2.9	7.6
Northwest Territories	100.0	77.3	2.4	20.3	13.9	5.9
Nunavut	100.0	27.0	1.3	71.7	70.0	1.2
Canada minus Quebec	100.0	73.3	4.1	22.6	0.7	21.4
Canada	100.0	57.8	22.1	20.1	0.7	19.0

Note: The statistics in the last two columns refer to single responses. This is why their totals are slightly lower than the figures in the preceding columns.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In New Brunswick and Ontario, Francophones are concentrated mainly in the regions close to Quebec. In Quebec, there is a higher proportion of individuals with English as their mother tongue in regions bordering these provinces or the United States (maps 1.1 and 1.2¹⁴). Almost all the census divisions¹⁵ (CD) where Francophones represent 85% or more of the population are found in Quebec. The one exception is the division of Madawaska (93% Francophone) in New Brunswick, adjoining the Quebec border. Nearly six out of ten (56%) Francophones in Canada live in all of these census divisions. This vast region is mainly located on both banks of the St. Lawrence, formerly home to French colonizers in the 17th and 18th centuries. Close to one in seven (13%) Canadians lives in this region, which had a population of 4.1 million in 2006. Francophones in this region account for 3.9 million inhabitants,¹⁶ or 95% of the population.

This mainly Francophone region is surrounded by a bilingual belt¹⁷ that separates it from the country's mainly Anglophone regions. In Quebec, several divisions in the Greater Montreal Area have a proportion of Francophones below 85%: Roussillon (83%), Argenteuil (80%), Longueuil (77%), Brome-Missisquoi (75%), Vaudreuil-Soulanges (72%), Upper St. Lawrence (68%), Laval (67%) and Montreal (Island) (50%). In the most populated divisions, the relative proportion of "other" mother tongues (or allophones) distinctly exceeds the percentage of those whose mother tongue is English: 15% compared to 9% in Longueuil, 25% compared to 8% in Laval and 33% compared to 18% in Montreal (Island). Outside of Montreal (Island) (49.8%), the proportion of Francophones is below 50% in Mingamie-Basse-Côte-Nord (49%), where English accounts for 30% and non-official languages (essentially Aboriginal) for 21%, in Pontiac (41%), a division neighbouring Ontario and located in the Outaouais where Anglophones represent 57% of the population, and in Northern Quebec (39%) where Aboriginal languages are the majority. Other census divisions have a proportion of Anglophones higher than 10% in Western Quebec (especially in the Outaouais), in Estrie, near the United States border south of Montreal, and in the Gaspé near the New Brunswick border.

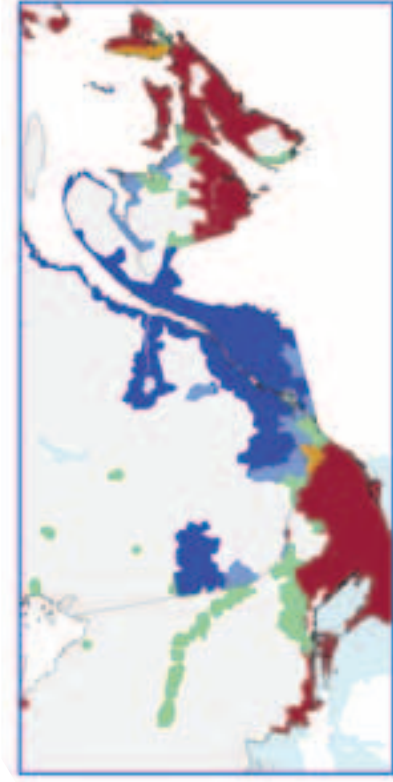
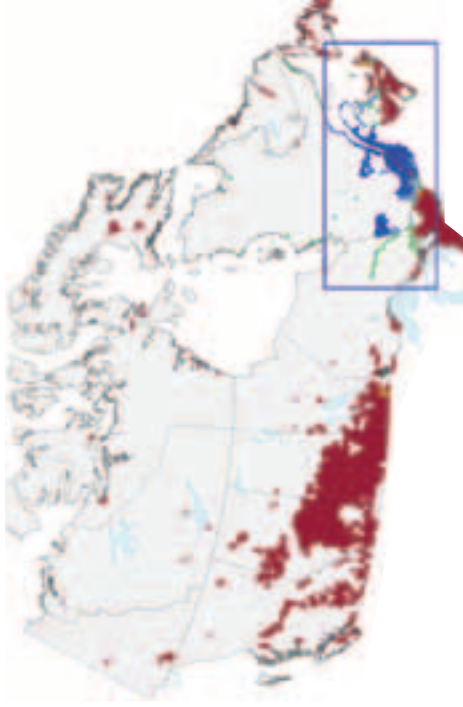
¹⁴ The colour of the statistical class to which a census division (CD) belongs is not projected on its entire area, but only on its oecumene or inhabited area. This prevents a visual overestimation of the true size of the CDs where a large part of the area is uninhabited.

¹⁵ There are 288 CDs in the 2006 Census, of which 98 are in Quebec, 49 in Ontario and 15 in New Brunswick. A CD is a group of neighbouring municipalities that are joined together for regional planning and service management purposes. CDs are created in accordance with laws in effect in certain provinces. In other jurisdictions, Statistics Canada defines equivalent regions for statistical purposes in cooperation with the provinces and territories concerned.

¹⁶ This number is distinctly higher than the combined population of the three territories, the four Atlantic provinces and Manitoba.

¹⁷ The term "bilingual belt" was created by Richard Joy (1967).

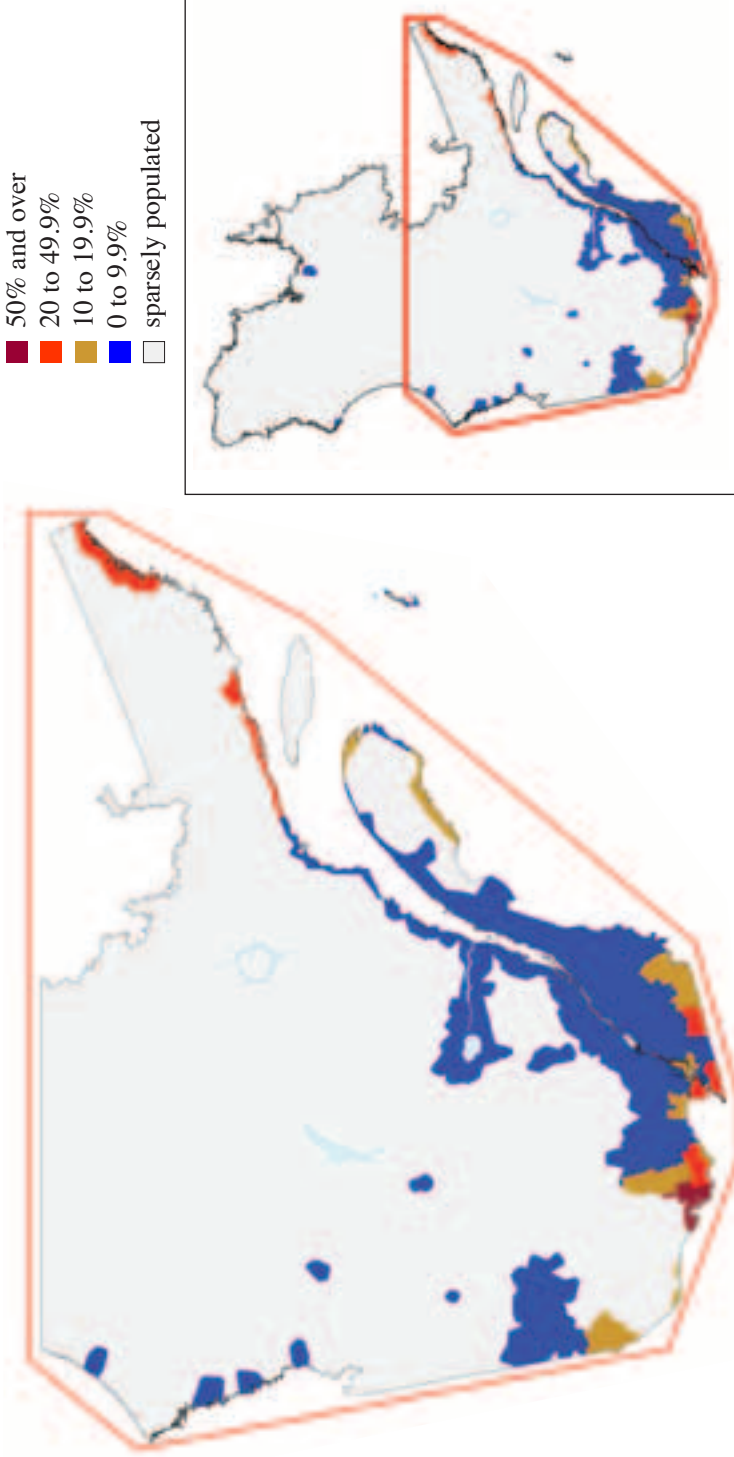
**Map 1.1
Canada
Percentage of Francophones* by Census Divisions (CD), 2006**



*Francophones: French mother tongue population (multiple responses equally redistributed).

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of population

Map 1.2
Quebec
Percentage of Anglophones* by Census Divisions (CD), 2006



* Anglophones: English mother tongue population (multiple responses equally redistributed).

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of population

The divisions located in the northern and eastern regions of New Brunswick have a high proportion of Francophones. Outside of Madawaska, they are the majority in Gloucester (84%), Kent (73%) and Restigouche (64%); they also represent a significant proportion in Victoria (43%), Wesmorland (43%) and Northumberland (27%). The proportion of Francophones in all the divisions in the south of the province is below 10%.

In Ontario, only one census division has a Francophone majority: Prescott-Russell (67%), a division that borders Quebec in Southeastern Ontario where Anglophones represent 30% of the population. Two other divisions are more than 10% Francophone in the same region: Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry (23%) and Ottawa (15%). Several divisions in the northeastern region of the province are more than 10% Francophone: Cochrane (47%), Greater Sudbury (28%), Sudbury (28%), Nipissing (25%) and Temiskaming (25%). All the other census divisions in Ontario are less than 10% Francophone.

In Nova Scotia, four census divisions are more than 10% Francophone: Digby (33%) and Yarmouth (22%) in the southwest, Richmond (24%) and Inverness (15%) in the northeast. Elsewhere in the country, there is only one division where Francophones represent over 10%, Division No. 2 (14%) southeast of Winnipeg (Manitoba).

Aboriginal mother tongues are reported by a small proportion (less than 1%) of the national population. They represent more than the national average in two provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and in the three territories, particularly in Nunavut. The Aboriginal language group is concentrated in regions far from major urban areas (Table 1.3), especially in areas with little metropolitan influence (42%), in areas with no metropolitan influence (21%) and in the territories (12%). Only 8% of the Aboriginal mother tongue population lives in a census metropolitan area (CMA), compared to 61% of Francophones and 64% of Anglophones. In the five provinces where the Aboriginal language group is largest, that is Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 70% to 80% of these individuals live in areas with little or no metropolitan influence.

Table 1.3

Distribution of population according to Metropolitan Area Influenced Zone for different mother tongues, Canada, 2006

Metropolitan Area Influenced Zone	Mother Tongue					
	Total	English	French	Others		
				Total	Aboriginal languages	Non-Aboriginal languages
	Percentage					
CMA	68.1	64.2	60.9	87.1	7.9	89.9
CA	13.0	15.2	14.8	4.6	10.7	4.4
Strong	4.3	4.5	6.5	1.2	0.5	1.3
Moderate	7.0	7.1	11.2	2.1	5.3	2.0
Weak	6.5	7.7	5.9	3.6	42.3	2.2
No influence	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.9	20.9	0.2
Territories	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.4	12.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The concept of Metropolitan Area Influenced Zone is presented in the box.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Metropolitan influenced zone

The metropolitan or urban influence is strongest in census metropolitan areas (CMA) and in census agglomerations (CA). In both cases, this is an area consisting of a municipality or several neighbouring municipalities located within or around a major urban centre. A CMA must have a population of at least 100,000 inhabitants and the urban centre must have at least 50,000 inhabitants. A CA must have an urban centre of at least 10,000 inhabitants. The metropolitan influenced zone (MIZ) is strong if at least 30% of the residents who are part of the municipality’s employed labour force commute to work in a CMA or CA. The MIZ is moderate if the percentage is at least 5% but less than 30%; the MIZ is weak if the percentage is less than 5%. There is “no influence” if fewer than 40 residents who are part of the municipality’s employed labour force commute to work in a CMA or CA. Finally, the “Territories” category corresponds to territory inhabitants who live outside the CA of Whitehorse and Yellowknife.

All other non-Aboriginal languages account for 19% of the country’s population. The majority of respondents who report them were foreign-born (76%), which is obviously not the case for Aboriginal languages (less than 1%), Francophones (3%) or Anglophones (9%). The language group that includes all mother tongues other than French, English and Aboriginal languages is obviously

very heterogeneous, as it includes over a hundred languages. It is concentrated mainly in Ontario (52%), British Columbia (18%) and Quebec (14%), although only the first two provinces have a proportion higher than the national average, that is, 26.5% in British Columbia and 25.9% in Ontario. More than nine out of ten individuals who reported these mother tongues live in major urban areas, mainly in the CMAs (90%¹⁸) and much fewer in census agglomerations (CAs) (4%).

Geographic concentration and contact between language groups

The geographic concentration of language groups affects their members' opportunities for contact in daily life. The census does not provide data on actual contacts between members of different language groups. However, the language characteristics of geographic areas provide indications of the composition by mother tongue of individuals with whom members of one language group could have contact, in short, the composition by mother tongue of their potential contacts. This will influence perceptions of linguistic reality.

If we look at all of Canada, the composition by mother tongue of Canadians' potential contacts, all mother tongues combined, corresponds to the observed distribution, that is 58% English mother tongue, 22% French mother tongue and 20% neither one nor the other. But this is hypothetical for most of the country's inhabitants because very few of them live in geographical areas with this linguistic composition. For example, we have seen that nearly six out of ten Francophones live in census divisions where, on average, 95% of the population has French as the mother tongue. For this reason, Francophones have contact potential with persons whose mother tongue is, on average, different from the contacts of Anglophones.

The distribution of each language group by census division is extremely variable. A much larger proportion of Francophones live in census divisions where they comprise a high proportion of the population. The same applies to Anglophones. It follows that, at the census division level, Francophones will have opportunities for contact with a population that on average has a composition by mother tongue quite different from the contacts of Anglophones or allophones (Table 1.4).¹⁹

¹⁸ Of which 13% are in Montreal, 36% in Toronto and 14% in Vancouver.

¹⁹ The calculation of the different average compositions, for Canada, is based on the distribution according to mother tongue observed in each of the 288 census divisions (CD). Each average composition uses a different weighting for the CDs. For example, for Francophones, it involves combining the distribution by mother tongue in each CD, each one weighted by the proportion of Canadian Francophones who live there. The same calculation can be performed for Quebec or, more generally, for any CD group. See Lachapelle (1985) for further details.

Table 1.4

Composition according to mother tongue of potential contacts, at the Census Division level, for major linguistic groups, 2006

Linguistic Group	Mother Tongue			
	English	French	Others	Total
	percentage			
Canada				
Anglophone	74.7	5.4	19.9	100.0
Francophone	14.1	76.2	9.7	100.0
Allophone	57.1	10.6	32.3	100.0
All	57.8	22.1	20.1	100.0
Quebec				
Anglophone	15.2	63.9	20.9	100.0
Francophone	6.6	84.3	9.1	100.0
Allophone	13.9	59.1	26.9	100.0
All	8.2	79.6	12.3	100.0
Canada minus Quebec				
Anglophone	76.8	3.4	19.9	100.0
Francophone	60.2	26.8	13.0	100.0
Allophone	64.4	2.4	33.3	100.0
All	73.3	4.1	22.6	100.0
New Brunswick				
Anglophone	79.2	18.0	2.8	100.0
Francophone	35.7	62.2	2.1	100.0
Allophone	70.3	26.4	3.3	100.0
All	64.7	32.7	2.6	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

At the national level, the vast majority of Francophones and Anglophones live in geographic areas where they are a majority. It follows that Francophones live, on average, in census divisions where 76% of people have French as their mother tongue, 14% have English as their mother tongue and 10% have neither. Anglophones live in census divisions where Francophones only represent, on average, 5% of the population; persons with an “other” mother tongue comprise a much higher percentage (20%). With regard to allophones, the composition by mother tongue of their potential contacts, still at the census division level, differs less from the observed reality in the country as a whole than the language composition of the potential contacts of Anglophones. The language composition of the potential contacts of Francophones differs most from that of allophones’ potential contacts.

Although Francophones are a minority nationally, they live in geographic areas where, on average, they are distinctly the majority. A similar reversal can also be seen in New Brunswick. There, Francophones actually represent 33% of the population, but, due to their strong concentration in the province's north and east, they live in census divisions where, on average, they comprise 62% of the population. Such a reversal is not seen in any other province.

The results obtained are robust. Of course, adopting a different geographic breakdown would lead to slightly different estimates. However, replacing census divisions with federal electoral districts would have resulted in very little difference in the estimates. A more rigorous test was implemented, and involved replacing the 288 CDs with the several thousand census subdivisions (municipalities): the new estimates differed very little from those based on the CDs. Knowing that each CD is composed of one or several census subdivisions (CSD) and that language groups are not uniformly distributed within those CDs, the relative proportion of the mother tongue corresponding to the reference group is still slightly higher in the new estimates. However, this in no way changes the conclusions drawn from Table 1.4.

The census also provides data on current contacts between language groups in the most intimate of domains, that of a couple. The spouse's mother tongue is in fact a good approximation of the language composition of people with whom members of a language group have very close relationships. Among all Canadian couples, the spouse's mother tongue is English in 55% of cases, French in 22% of cases and a non-official language in 23% of cases. For each language group, the spouse's corresponding mother tongue is strongly in the majority among spouses, at 90% for Anglophones, 89% for Francophones and 83% for allophones. Among allophones, the majority of unions, whether marriage or common-law, undoubtedly occurred outside of Canada and do not reflect the opportunities for contact or preferences in the Canadian marriage market.

Table 1.5**Composition according to spouse's mother tongue for the population of major linguistic groups to which a couple belongs, 2006**

Linguistic Group	Spouse's Mother Tongue			
	English	French	Others	Total
	percentage			
Canada				
Anglophone	90.1	3.6	6.3	100.0
Francophone	8.7	88.8	2.5	100.0
Allophone	14.9	2.4	82.7	100.0
All	54.6	22.4	23.1	100.0
Quebec				
Anglophone	58.5	32.4	9.1	100.0
Francophone	2.9	95.2	2.0	100.0
Allophone	4.9	11.8	83.3	100.0
All	7.1	79.7	13.2	100.0
Canada minus Quebec				
Anglophone	91.1	2.7	6.2	100.0
Francophone	39.6	55.0	5.3	100.0
Allophone	16.4	1.0	82.6	100.0
All	69.2	4.7	26.1	100.0
New Brunswick				
Anglophone	90.0	8.8	1.2	100.0
Francophone	16.2	83.2	0.6	100.0
Allophone	27.0	7.5	65.5	100.0
All	63.0	34.2	2.8	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

The mother tongue of the majority is very predominantly found in couples formed from at least one member of an official-language minority group. For Anglophones in Quebec, 32% of spouses have French as their mother tongue. For Francophones living outside Quebec, the proportion of spouses with English as their mother tongue is 16% in New Brunswick, 42% in Ontario and 46% in Manitoba. It exceeds 50% in the other provinces and territories, with 53% in the Northwest Territories, 55% in Nova Scotia, 56% in Prince Edward Island, 57% in Yukon, 60% in Alberta and Saskatchewan, 64% in British Columbia and 70% in Newfoundland.²⁰ Almost everywhere at the provincial and territorial level outside Quebec, Francophones live as couples with a spouse whose mother tongue is very often English. New Brunswick is the exception due to a strong concentration

²⁰ In Nunavut, these numbers are small for Francophones living in couple relationships, and the fraction that the spouse's mother tongue, whether English, French or a non-official language (essentially Inuktitut), represents is approximately one-third.

of Francophones in the province's northern and eastern regions, which provides fewer opportunities to meet Anglophones on the marriage market.

Caution should be exercised when interpreting the disparity in the prevalence of exogamy among majority and minority groups. In fact, if the spouse belongs to a majority group in the region under study, this person's mother tongue will have a higher proportion in the minority group than the reverse, meaning the proportion of the minority spouse's mother tongue within the majority group. The disparity will be even greater than the considerable difference between the majority group and the minority group. This relationship is purely numerical in nature²¹ and does not say anything about the preferences of language groups for endogamous unions. In Quebec, Anglophones' spouses have French as their mother tongue in 32% of cases, whereas Francophones' spouses have English as their mother tongue in 3% of cases. By definition, in both cases, the numerator is identical: the number of people living as a couple in which one spouse is Francophone and the other is Anglophone. However, the denominator is much smaller for Anglophones than for Francophones. This is a general result in couple relationships.

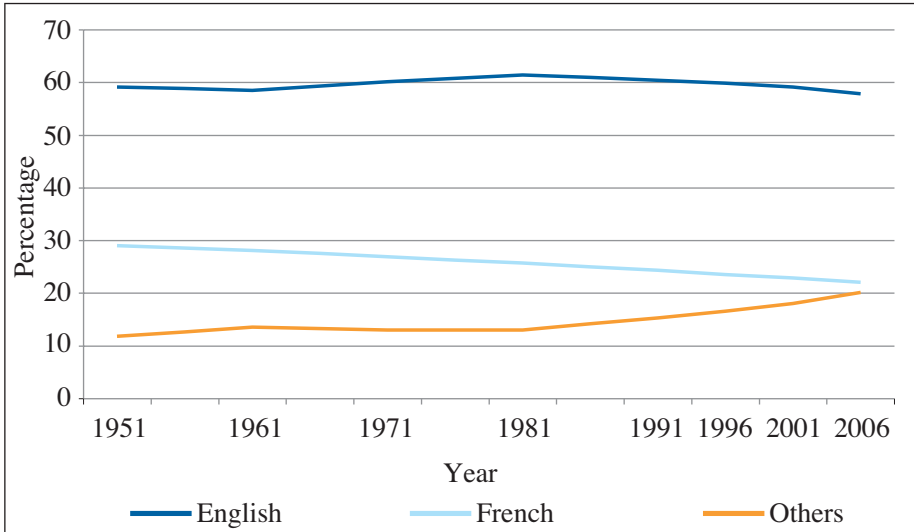
Evolution of language composition

Changes in the number of different language groups and the proportion they represent in the population result from a combination of the effects of demographic and, more generally, demolinguistic factors: mortality, fertility, linguistic mobility, internal migration and international migration. The most significant factors will be studied in detail in chapters 5 to 7. Comments on the trends that emerged from census statistics will be very general in this chapter.

A review of national data revealed two basic trends, one that began in the early 1950s and another that appeared in the mid 1980s. The proportion represented by individuals with a French mother tongue has declined continuously since 1951, dropping from 29% of Canada's population in that census to 27% in the 1971 Census, to 24% in the 1991 Census and to 22% in the 2006 Census (Graph 1.1). There is nothing surprising about this, as it stems from the gradual disappearance of Francophone over-fertility and its conversion to under-fertility by the mid-1960s, with other such unfavourable factors as international immigration. Nonetheless, the number of Francophones has continued to increase from 4.1 million in 1951 to 6.9 million in 2006, while the average annual growth rate declined from 2.3% between 1951 and 1961 to 0.3% between 1996 and 2006.

²¹ A simple example will illustrate this phenomenon. Imagine an area where 1,000 people live as couples, of which 900 have mother tongue E and 100 have mother tongue F. If 40 people with mother tongue E form a couple with a spouse with mother tongue F, it follows that 40% of individuals in a couple with mother tongue F have a spouse with mother tongue E (40/100), while only 4.4% of individuals in a couple with mother tongue E have a spouse with mother tongue F (40/900).

Graph 1.1
Major linguistic groups in percentage, 1951 to 2006, Canada



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006; Marmen and Corbeil (2004).

The surge in international immigration from the mid-1980s triggered a significant increase in the number and proportion of “other” mother tongues, which rose from 13% of Canada’s population in 1981 to 15% in 1991 and to 20% in 2006. This increase occurred at the expense of Anglophones, whose relative proportion had remained around 60% from 1951 to 1981 and dropped from 61% in 1981 to 58% in 2006. The net annual average growth rate of the Anglophone population remained positive at 0.6% from 1996 to 2006.

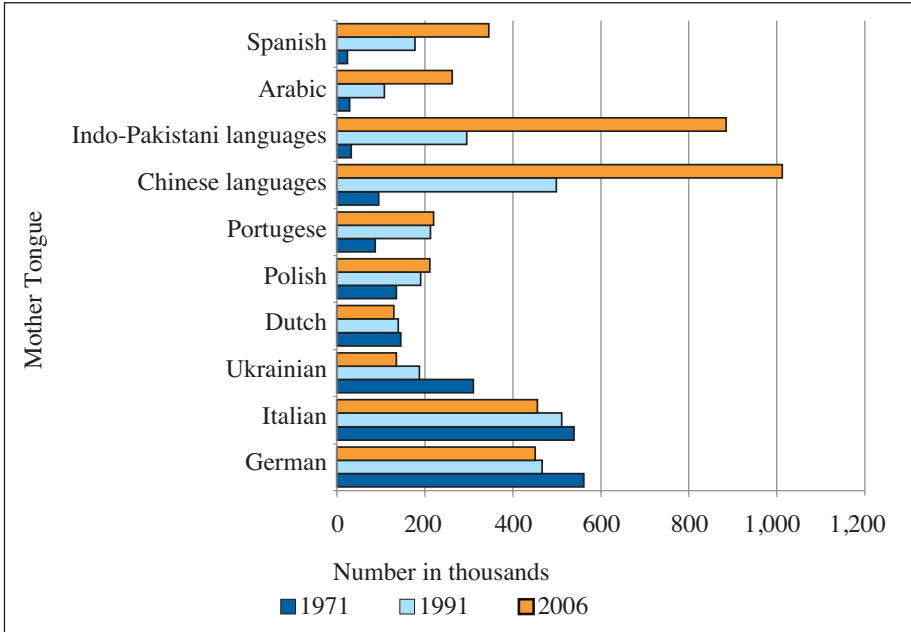
The most frequently reported “other” mother tongues in 1971 were all of European origin. The four European mother tongues with the largest populations were German with 561,000 individuals, dropping slightly since 1961 by less than 1%, Italian with 538,000 individuals, rising sharply from 1951 to 1961 nearly fourfold and also from 1961 to 1971 by 59%, Ukrainian with 310,000 individuals, declining sharply since 1961 by 14%, and Dutch with 145,000 individuals, also declining considerably since 1961 by 15%. All of these language groups subsequently declined in number, including the Italian group (Graph 1.2). Since then, the largest increases have been in languages whose speakers come from Asia, North Africa and Latin America. The number of people reporting a Chinese mother tongue²² has, in fact, risen from slightly under 100,000 in 1971 to over one million in 2006. There has also been a very strong surge in Indo-Pakistani languages,²³ where the number of respondents has leaped from 33,000 in 1971 to

²² There are several Chinese mother tongues. They are combined because they were not individually identified in the 1971 and 1991 censuses.

²³ This is the terminology used in the 1971 Census. The term “Indo-Pakistani” refers to Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages.

approximately 900,000 in 2006. The censuses have also recorded strong growth in Spanish (from 24,000 in 1971 to 345,000 in 2006) and Arabic (from 29,000 in 1971 to 262,000 in 2006).

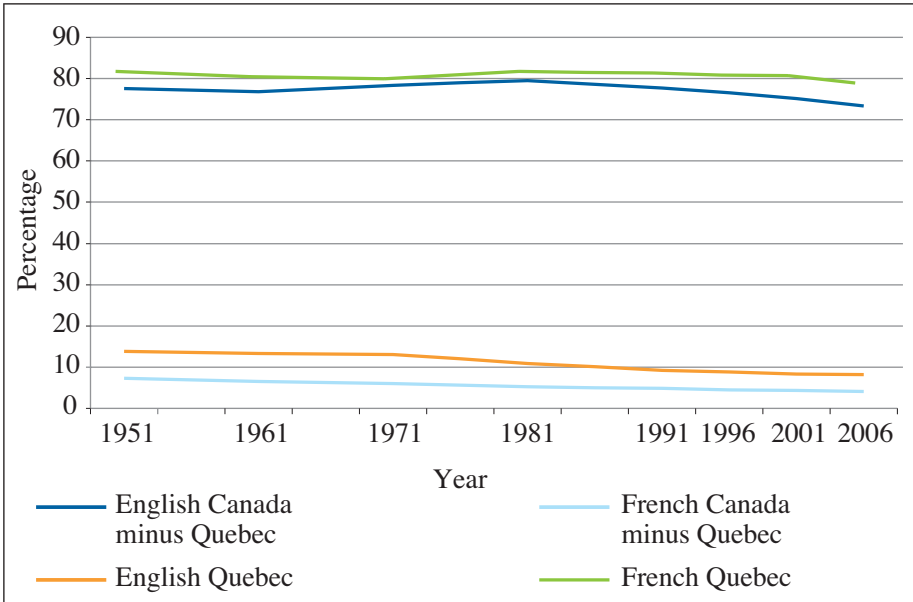
Graph 1.2
Evolution of population of some "other" mother tongues, Canada, 1971 to 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1991 and 2006.

Two basic trends similar to the national results characterize demolinguistic evolution as much in Quebec as in the rest of the country: first, the long-term decline in the relative proportion of official-language minorities and, second, the drop in the proportion of official-language majorities, a reduction that has followed the recent surge in international immigration (Graph 1.2). The proportion of Francophones has dropped in Quebec from 82.0% in 1991 to 79.6% in 2006, while the proportion of Anglophones has dropped outside Quebec from 77.7% in 1991 to 73.3% in 2006. The numbers of each official-language majority have nonetheless continued to grow, but at a slower rate than in the past and always at a lower level for the Francophone majority in Quebec than for the Anglophone majority elsewhere in Canada.

Graph 1.3
Percentage of official language mother tongue groups,
Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006; Marmen and Corbeil (2004).

For over a century, there has been a continuous decline in the proportion of the population represented by the Anglophone minority in Quebec. In the last half-century alone, it has dropped from 14% in 1951 to 13% in 1971, to 9% in 1991 and to 8% in 2006. However, there was remarkable growth in its population until 1971, and even until 1976.²⁴ Since then, the Anglophone minority has experienced a steep decline, dropping from 790,000 in 1971 to 590,000 in 2001, due to significant migratory losses to the benefit of the rest of the country. It revived in the next five-year period, growing to almost 610,000 in 2006, as the migratory losses declined significantly during the last five-year period.

Francophone minorities living outside Quebec recorded overall a steady decrease in their relative proportion since 1951, dropping from 7% that year to 4% in 2006. They experienced a sharp increase in numbers from 1951 (720,000) to 1971 (930,000); between 1991 and 2006, the population fluctuated around 975,000. The number of Francophones is still growing in provinces that receive immigrants from the rest of the country or from outside, namely Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia. In the other provinces, numbers have been declining, for a long time for some: since 1941 in Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia;²⁵ since 1961 in Manitoba; and since 1991 in New Brunswick. In this province, the decline has also affected the Anglophone majority since 1996.

²⁴ For the 1976 statistics, see Lachapelle and Henripin (1980, p. 355).

²⁵ In this province, however, there was a slight increase from 1951 (38,945) to 1971 (39,585).

Overview

The current situation of the different language groups is the result of their history and their geography, each affecting the other. In fact, the history of French colonization in the 17th and 18th centuries explains the concentration of Francophones on both sides of the St. Lawrence River. Slightly more than 85% of Canada's Francophones live in Quebec and nearly two-thirds (65%) of the Francophones in Quebec live in areas where they comprise on average 95% of the population. This high concentration affects how Canada's Francophones perceive their linguistic reality. The same applies to other language groups, with Aboriginal languages often concentrated in the north of the provinces and in the territories, particularly Nunavut. The "other" mother tongues that are mainly reported by immigrant populations are found in major urban areas, particularly Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal. Anglophones are concentrated in provinces other than Quebec, but less so in regions of Ontario and New Brunswick bordering Quebec where Francophones are sometimes a majority.

A major basic trend has emerged from the evolution of language composition over the past half-century: the continuous decline in the relative proportion of official-language minorities, Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the country overall, as well as in territories and provinces other than Quebec, a decline attributable mainly among Francophones to their lower fertility rate. In some cases, there is also a decrease in absolute numbers. For Anglophones in Quebec, the decline in their relative proportion slowed for the first time in a century and a half between 2001 and 2006, and even rose slightly. This increase followed a decrease from 800,000 in 1976 to 600,000 in 2001, attributable mainly to net migratory losses in this subpopulation to the benefit of the rest of the country.

Another basic trend that has been relatively strong since the mid-1980s is the decline in the relative proportion of official-language majorities, Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones in the other provinces and in the country overall. This movement is the result of increased international immigration that is causing an influx of "other" mother tongues. In contrast to previous increases in the 1970s, the recent surge involves languages that originate from outside of Europe.

CHAPTER 2

KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

The long-form census questionnaire contains two questions on the knowledge of languages. The first identifies knowledge of official languages, in this case English and French. The choice of responses allows respondents to provide information on their knowledge of each of the two official languages. The second question concerns knowledge of other languages. In the 2006 Census questionnaire, this is an open-ended question where respondents can report knowing up to two languages other than English and French. According to the formulation of these two questions, knowledge of a language is defined as the ability to conduct a conversation in a given language. It should be noted that the data provided by these questions concerns knowledge of languages, not their use.

The question on knowledge of official languages has appeared in every census since 1901, except in 1911 and 1976. The knowledge of official languages concept has not been changed substantially since 1971. The question on the knowledge of non-official languages has appeared in every census since 1991.

Data on knowledge of official languages provide an overview of the number of Canadians who can communicate in English, French or both languages. They also provide information on the number of people who speak neither English nor French. Using statistics on knowledge of official languages, we are able to evaluate the extent of bilingualism in different areas and according to language groups. This information allows public services and private companies to more effectively plan certain aspects of their recruitment programs. By cross-referencing the variable on knowledge of official languages with variables on mother tongue, place of birth and period of immigration, it is possible to study the linguistic adaptation of different immigrant groups. With this information, language training needs in particular can be identified.

Data on knowledge of non-official languages provides a measurement of Canadians' ability to communicate in various languages other than English or French. Given Canada's obvious cultural diversity and increasing trade and cultural exchanges with other countries, data on knowledge of non-official

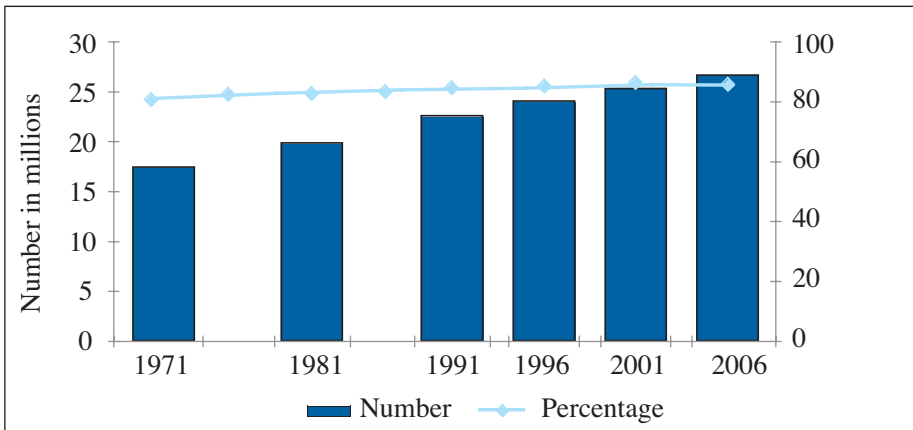
languages can be used to evaluate and take advantage of the country’s available language resources. Cross-referencing the variable on knowledge of non-official languages with other language variables provides a good indication of the level of retention or learning and knowledge of non official languages.

Knowledge of official languages

Two out of three Canadians, or 21.1 million, report that English is the only official language in which they are able to conduct a conversation. On the other hand, 4.1 million inhabitants, or 13.3% of Canada’s population, are able to conduct a conversation in French but do not know English. The proportion of Canadians able to conduct a conversation in both official languages is 17.4%. Taking into consideration these bilingual individuals, 85.1% are able to conduct a conversation in English and 30.7% are able to conduct a conversation in French. Conversely, 520,000 respondents, or 1.7% of Canada’s population, report knowing neither English nor French.

The number and proportion of Canadians who know English increase from one census to the next. The proportion of individuals who know English increased steadily between 1971 (80.5%) and 2001 (85.2%), but remained stable between 2001 and 2006 (85.1%).

Graph 2.1
Number and proportion of Canadians who know English,
Canada, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006



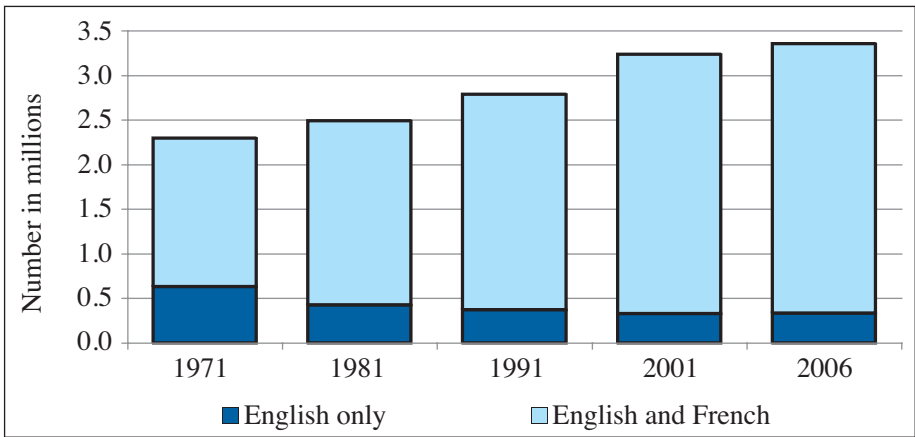
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

All of the provinces and territories that recorded population growth in the past five years also experienced an increase in the number of individuals able to conduct a conversation in English. Conversely, Newfoundland and Labrador and Saskatchewan, two provinces where the population dropped between 2001 and 2006, also recorded a decrease in the number of individuals able to conduct a conversation in English. New Brunswick’s situation is different: the number of individuals who know English is falling while the province’s population remains

stable. It is mainly the knowledge of “other” languages that has undergone marked growth in this province, as immigration doubled between 2001 and 2006 compared to the previous five-year period.

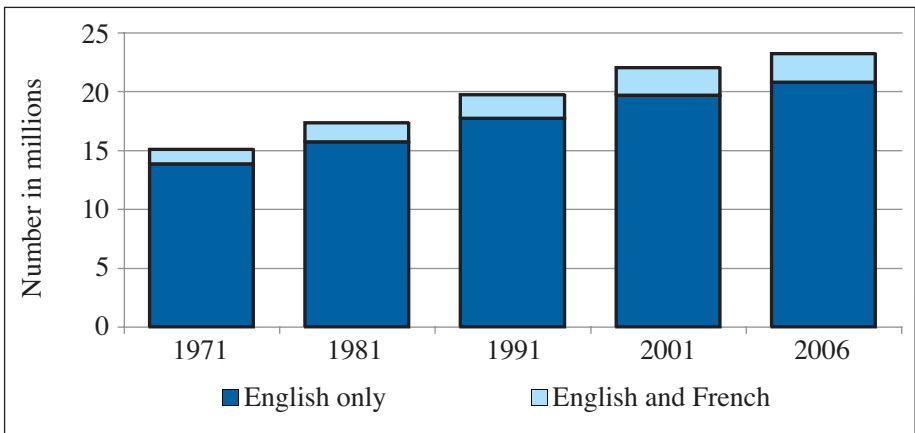
In Quebec, knowledge of English has been on a constant rise since 1971 as a result of an increasingly bilingual population; the number of individuals who know only English has declined steadily since 1971. The situation is different in the rest of Canada, where the proportion of people who know English has stabilized at close to 98% since 1981. This growth in Quebec is due mainly to an increase in the number of people who know only English, although the number of English–French bilingual individuals doubled between 1971 and 2006, climbing from 1.2 million to 2.4 million Canadians.

Graph 2.2
Number of persons who know English, Quebec, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006.

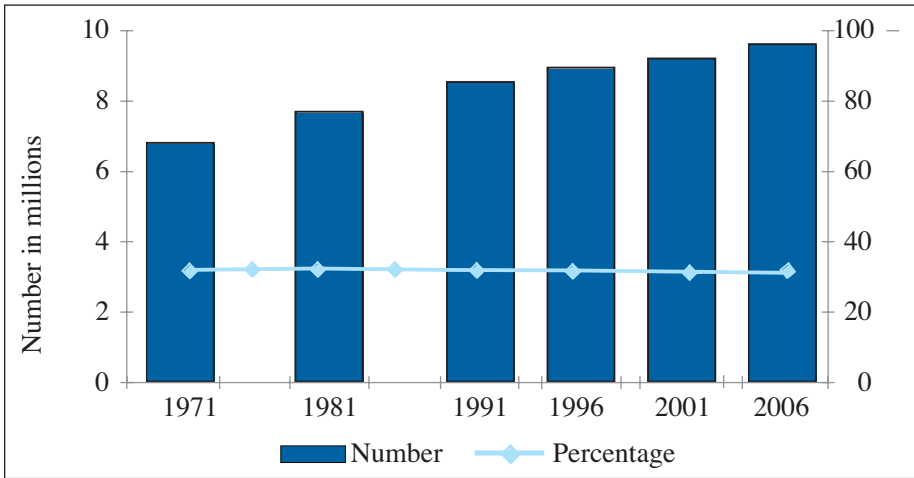
Graph 2.3
Number of persons who know English, Canada minus Quebec, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006.

Like those who know English, the number of Canadians able to conduct a conversation in French has increased steadily. Between 1971 and 1996, the number of Canadians who know French rose by an average of over 400,000 individuals each intercensal period. Between 1996 and 2001 this increase was only 258,000 persons, but between 2001 and 2006, growth resumed at the rate of the previous five-year periods with an increase of 413,000 persons. However, in spite of this constant rise, the proportion of Canadians who know French has decreased slightly in proportion since 1981, dropping from 31.8% to 30.7% in 2006.

Graph 2.4
Number and proportion of Canadians who know French, Canada, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006



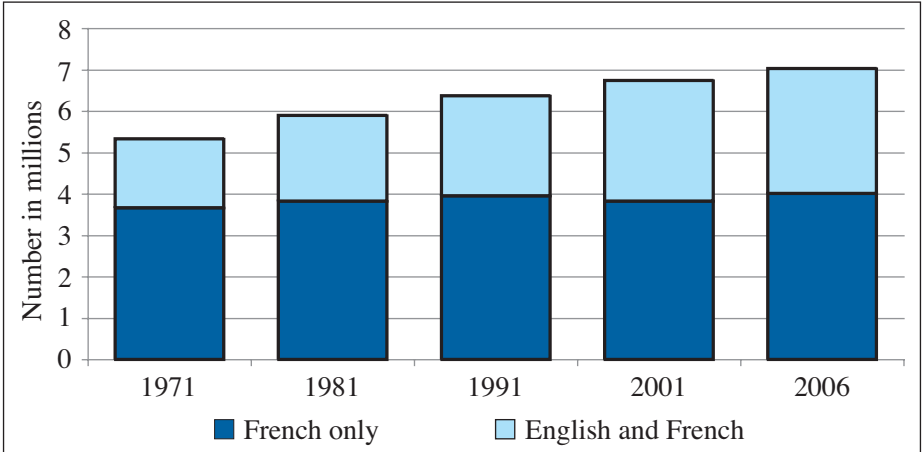
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

For this slight decrease between 1981 and 2006 in the proportion of people who know French in Canada as a whole to coincide with an increase in the proportion of people who know French in every province and territory, without exception, is a unique occurrence. These increases are sometimes very small, especially in Ontario (0.3%), Saskatchewan (0.4%) and Alberta (0.3%). Larger increases are seen in the Atlantic provinces, with 4.5% in Prince Edward Island and 4.2% in New Brunswick.

This phenomenon is explained by the decrease in the relative proportion of Quebec’s population within Canada. Since approximately three-quarters of Canadians who know French live in Quebec, the increase in knowledge of French in Quebec, which rose from 93% in 1981 to 95% in 2006, does not compensate for the fact that Quebec’s population, which accounted for 26% of Canada’s population in 1981, only represented 24% in 2006. Moreover, Ontario and Alberta, which are among those provinces that experienced the largest population growth over this 25-year period, had the smallest increases in the proportion of individuals who know French.

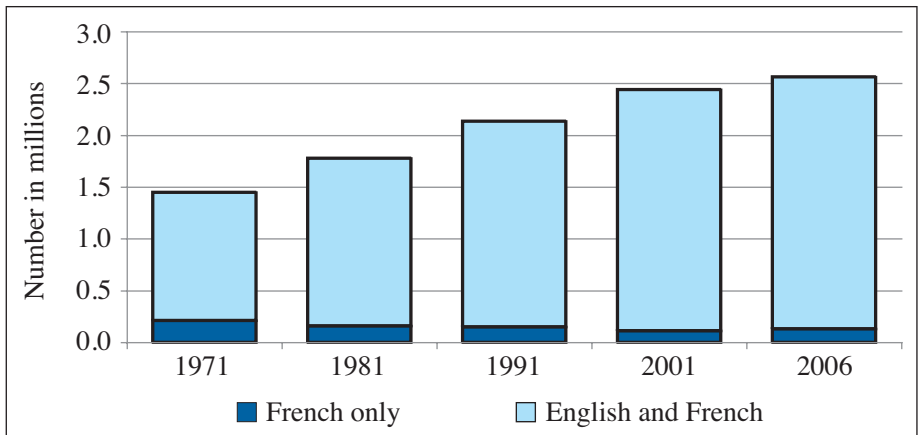
The growth in the number of people who know French is mainly due to an increase in the number of bilingual individuals both in Quebec and in the other provinces and territories.

Graph 2.5
Number of persons who know French, Quebec, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006.

Graph 2.6
Number of persons who know French, Canada minus Quebec, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006



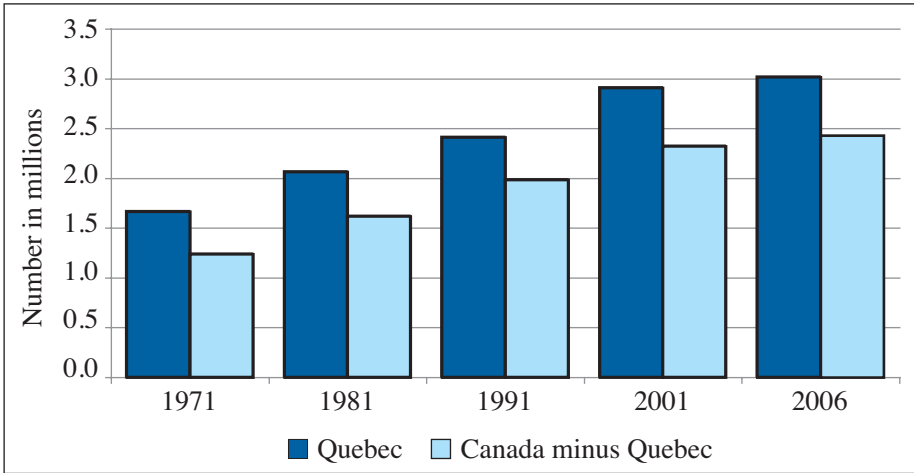
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006.

Generally speaking, people whose mother tongue is either English or French (single response) know their mother tongue well enough to conduct a conversation in that language. However, the fact that the question on mother tongue includes a condition—the first language learned must still be understood—ensures that respondents who report no longer knowing their mother tongue are those who still

understand it but are no longer fluent enough to conduct a conversation.²⁶ These situations are very rare, but some exceptions do exist, especially for Francophones outside Quebec, with 3% reporting knowing only English.

In 2006, 5.4 million Canadians, or over 17% of Canada’s population, reported being able to conduct a conversation in both English and French. However, only New Brunswick and Quebec report a rate of bilingualism higher than the national average, with 33% and 41% respectively. All the other provinces and territories report rates of bilingualism below the average, at less than 10% in most cases. Nonetheless, English French bilingualism has been on the rise in Canada since 1971, despite a small setback between 2001 and 2006.

Graph 2.7
Number of English-French bilingual persons, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006.

A strong Francophone presence in certain regions of the country fosters English-French bilingualism. Official-language minority groups report higher rates of bilingualism than majority groups, and Francophones generally report a higher rate of bilingualism than Anglophones. In Canada, those whose mother tongue is French (single response) report a rate of English-French bilingualism of 42%, compared to 9% for Anglophones. In Quebec, Anglophones are the official-language minority and report a 69% rate of bilingualism, almost twice as high as that of Francophones (36%). However, in most of the other provinces and territories, with the exception of New Brunswick, the rate of bilingualism among Francophones ranges from 86% (Saskatchewan) to 94% (Nunavut). The rate of bilingualism among Francophones in New Brunswick (68%) is higher than that among Francophones in Quebec, but is lower compared to the other provinces.

²⁶ On this subject, see comments on the census question about the language first learned and still understood in the Appendix on data quality.

Table 2.1

Persons able to conduct a conversation in both English and French, according to mother tongue, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 2006

Region	Total ¹		English ²		French ²	
	Number in thousands	%	Number in thousands	%	Number in thousands	%
Canada	5,448.9	17.4	1,673.9	9.4	2,890.8	42.4
Newfoundland and Labrador	23.7	4.7	21.1	4.3	1.7	90.2
Prince Edward Island	17.1	12.7	11.5	9.2	5.0	92.7
Nova Scotia	95.0	10.5	59.5	7.1	30.1	92.5
New Brunswick	240.1	33.4	74.2	16.0	158.5	68.0
Quebec	3,017.9	40.6	396.7	68.9	2,104.6	35.8
Ontario	1,337.3	11.5	694.1	8.4	432.0	88.4
Manitoba	103.5	9.1	54.6	6.5	39.6	90.0
Saskatchewan	47.5	5.0	30.0	3.7	13.9	86.3
Alberta	222.9	6.8	138.4	5.4	54.4	88.9
British Columbia	295.6	7.3	188.8	6.6	48.9	89.4
Yukon	3.4	11.4	2.0	8.0	1.0	89.3
Northwest Territories	3.7	8.9	2.4	7.7	0.9	90.2
Nunavut	1.2	4.0	0.6	7.9	0.3	94.3
Canada minus Quebec	2,431.0	10.2	1,277.2	7.4	786.3	83.6

¹ includes persons with a mother tongue other than English or French and multiple responses

² single responses only

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

English-French bilingual Canadians are fairly concentrated, with more than half (55%) living in Quebec. If we include those living in New Brunswick and Ontario, over 85% of bilingual Canadians live in these three provinces. Alberta (4%) and British Columbia (5%) account for close to 10%, with the eight other provinces and territories sharing the remaining 5%.

Over one-third of bilingual Canadians live in the Montreal CMA (34%). There, the rate of bilingualism is 52%, which is the highest rate of all the CMAs in Canada.²⁷ Outside Quebec, three CMAs report rates of bilingualism higher than

²⁷ The Ottawa-Gatineau CMA reports a bilingualism rate of 44%. However, on the Quebec side of this CMA, the bilingualism rate is 62%, compared to 38% for the Ontario side.

the national average. These are Moncton (47%), Ottawa–Gatineau (44%) and Great Sudbury (39%), a CMA with a strong Francophone minority. All CMAs located in Quebec report rates of bilingualism higher than the national average: aside from Montreal and the Quebec bank of the Ottawa–Gatineau CMA, there is also Sherbrooke (40%), Quebec City (33%), Trois-Rivières (26%) and Saguenay (19%).

Table 2.2
English-French bilingualism according to place of residence,
Canada and Census Metropolitan Areas, 2006

CMA	Total Population	Bilingual Persons	
	Number in thousands	Number in thousands	%
Montreal	3,588.5	1,861.9	51.9
Moncton	124.1	58.2	46.9
Ottawa-Gatineau	1,117.1	496.0	44.4
Ottawa-Gatineau (Quebec)	281.7	175.9	62.4
Ottawa-Gatineau (Ontario)	835.5	320.2	38.3
Sherbrooke	183.6	72.9	39.7
Greater Sudbury	156.4	60.7	38.8
Quebec	704.2	232.5	33.0
Trois-Rivières	138.6	35.9	25.9
Saguenay	149.6	28.2	18.8
Canada	31,241.0	5,448.8	17.4
Saint John	120.9	19.1	15.8
Outside CMA	9,932.6	1,363.0	13.7
Kingston	148.5	18.9	12.7
Halifax	369.5	44.9	12.1
Winnipeg	686.0	74.9	10.9
Windsor	320.7	33.6	10.5
Victoria	325.1	33.1	10.2
Guelph	126.1	11.3	8.9
St.Catherines-Niagara	385.0	32.4	8.4
Toronto	5,072.1	418.5	8.3
Calgary	1,070.3	84.1	7.9
Vancouver	2,098.0	162.8	7.8

Table 2.2 (cont'd)**English-French bilingualism according to place of residence, Canada and Census Metropolitan Areas, 2006**

CMA	Total Population	Bilingual Persons	
	Number in thousands	Number in thousands	%
Edmonton	1,024.8	78.0	7.6
Oshawa	328.1	24.3	7.4
Thunder Bay	121.1	8.9	7.3
Barrie	175.3	12.5	7.1
St. John's	179.3	12.7	7.1
London	452.6	31.6	7.0
Hamilton	683.4	47.1	6.9
Kelowna	160.6	11.0	6.9
Kitchener	446.5	30.3	6.8
Peterborough	115.1	7.7	6.7
Saskatoon	230.9	14.5	6.3
Regina	192.4	11.8	6.1
Abbotsford	156.6	8.2	5.2
Brantford	122.8	5.8	4.7

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Among Anglophones, knowledge of French continued to grow between 2001 and 2006, increasing from 9.0% to 9.4%. Bilingualism among Anglophones has increased or remained stable in all the provinces and territories since 2001. In Quebec, nearly seven out of ten Anglophones (69%) reported knowing English and French in 2006, compared to 66% in 2001. Outside Quebec, 7.4% of Anglophones reported being able to conduct a conversation in both official languages in 2006, an increase over 2001 (7.1%).

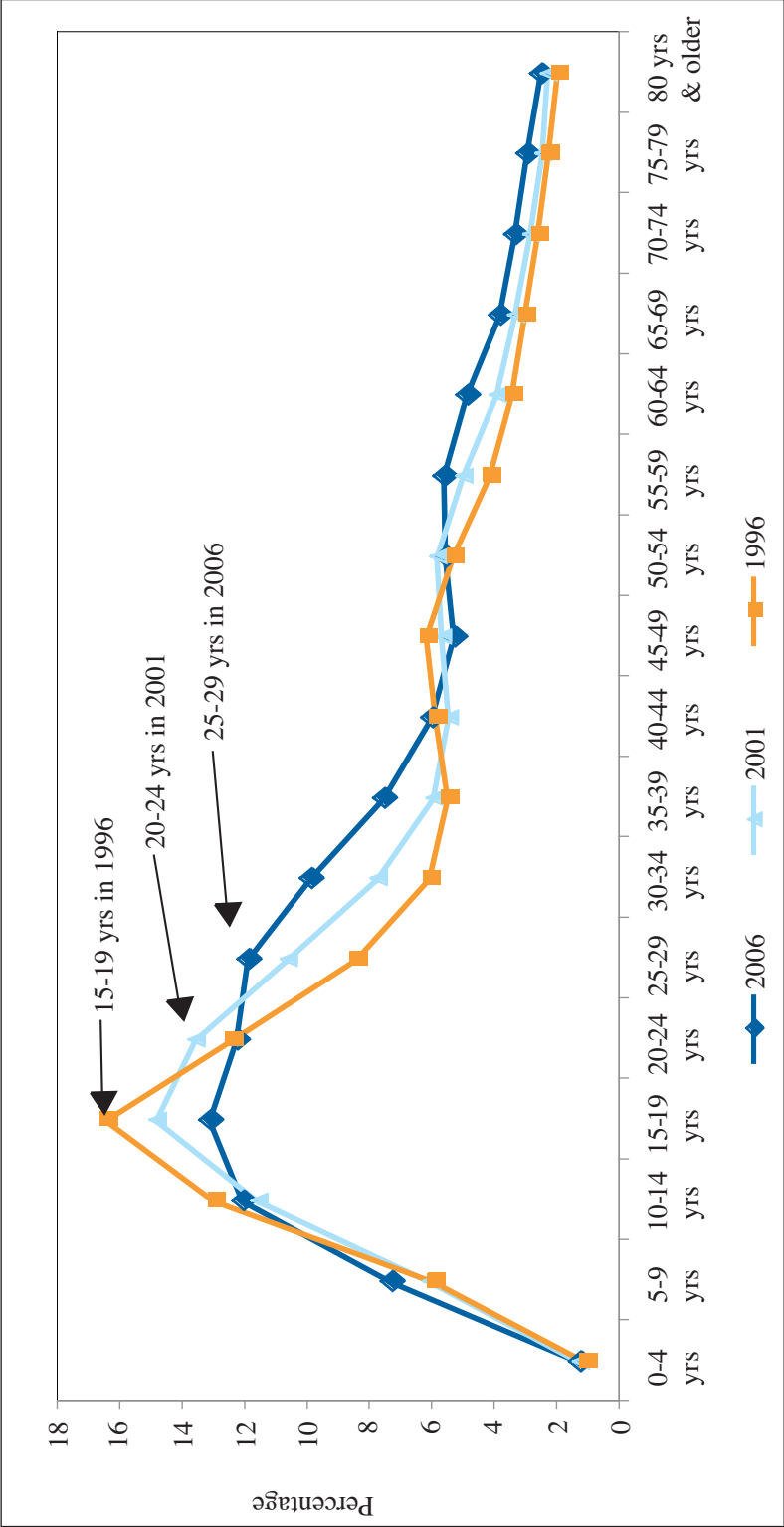
Outside Quebec, it is in New Brunswick, which is the only officially bilingual province in the country and where Francophones represent 33% of the population, that we see the highest rate of bilingualism among Anglophones (16%).

Although knowledge of French seems to have advanced somewhat between 2001 and 2006 within the Anglophone population, it continues to decline among young people aged 15 to 19 living outside Quebec. French is usually learned at school. Consequently, the rate of bilingualism peaks in the 15-to-19 age group when these young people finish high school. Many adolescents in this age group were enrolled in either a French as-a-second-language program or an immersion program. Since 1996, bilingualism has lost ground among Anglophones in this age group.

In 2006, 13% of Anglophones in the 15-to-19 age group who were living outside Quebec reported or were reported as being bilingual, a decrease compared to 2001 (15%) and 1996 (16%). However, bilingualism did increase slightly in the 10-to-14 and 5-to-9 age groups.

The ability of young Anglophones to maintain their knowledge of French as a second language seems to diminish over time. In 2001, 15% of young Anglophones aged 15 to 19 were bilingual. In 2006, when they were five years older (aged 20 to 24), only 12% reported being bilingual. A similar trend appears in the evolution of bilingualism among the 15-to-19 cohort in 1996.

Graph 2.8
English-French bilingualism rate in Anglophones by age group, Canada minus Quebec, 1996 to 2006



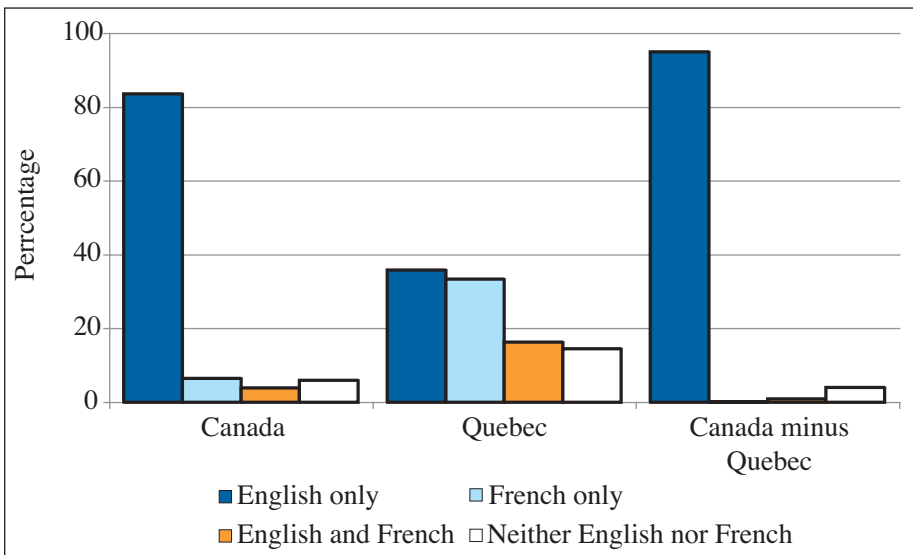
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1996 to 2006.

The proportion of Canadians with a French mother tongue who reported being able to conduct a conversation in English and French was 42% in 2006. In Quebec, one in three (36%) Francophones reported being bilingual, while the vast majority of Francophones living outside Quebec (84%) know English and French.

The proportion of Francophones who reported being bilingual in 2006 is slightly lower than that observed in 2001 in all provinces, with the exception of Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island and British Columbia, as well as the territories. It is difficult to explain this trend reversal in Francophone bilingualism with census data, especially outside Quebec, in provinces where the language transfer rates are particularly high and rising. For example, the proportion of Francophones in Ontario who reported being bilingual in 2001 was 89%, an increase compared to 1996 (88%), while in 2006 this rate was 88%, a decrease compared to 2001.

A large majority of persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue (single responses) report knowing only English (84%) of the two official languages; just 7% report knowing only French. The situation in Quebec is very different from that in the other provinces and territories. In Quebec, these proportions are respectively 36% and 33%, compared to 95% for English and less than 1% for French outside Quebec. Six percent of individuals with an Aboriginal mother tongue do not know English or French well enough to conduct a conversation. The majority of these are children under the age of ten.

Graph 2.9
Knowledge of official languages of persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue (single responses), Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006



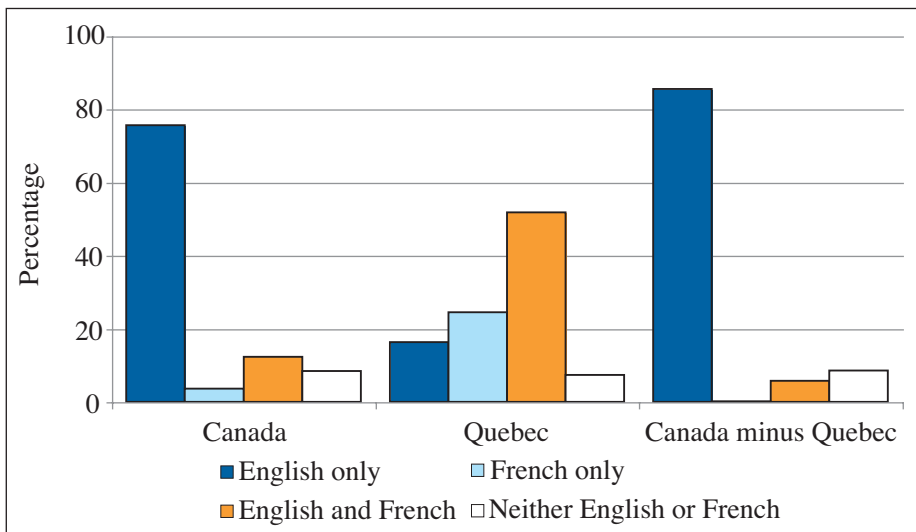
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In 2006, the proportion of individuals with an Aboriginal mother tongue able to conduct a conversation in English and French was 4%, increasing steadily compared to previous censuses. However, 80% of them live in Quebec, where the rate of English-French bilingualism among people with an Aboriginal mother tongue has doubled in the past 20 years, from 8% in 1986 to 16% in 2006. This increase explains the basis of the increased rate of bilingualism among persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue in Canada overall because, outside Quebec, this rate is stable at about 1%.

In the country as a whole, individuals with an “other” mother tongue know only English in 76% of cases, compared to 4% who know only French. Once again, a comparison between Quebec and the other provinces and territories shows that knowledge of French among respondents with an “other” mother tongue is much more common in Quebec. In that province, 16% of these individuals know only English, compared to 24% who know only French. The rate of English-French bilingualism is very high among persons with an “other” mother tongue in Quebec (52%). In comparison, outside Quebec, these people know only English in 86% of cases and report being English-French bilingual in 6% of cases, while the proportion of respondents with an “other” mother tongue who know only French is very small (0.1%). Eight percent of respondents with an “other” mother tongue, or almost 500,000 people, know neither English nor French. In most cases, they are aged 55 or older and mainly women, as well as children under the age of 5 in 16% of cases.

Graph 2.10

Knowledge of official languages of persons with an "other" mother tongue (single response), Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Persons with an “other” mother tongue have a rate of English-French bilingualism of 51.8% in Quebec, which is a slight decrease compared to 2001 (52.3%).

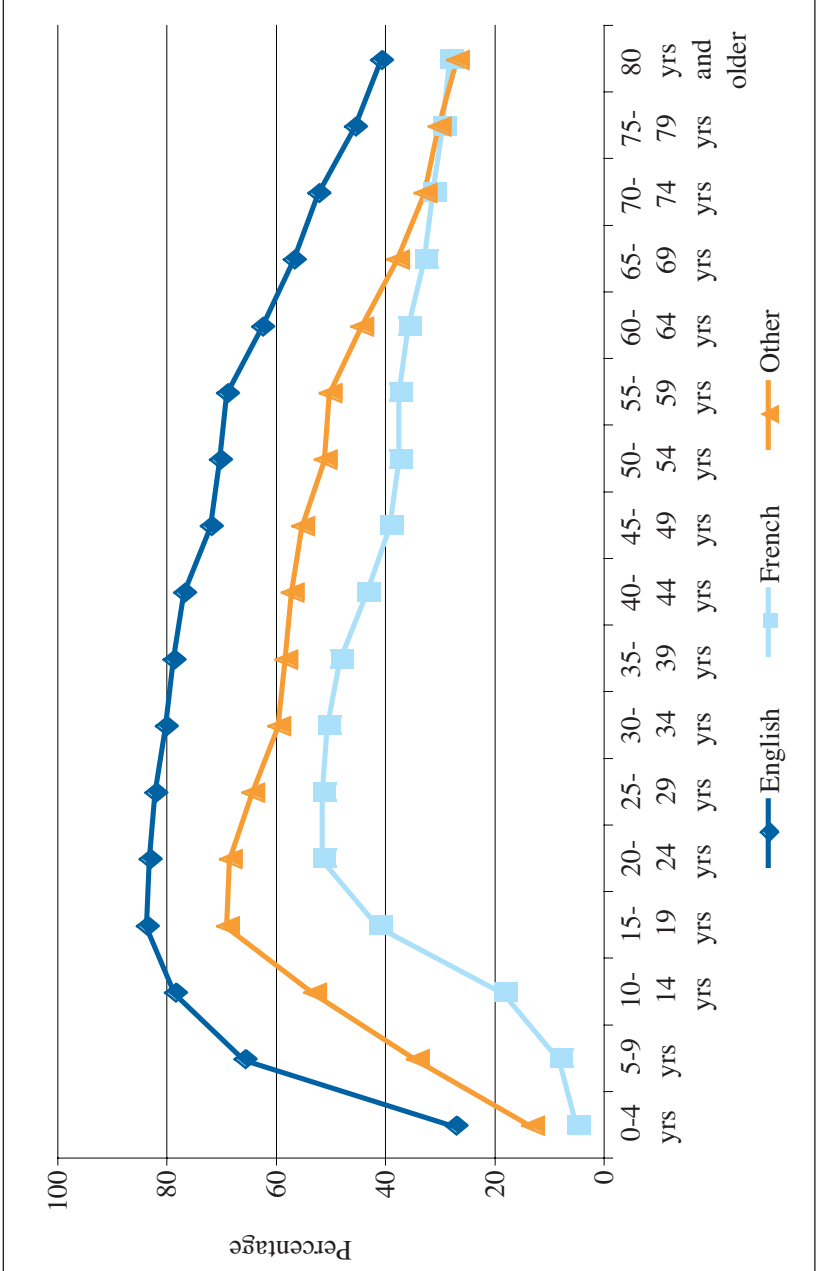
This rate is much lower outside Quebec, where it was 6% in 2006, almost identical to the rate in 2001. The Montreal CMA includes over half of the people with an “other” mother tongue who report being English-French bilingual in Canada as a whole. In this CMA, the rate of bilingualism is highest among respondents with an “other” mother tongue, at 53%, slightly ahead of the Quebec bank of the Ottawa–Gatineau CMA (52%).

Generally speaking, we see the highest rate of bilingualism in late adolescence and early adulthood. In Quebec, Anglophones report the highest proportion of English French bilingualism among all age groups. This proportion increases from one age group to the next to peak at 83% among 15-to-19-year-olds. It then gradually declines in subsequent age groups to 67% among 55-to-59-year-olds and then, more rapidly, up to the 80 years and older age group, 40% of whom are able to conduct a conversation in both English and French.

The age group comparison provides similar results for allophones, albeit in smaller proportions: 69% of allophones in Quebec aged 15 to 19 are English-French bilingual, compared to 50% of those aged 55 to 59 and 27% of those aged 80 and older.

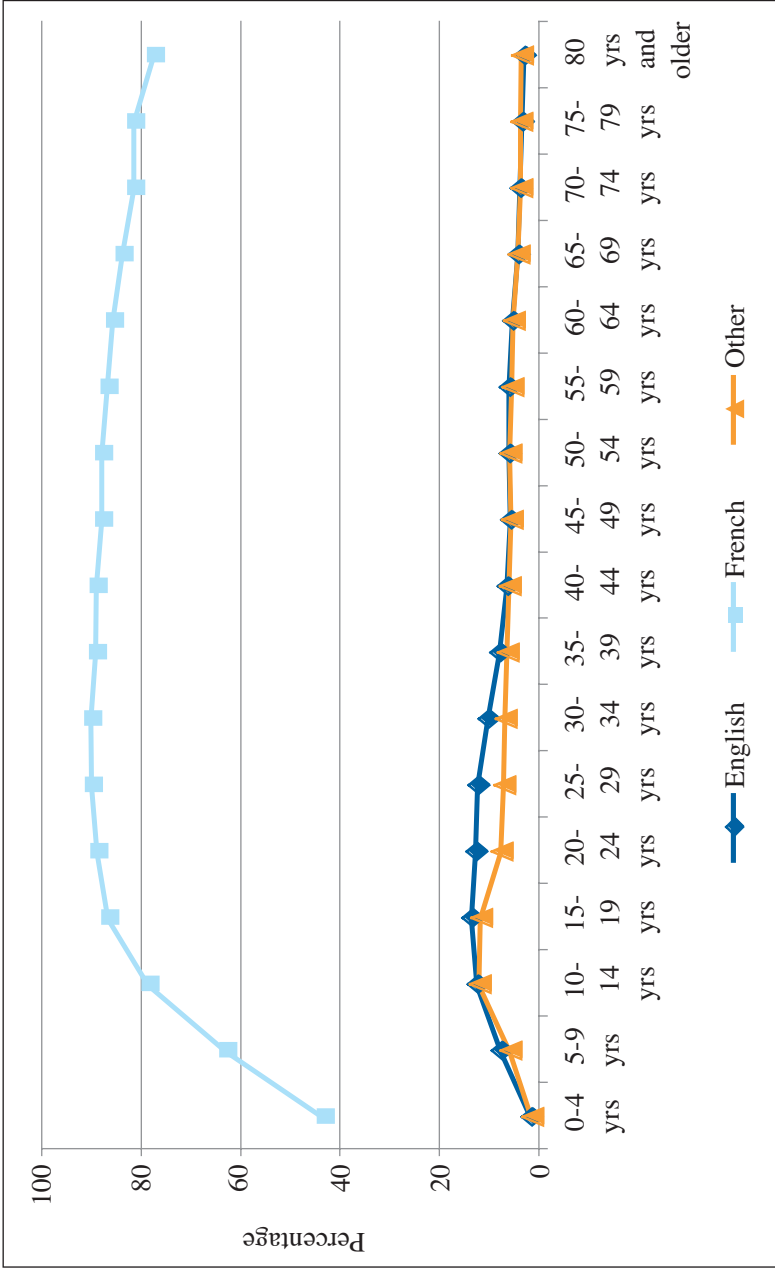
For Francophones, the proportion of English-French bilingualism is highest among individuals in their twenties: 51% of 20-to-24-year-olds and 25-to-29-year-olds are bilingual, while 37% of 55-to-59-year-olds and 28% of those 80 and older are bilingual.

Graph 2.11
English-French bilingualism rate according to mother tongue and age group, Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Graph 2.12
English-French bilingualism rate according to mother tongue
and age group, Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In the other provinces and territories, we also see growth in the proportion of English-French bilingualism in the youngest age groups. However, the highest proportions are found among Francophones: in all age groups between 15 and 79 years, the proportion of Francophones able to conduct a conversation in English and French is over 80%. Conversely, this proportion is never higher than 15% among Anglophones and allophones.

Slightly more than 520,000 Canadians are unable to conduct a conversation in either of the two official languages. In 96% of cases, these are individuals with an “other” mother tongue. Twenty percent of people who know neither English nor French were born in Canada, but these are mainly children under the age of 5. The others are immigrants or non-permanent residents. A quarter of the immigrants who do not know either of the official languages arrived in the country during the last intercensal period, that is, between 2001 and 2006. These 103,000 immigrants represent 9.3% of all those who arrived in Canada during that period. This proportion has dropped in comparison to previous censuses, with the proportion of recent immigrants who could not conduct a conversation in either English or French reaching its lowest level in 2006.²⁸

Knowledge of “other” languages

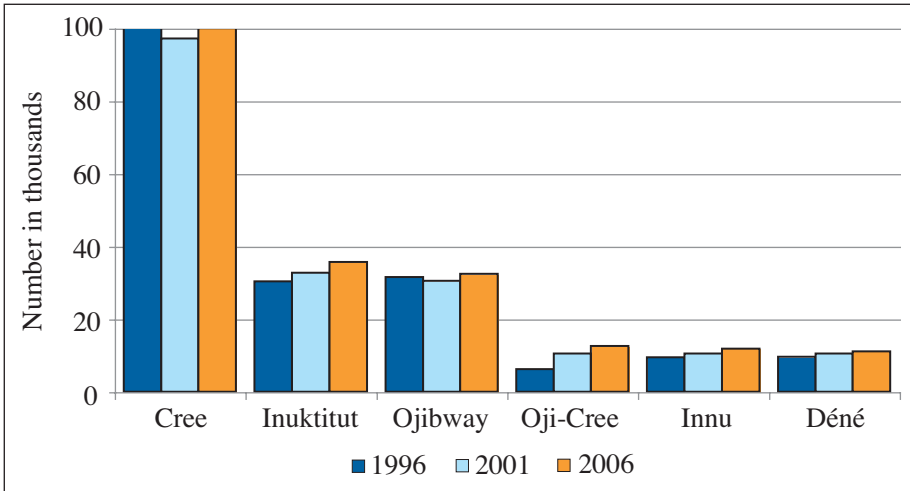
In 2006, 258,000 Canadians reported being able to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language. Among them, 49,000 respondents did not have an Aboriginal language as their mother tongue. Conversely, of the 210,000 individuals with an Aboriginal mother tongue (single response), 11,000, or 5%, were no longer able to conduct a conversation in their mother tongue.

The most widely known Aboriginal languages in Canada in 2006 were Cree, Inuktitut, Ojibway, Oji-Cree, Innu and Dene. Cree, which is spoken by almost 100,000 people, is by far the most widely known Aboriginal language in Canada. The number of persons who speak Inuktitut has grown considerably in the past decade, increasing from 30,400 speakers in 1996 to 35,700 in 2006. Knowledge of Ojibway remained stable over the same period, with slightly more than 30,000 speakers. Finally, the number of individuals who speak Oji-Cree doubled between 1996 and 2006 from 6,200 to 12,600.

²⁸ See data discussed in Chapter 7 on immigration and linguistic integration of immigrants.

Graph 2.13

Primary Aboriginal languages according to number of speakers, Canada, 1996, 2001 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1996 to 2006.

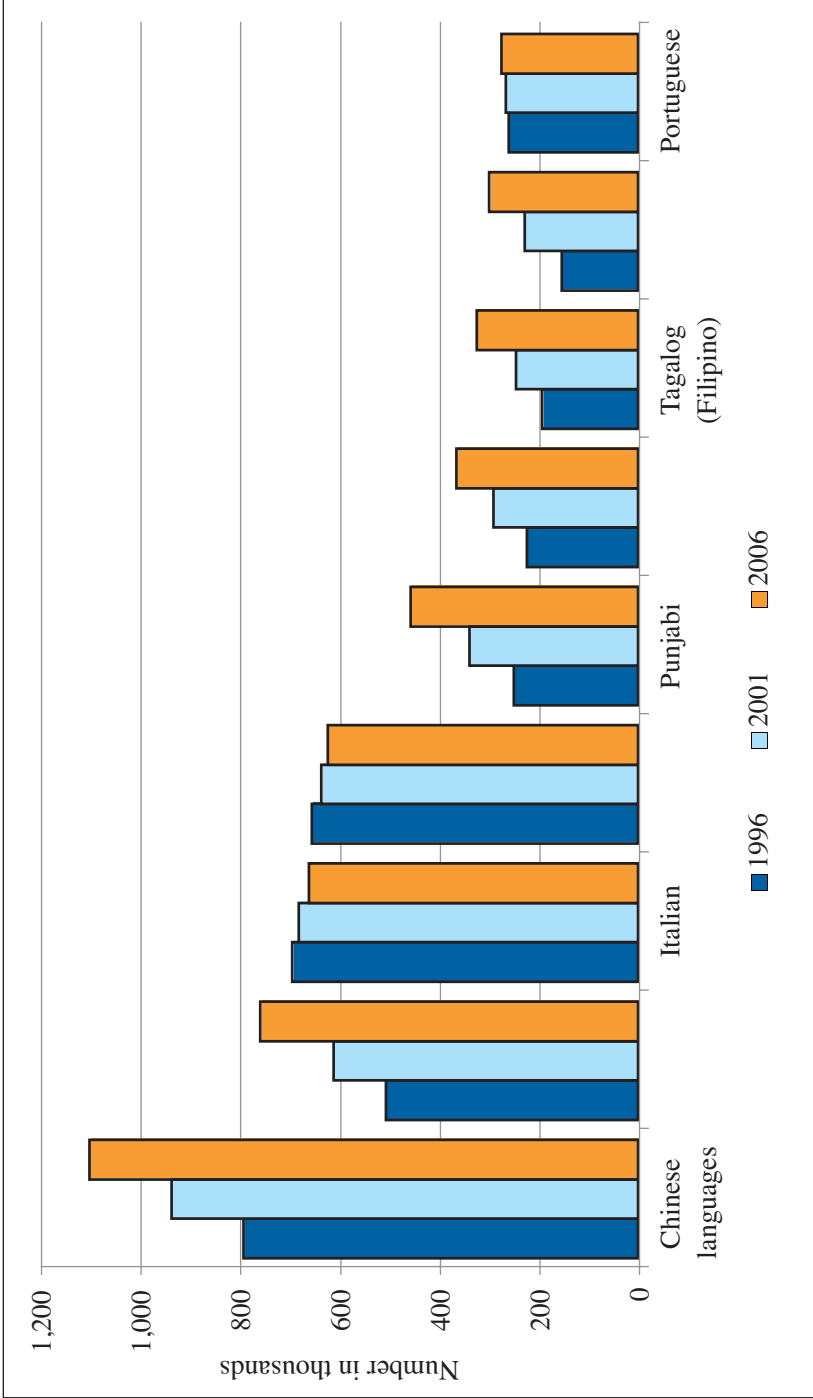
With regard to non-official languages, 7,215,000 Canadians report knowing at least one well enough to conduct a conversation, that is to say 23.1% of the population. Ninety-six percent of people with an “other” mother tongue (single response) are still able to conduct a conversation in their mother tongue. Furthermore, 1,225,000 Canadians of English, French or Aboriginal mother tongue (single response) are able to conduct a conversation in a non-official language.

The most widely known non-official languages in Canada in 2006 were Chinese languages, Spanish, German, Italian, Punjabi and Arabic. Over one million Canadians are able to conduct a conversation in one of the Chinese languages. Topping the list were 435,000 respondents who speak Cantonese and 282,000 who speak Mandarin. Most of the others did not specify which Chinese language they spoke. Between 1996 and 2006, the number of people who spoke Chinese languages increased by 310,000. There were 36,000 more individuals who spoke Cantonese in 2006 than in 2001,²⁹ compared to 74,000 who spoke Mandarin.

The number of people in Canada who know Spanish (758,000 speakers) has increased by more than 250,000 since 1996, pulling ahead of Italian (661,000 speakers) and German (623,000 speakers). Among the ten most widely known non-official languages in Canada, only Italian and German experienced a decline in the number of speakers in the past decade. After the Chinese languages and Spanish, which showed the largest increases in number of speakers, come Punjabi (increase of 207,000 speakers), Hindi (147,000), Arabic (142,000), Tagalog (Filipino) (132,000) and Portuguese (15,000).

²⁹ The 1996 data only show the Chinese languages in aggregate form. It is not possible to break down the Chinese languages to see the number of people who spoke Cantonese or Mandarin in 1996.

Graph 2.14
Primary "other" languages according to number of speakers, Canada, 1996, 2001 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1996 to 2006.

Overview

In 2006, 98% of Canada's population reported being able to conduct a conversation in at least one of the country's two official languages, that is, English or French. English French bilingualism has been increasing since 1971, despite a slight decrease between 2001 and 2006, to settle at 17.4%. Two out of three Canadians are able to conduct a conversation in English, but do not know French. Conversely, 13% of Canadians are able to conduct a conversation in French, but do not know English. Knowledge of French is concentrated mainly in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario; more than 9 out of 10 Canadians able to conduct a conversation in French live in one of these three provinces (and almost three-quarters of them live in Quebec).

Individuals whose mother tongue is English or French are usually able to conduct a conversation in their mother tongue. The majority of respondents with an Aboriginal or an "other" mother tongue are able to conduct a conversation in English. Most of those respondents who know French live in Quebec, and over half of individuals with an "other" mother tongue living in Quebec are English-French bilingual.

Slightly over 250,000 people know an Aboriginal language well enough to conduct a conversation, while 7.2 million Canadians know a non-official language.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME

The long-form census questionnaire contains two questions concerning language spoken at home. The first question identifies the main language, that is, the language that is spoken *most often*, and the second concerns other languages that are spoken *on a regular basis* at home, if any. These questions are an excellent source of information with regard to current language spoken at home. Conversely, the question on mother tongue refers to a person's language situation in childhood.

The question on language spoken most often at home has been asked in every census since 1971, except in 1976. The question has been formulated slightly differently since 1971, but has remained practically unchanged since 1991.³⁰

Measuring language use at home³¹ with a single question on the language spoken most often is limiting. It only partially reflects the prevailing language behaviours within homes where one of the spouses belongs to a minority community. For example, reporting that French is not the main language does not necessarily imply that this language has been completely abandoned. This is why a question on languages spoken on a regular basis at home was added in the 2001 Census. The wording of the question has not changed since.

³⁰ In the 1971 Census, the question on language spoken most often at home was formulated as follows: "What language do you MOST OFTEN speak at home now?" In 1981 and 1986, it was formulated as follows: "What language do you **yourself** speak at home now? (If more than one language, which language do you speak most often?)" Since the 1991 Census, the question has read as follows: "What language does this person speak **most often** at home?" Respondents were offered ten choices of responses in 1971. This number was reduced to five in 1981 and 1986, then to two in 1991. Each time, the first choice was "English" and the second, "French," with the possibility of responding "other" and specifying what it is. Since 2001, the category "French" has preceded the category "English" on the French questionnaire.

³¹ The "language spoken at home" generally designates a language spoken at home at least on a regular basis. To indicate the "language spoken most often at home," we will also use the expressions "language used at home" or "predominant language." We also use "language spoken" or "language used" when there is no ambiguity.

The purpose of adding a complementary question was to provide a more comprehensive picture of current language use in Canadian homes. However, it is not clear that the responses obtained to the question on language spoken at home on a regular basis correspond to languages usually spoken and not just occasionally spoken. Respondents differentiate between the terms “most often” and “on a regular basis,” but the interpretation of these two terms is obviously left to their discretion.³² The question on languages spoken on a regular basis provides important supplementary information with regard to language use in Canada.

Language spoken most often in Canadian homes

In 2006, two out of three Canadians spoke mainly English at home, compared to one in five Canadians who spoke mainly French. Close to 135,000 respondents reported an Aboriginal language as the main language used at home, which corresponds to 0.4% of Canada’s population. Slightly more than one in ten Canadians speak primarily a non-official language.

Compared to some previous censuses, we note that individuals who speak a non-official language most often at home represent a growing proportion of Canada’s population, even though the number of people who speak English and French are constantly rising. Conversely, the proportion of those with French as the main language at home has been gradually declining since 1971.

³² The results of the Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities (SVOLM) show that the expression “on a regular basis” means “daily” for respondents. In other words, when asked how frequently they speak this language “on a regular basis,” the response is usually “every day.”

Table 3.1
Language spoken most often at home, Canada, 2006, 2001, 1991, 1981, 1971

Year	English		French		Aboriginal languages		Other languages	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1971 ¹	14,446,235	67.0	5,546,025	25.7	137,285	0.6	1,438,760	6.7
1981 ²	16,375,315	68.0	5,920,440	24.6	124,435	0.5	1,663,310	6.9
1991 ²	18,440,540	68.3	6,288,430	23.3	126,385	0.5	2,138,690	7.9
2001 ³	20,011,540	67.5	6,531,375	22.0	121,530	0.4	2,974,590	10.0
2006 ³	20,840,565	66.7	6,690,130	21.4	134,555	0.4	3,575,780	11.4

¹ Multiple responses were not inputted in the 1971 Census.

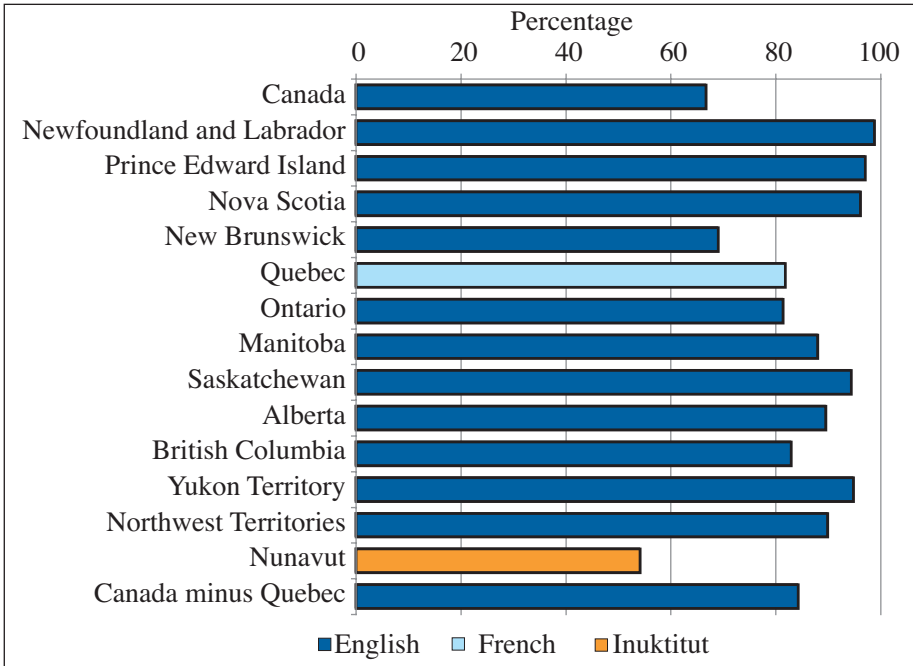
² Multiple responses were distributed equally among the reported languages. In the case of multiple categories including another language, the numbers attributed to the other languages are distributed among the categories concerned in proportion to single responses. For example, half the numbers in the category “English and other” were included in the category “English” and the other half was distributed in the categories “Aboriginal languages” and “Non-official languages” based on their relative proportion of single responses other than English and French.

³ Multiple responses were divided equally between the reported languages. For example, the numbers in the category “English and Aboriginal languages” were divided between the categories “English” and “Aboriginal languages.”

Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2006.

English is the language spoken most often at home by a large majority of Canadians in all the provinces and territories except Quebec and Nunavut.³³ In some cases, the proportion of individuals whose main language is English is very high: nearly 95% in Saskatchewan and Yukon, 96% in Nova Scotia, 97% in Prince Edward Island and 99% in Newfoundland and Labrador. In Quebec, 82% of the population speaks mainly French at home, while in Nunavut, 54% of the population speaks primarily an Aboriginal language, mainly Inuktitut.

Graph 3.1
Primary language spoken most often at home,¹ Canada, provinces and territories, Canada minus Quebec, 2006



¹ Multiple languages were divided equally among the reported languages

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Aside from English and French, the main languages spoken most often at home are the Chinese languages (2.5%), Punjabi (0.9%), Spanish (0.7%), Italian (0.5%) and Arabic (0.5%). The use of some languages indicates a certain regional concentration. This is especially the case with Dutch in Prince Edward Island, German in the Prairies and Chinese languages, which are present in several provinces, but especially used as the main language in the CMAs of Toronto and Vancouver. This is also the case with some Aboriginal languages like Innu in Newfoundland and Labrador, Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, Cree in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and Inuktitut in Nunavut.

³³ Detailed data on language spoken most often at home is appended.

Table 3.2
“Other” languages spoken most
often at home, Canada, 2006

Languages	Number	%
Chinese Languages	796,150	2.5
Punjabi	278,500	0.9
Spanish	209,955	0.7
Italian	170,335	0.5
Arabic	144,745	0.5
German	128,345	0.4
Tagalog	119,340	0.4
Vietnamese	111,440	0.4
Portuguese	103,870	0.3
Urdu	102,810	0.3
Polish	101,570	0.3
Korean	101,500	0.3
Farsi	97,215	0.3
Russian	93,805	0.3
Tamil	92,680	0.3

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table 3.3

Languages other than English and French spoken most often at home, provinces and territories, 2006

Region and language	Number	%	Region and language	Number	%
Newfoundland and Labrador			Quebec		
Innu	1,525	0.3	Spanish	71,240	1.0
Chinese Languages	665	0.1	Arabic	57,000	0.8
Spanish	400	0.1	Chinese Languages	52,745	0.7
Urdu	380	0.1	Italian	50,180	0.7
Arabic	275	0.1	Greek	23,515	0.3
Prince Edward Island			Ontario		
Dutch	330	0.2	Chinese Languages	384,295	3.2
Chinese Languages	155	0.1	Punjabi	117,445	1.0
Spanish	85	0.1	Italian	107,175	0.9
Creole Languages	65	0.0	Spanish	97,895	0.8
Hungarian	55	0.0	Urdu	81,380	0.7
Nova Scotia			Manitoba		
Mi'kmaq	2,500	0.3	German	25,445	2.2
Arabic	2,495	0.3	Tagalog (Filipino)	12,720	1.1
Chinese Languages	1,990	0.2	Cree	11,280	1.0
German	1,635	0.2	Chinese Languages	7,880	0.7
Polish	870	0.1	Oji-Cree	4,640	0.4
New Brunswick			Saskatchewan		
Chinese Languages	1,695	0.2	Cree	13,810	1.4
Mi'kmaq	1,220	0.2	German	7,770	0.8
Arabic	540	0.1	Déné	5,940	0.6
Spanish	525	0.1	Chinese Languages	4,900	0.5
Korean	510	0.1	Spanish	1,490	0.2

Table 3.3 (cont'd)

Languages other than English and French spoken most often at home, provinces and territories, 2006

Region and language	Number	%
Alberta		
Chinese Languages	71,240	1.0
German	57,000	0.8
Punjabi	52,745	0.7
Spanish	50,180	0.7
Tagalog (Filipino)	23,515	0.3
British Columbia		
Chinese Languages	384,295	3.2
Punjabi	117,445	1.0
Korean	107,175	0.9
Tagalog (Filipino)	97,895	0.8
Persian (Farsi)	81,380	0.7
Yukon		
German	25,445	2.2
Chinese Languages	12,720	1.1
Vietnamese	11,280	1.0
Tagalog (Filipino)	7,880	0.7
Spanish	4,640	0.4

Region and language	Number	%
Northwest Territories		
Dogrib	1,095	2.7
South Slave	520	1.3
North Slave (Hare)	455	1.1
Vietnamese	295	0.7
Tagalog (Filipino)	280	0.7
Nunavut¹		
Inuktitut ²	15,690	53.5

¹ Languages other than Inuktitut, English and French are too rarely used as the language spoken most often at home in Nunavut to be included here. Barely 0.4 percent of Nunavut residents use one of these other languages as the primary language at home.

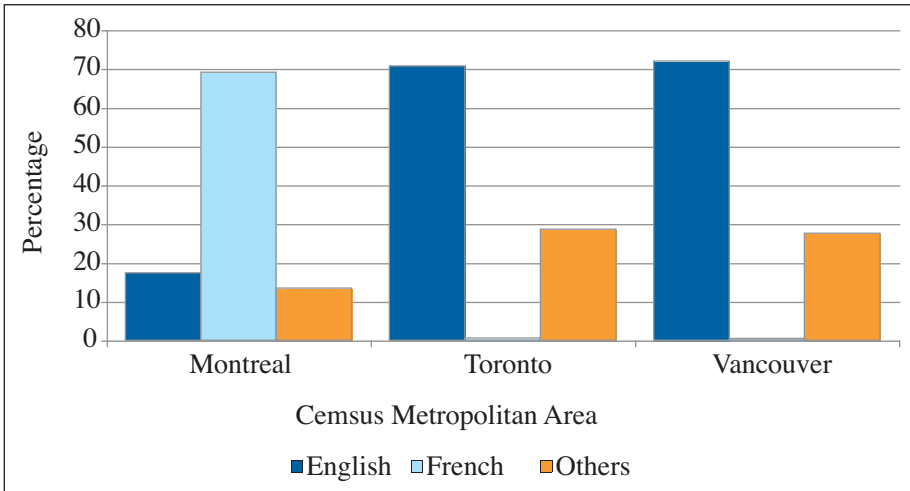
² In 2006, the category “Inuktitut” included certain Inuit languages such as Inuinnaqtun.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

With regard to the three largest CMAs, the overall picture is similar for Toronto and Vancouver, while Montreal differs substantially from the other two. In all three cases, the proportion of people who speak primarily the majority language at home is practically identical: 69% of residents in the Montreal CMA speak French, while English is the main language at home for 71% of residents in the Toronto CMA and 72% of those in the Vancouver CMA. In the Toronto and Vancouver CMAs, the proportion of people who speak neither English nor French most often at home is 29% and 28% respectively. The Montreal CMA differs in this regard, where the proportion is only 13%. On the other hand, the proportion of individuals in Montreal who speak primarily English is 17%. The proportion of those who speak primarily the minority official language is decidedly smaller in Toronto and Vancouver: French is the main language in 0.6% of cases in Toronto and 0.5% in Vancouver.

Graph 3.2

Language spoken most often at home in the Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Language spoken at home at least on a regular basis

Since 2001, census data has provided information to supplement statistics on language spoken most often at home with data on languages spoken at home on a regular basis, in addition to the main language. This additional information provides better insight into the use of a given language because it includes instances where it is spoken at least on a regular basis, not only as the main language. This means that 22.9 million Canadians speak English at home at least on a regular basis, compared to 7.5 million who speak French, 5.1 million who speak non-official languages and 195,000 who speak Aboriginal languages.

A total of 73% of Canadians speak English at home at least on a regular basis. This proportion is higher than 90% in most of the provinces and territories, and nearly 100% in Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. Quebec is by far the province with the lowest use of English, with a proportion of 17%. In New Brunswick and Nunavut, three out of four people speak English at home. Due to the strong presence of French in certain areas of New Brunswick and of Inuktitut in Nunavut, English is less prevalent in those two provinces. In Ontario and British Columbia, which have the highest proportion of immigrants, slightly less than 90% of the population speaks English at home at least on a regular basis (see table 3.4).

French is spoken at home by 24% of Canadians, but its use is geographically much more concentrated than English. In fact, 97% of French speakers in Canada live in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. In Quebec alone, 87% of Canadians speak French at home, while in most of the other provinces and territories, this proportion is less than 4% (see table 3.5).

The proportion of Canadians who speak an Aboriginal language at home at least on a regular basis is less than 1%. The situation is similar in all provinces except Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where 3% of the population speaks an Aboriginal language at home. Although Quebec has the largest number of individuals (40,000) who speak Aboriginal languages, the highest proportion of the population who speaks Aboriginal languages is in the Northwest Territories (12%) and Nunavut (73%). In Nunavut, almost three out of four people speak an Aboriginal language at home, at least on a regular basis (see table 3.6).

Finally, non-official languages are spoken at home, at least on a regular basis, by 16% of Canadians. Their proportion varies considerably from one province to another. Ontario and British Columbia are the two provinces with the highest number of individuals who speak a non-official language at home, with 2.7 million in Ontario and 924,000 in British Columbia. In both cases, this corresponds to almost one out of four people in the province. Conversely, in the Atlantic provinces and Nunavut, the proportion of individuals who speak a non-official language at home is less than 3%. In Quebec, Manitoba and Alberta, this proportion ranges between 10% and 14% (see table 3.7).

Table 3.4
Use of English at home, Canada, provinces, territories, Canada minus Quebec, 2006

Region	Total		Exclusively ¹		Mainly ²		Equally ³		On a regular basis ⁴	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada	22,942,895	73.4	18,853,915	60.3	1,730,860	5.5	517,115	1.7	1,841,005	5.9
Newfoundland and Labrador	496,620	99.2	490,390	98.0	3,955	0.8	705	0.1	1,575	0.3
Prince Edward Island	132,040	98.4	126,975	94.6	3,135	2.3	310	0.2	1,615	1.2
Nova Scotia	885,905	98.1	843,010	93.3	23,675	2.6	3,455	0.4	15,765	1.7
New Brunswick	543,880	75.6	463,105	64.4	31,105	4.3	5,290	0.7	44,380	6.2
Quebec	1,274,610	17.1	490,835	6.6	253,595	3.4	90,930	1.2	439,250	5.9
Ontario	10,796,960	89.8	8,764,605	72.9	891,225	7.4	269,345	2.2	871,785	7.2
Manitoba	1,064,595	93.9	917,815	81.0	71,395	6.3	16,805	1.5	58,580	5.2
Saskatchewan	924,565	96.9	863,760	90.6	33,365	3.5	6,205	0.7	21,235	2.2
Alberta	3,075,500	94.4	2,732,730	83.9	160,510	4.9	45,380	1.4	136,875	4.2
British Columbia	3,658,420	89.8	3,092,605	75.9	248,685	6.1	77,925	1.9	239,205	5.9
Yukon Territory	29,255	96.9	27,075	89.7	1,460	4.8	185	0.6	540	1.8
Northwest Territories	39,090	95.2	33,525	81.7	3,270	8.0	245	0.6	2,050	5.0
Nunavut	21,445	73.1	7,465	25.5	5,490	18.7	335	1.1	8,155	27.8
Canada minus Quebec	21,668,285	91.0	18,363,075	77.1	1,477,265	6.2	426,190	1.8	1,401,755	5.9

¹ Includes all persons who speak English most often at home (single responses) without speaking any other language, at least on a regular basis

² Includes all persons who speak English most often at home (single responses) and who report at least one other language spoken on a regular basis

³ Includes all persons who speak English and at least one other language most often at home (multiple responses)

⁴ Includes all persons who do not speak English most often at home, but who speak it on a regular basis (single and multiple responses)

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table 3.5
Use of French at home, Canada, provinces, territories, Canada minus Quebec, 2006

Region	Total		Exclusively ¹		Mainly ²		Equally ³		On a regular basis ⁴	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada	7,463,670	23.9	5,953,160	19.1	654,970	2.1	169,550	0.5	686,000	2.2
Newfoundland and Labrador	3,090	0.6	295	0.1	360	0.1	185	0.0	2,255	0.5
Prince Edward Island	5,245	3.9	1,520	1.1	1,165	0.9	150	0.1	2,415	1.8
Nova Scotia	33,525	3.7	8,760	1.0	8,405	0.9	1,420	0.2	14,940	1.7
New Brunswick	244,110	33.9	170,265	23.7	41,395	5.8	4,455	0.6	27,990	3.9
Quebec	6,464,990	86.9	5,583,220	75.1	444,515	6.0	118,855	1.6	318,400	4.3
Ontario	544,030	4.5	162,160	1.3	126,875	1.1	32,515	0.3	222,480	1.8
Manitoba	39,485	3.5	9,280	0.8	10,235	0.9	2,035	0.2	17,930	1.6
Saskatchewan	12,725	1.3	1,740	0.2	2,120	0.2	920	0.1	7,945	0.8
Alberta	56,690	1.7	8,485	0.3	10,830	0.3	4,200	0.1	33,175	1.0
British Columbia	57,095	1.4	6,825	0.2	8,500	0.2	4,660	0.1	37,115	0.9
Yukon Territory	1,270	4.2	340	1.1	200	0.7	75	0.2	655	2.2
Northwest Territories	995	2.4	210	0.5	235	0.6	40	0.1	515	1.3
Nunavut	430	1.5	70	0.3	130	0.4	40	0.1	185	0.6
Canada minus Quebec	998,680	4.2	369,935	1.6	210,450	0.9	50,685	0.2	367,600	1.5

¹ Includes all persons who speak French most often at home (single responses) without speaking any other language, at least on a regular basis

² Includes all persons who speak French most often at home (single responses) and who report at least one other language spoken on a regular basis

³ Includes all persons who speak French and at least one other language most often at home (multiple responses)

⁴ Includes all persons who do not speak French most often at home, but who speak it on a regular basis (single and multiple responses)

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table 3.6
Use of an Aboriginal language at home, Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	Total		Exclusively ¹		Mainly ²		Equally ³		On a regular basis ⁴	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada	194,670	0.6	73,725	0.2	55,620	0.2	10,455	0.0	54,875	0.2
Newfoundland and Labrador	2,015	0.4	1,440	0.3	225	0.0	90	0.0	260	0.1
Prince Edward Island	70	0.1	15	0.0	10	0.0	0	0.0	45	0.0
Nova Scotia	4,155	0.5	715	0.1	1,805	0.2	205	0.0	1,430	0.2
New Brunswick	2,445	0.3	690	0.1	695	0.1	145	0.0	910	0.1
Quebec	39,640	0.5	20,495	0.3	14,110	0.2	1,195	0.0	3,840	0.1
Ontario	21,775	0.2	5,210	0.0	7,355	0.1	790	0.0	8,415	0.1
Manitoba	33,320	2.9	11,560	1.0	9,370	0.8	2,175	0.2	10,215	0.9
Saskatchewan	31,820	3.3	13,285	1.4	7,445	0.8	2,245	0.2	8,840	0.9
Alberta	23,940	0.7	8,335	0.3	4,785	0.1	2,130	0.1	8,690	0.3
British Columbia	8,840	0.2	2,930	0.1	590	0.0	1,000	0.0	4,315	0.1
Yukon Territory	475	1.6	120	0.4	40	0.1	0	0.0	310	1.0
Northwest Territories	4,920	12.0	1,200	2.9	1,220	3.0	145	0.3	2,360	5.8
Nunavut	21,270	72.5	7,735	26.4	7,965	27.2	330	1.1	5,240	17.9

¹ Includes all persons who speak an Aboriginal language most often at home (single response) without speaking any other language, at least on a regular basis

² Includes all persons who speak an Aboriginal language most often at home (single response) and who report at least one other language spoken on a regular basis

³ Includes all persons who speak an Aboriginal language and at least one other language most often at home (multiple responses)

⁴ Includes all persons who do not speak an Aboriginal language most often at home but who speak one (at least) on a regular basis (single or multiple responses)

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table 3.7
Use of an “other” language at home, Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	Total		Exclusively ¹		Mainly ²		Equally ³		On a regular basis ⁴	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada	5,149,165	16.5	1,971,265	6.3	1,371,525	4.4	471,490	1.5	1,334,880	4.3
Newfoundland and Labrador	5,185	1.0	2,250	0.4	995	0.2	435	0.1	1,505	0.3
Prince Edward Island	1,945	1.4	630	0.5	450	0.3	165	0.1	705	0.5
Nova Scotia	23,200	2.6	7,535	0.8	5,645	0.6	2,025	0.2	7,995	0.9
New Brunswick	11,230	1.6	4,100	0.6	2,865	0.4	980	0.1	3,280	0.5
Quebec	797,105	10.7	275,740	3.7	207,975	2.8	91,895	1.2	221,495	3.0
Ontario	2,742,475	22.8	1,050,875	8.7	748,180	6.2	245,570	2.0	697,850	5.8
Manitoba	144,725	12.8	47,610	4.2	39,335	3.5	12,910	1.1	44,865	4.0
Saskatchewan	46,815	4.9	14,115	1.5	11,760	1.2	3,150	0.3	17,785	1.9
Alberta	448,830	13.8	162,565	5.0	122,270	3.8	40,380	1.2	123,610	3.8
British Columbia	924,310	22.7	404,790	9.9	231,080	5.7	73,775	1.8	214,665	5.3
Yukon Territory	1,410	4.7	475	1.6	305	1.0	110	0.4	525	1.7
Northwest Territories	1,700	4.1	540	1.3	615	1.5	80	0.2	465	1.1
Nunavut	245	0.8	45	0.2	60	0.2	10	0.0	125	0.4

¹ Includes all persons who speak a non-official language most often at home (single response) without speaking any other language, at least on a regular basis

² Includes all persons who speak a non-official language most often at home (single response) and who report at least one other language spoken on a regular basis

³ Includes all persons who speak a non-official language and at least one other language most often at home (multiple responses)

⁴ Includes all persons who do not speak a non-official language most often at home, but who speak one (at least) on a regular basis (single and multiple responses)

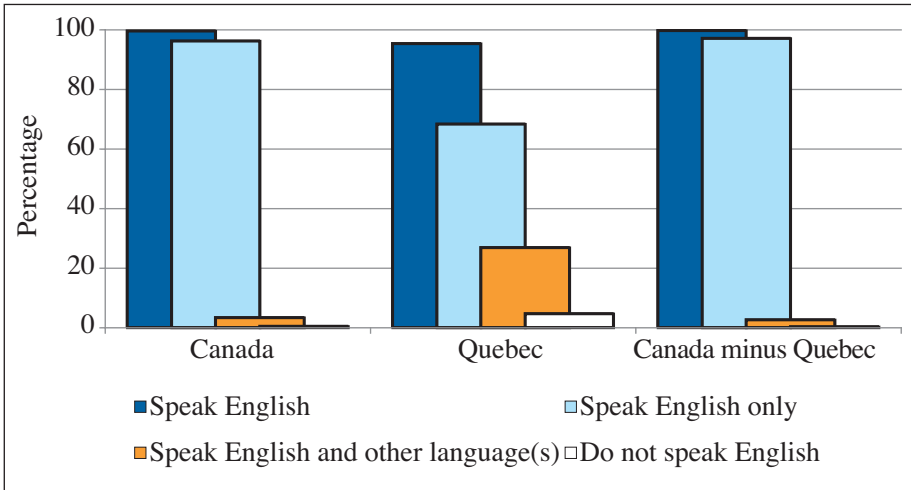
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Language use according to mother tongue

When cross-referenced with mother tongue, data on language spoken at home provides retention and dissemination indicators for various languages. Almost all Canadians with English as their mother tongue, or 99.6%, speak English at home, at least on a regular basis, whereas 96% of Anglophones do not speak any language other than their mother tongue at home. However, 602,000 Anglophones speak (at least) one other language at home in addition to their mother tongue. Of these, approximately half speak French, while the other half speak a non-official language.

In Quebec, 95% of people with English as their mother tongue speak English at home. A higher proportion of them speak other languages than do Anglophones in other provinces: 27% of them speak another language at home in addition to English, and this language is French in 86% of cases. Moreover, 5% of Quebec Anglophones do not speak English at home, at least on a regular basis, compared to 0.3% elsewhere in Canada.

Graph 3.3
Use (or not) of English at home, at least on a regular basis, by
Canadians whose mother tongue is English, Canada,
Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006



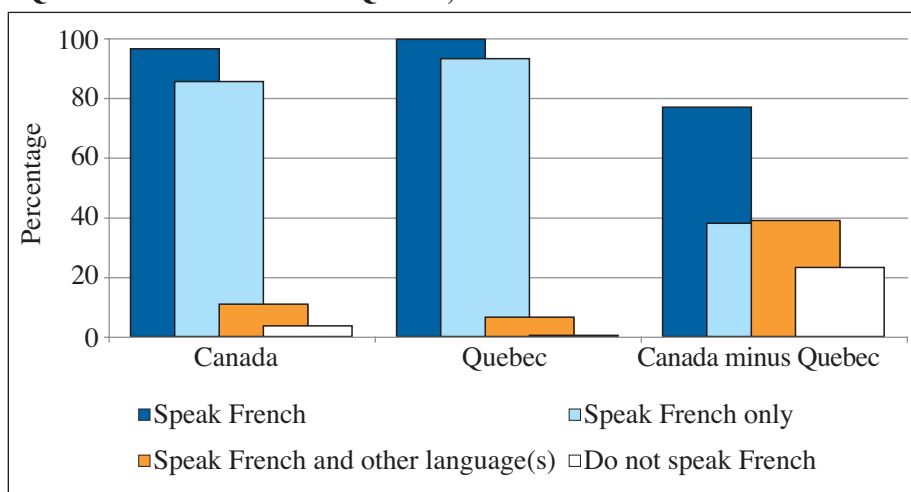
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Like Anglophones who speak English, nearly all Francophones in Canada as a whole and in Quebec speak French at home, at least on a regular basis. However, in Canada as a whole, the proportion of individuals with French as their mother tongue who speak their mother tongue at home (96%) is slightly lower than for Anglophones. On the other hand, there are proportionally more Francophones who speak (at least) one other language at home in addition to their mother tongue: they account for 11%, compared to 3% of Anglophones. English is spoken by 94% of those Francophones who speak at least one other language at home.

There is a substantial difference in the use of French at home between Francophones living in Quebec and those who live in the other provinces and territories. In Quebec, 93% of Francophones speak only French at home, compared to 38% elsewhere in Canada. Among those who speak (at least) one other language in addition to French, 99% of Francophones living outside Quebec speak English and 2% speak a non-official language, compared to 89% for English and 14% for non-official languages for Francophones in Quebec.³⁴ Lastly, less than 1% of Francophones living in Quebec do not speak French at home, at least on a regular basis, compared to 23% elsewhere in Canada.

Graph 3.4

Use (or not) of French at home, at least on a regular basis, by Canadians whose mother tongue is French, Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

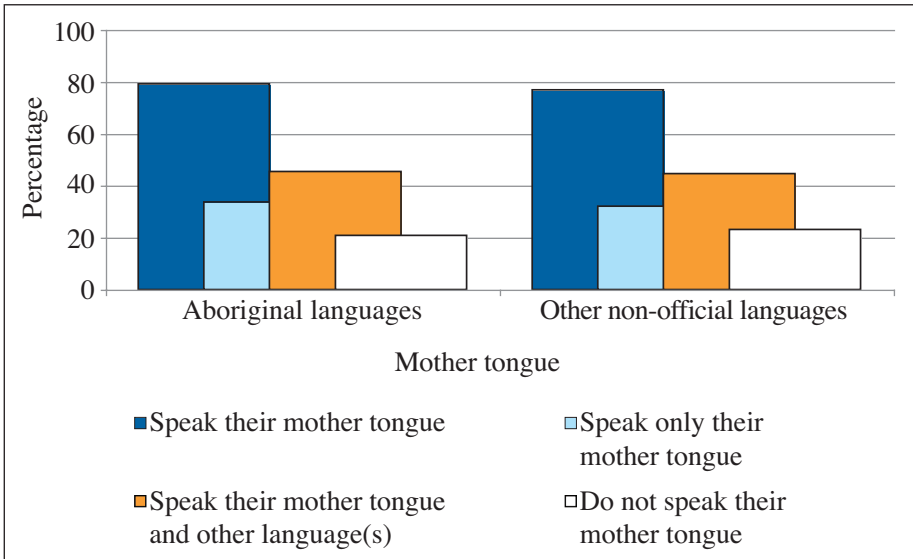
Seventy-nine percent of the 210,000 respondents with an Aboriginal mother tongue speak an Aboriginal language at home. This means that 21% of them no longer speak their mother tongue, at least on a regular basis, while 34% speak only their mother tongue, compared to 96% for Anglophones and 86% for Francophones. Persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue who speak an “other” language at home, speak English in 94% of cases. English is also spoken by 96% of people with an Aboriginal mother tongue who no longer speak their mother tongue, at least on a regular basis. Overall, 132,000 individuals with an Aboriginal mother tongue, or 63%, speak English at home.

As shown in Graph 3.5, the profile of the 5.9 million Canadians with a mother tongue other than English or French is similar to that of individuals with an Aboriginal mother tongue with regard to language spoken at home. Twenty-three percent no longer speak their mother tongue at home, at least on a regular basis.

³⁴ The total exceeds 100% because each category includes multiple responses.

Conversely, 32% speak only their mother tongue. Like people with an Aboriginal mother tongue, 63% of individuals with an “other” mother tongue speak English at home. When they speak an “other” language, 93% of allophones choose English.

Graph 3.5
Use (or not) of mother tongue, at least on a regular basis, by Canadians with an Aboriginal or other non-official mother tongue, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Graphs 3.4 and 3.5 show that minority mother tongues face stiff competition from the majority language. While the proportion of Anglophones outside Quebec and Francophones in Quebec who speak their mother tongue is almost 100%, it drops to 79% among those with an Aboriginal mother tongue and to 77% among those with an “other” mother tongue³⁵ and among Francophones outside Quebec. Anglophones in Quebec stand out, with 95% speaking their mother tongue at home.

Several languages spoken at home

In 2006, almost 15% of Canada’s population, or nearly 4.5 million Canadians, spoke more than one language at home, at least on a regular basis.³⁶ In nine out of ten cases, the use of more than one language at home implies use of English, either as the language spoken most often or the language spoken on a regular basis. By

³⁵ The majority of people with an “other” mother tongue are foreign-born, which is rarely the case for Francophones and unusual for people with an Aboriginal mother tongue.

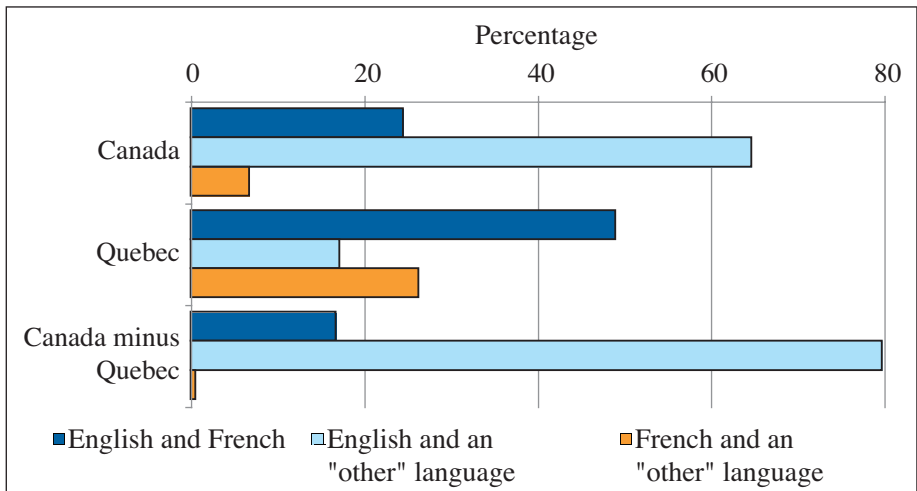
³⁶ This proportion is obtained by adding respondents who reported speaking more than one language most often at home to those who reported one predominant language and at least one language spoken on a regular basis.

comparison, “other” languages are spoken in three out of four cases in a bilingual home, with French being spoken in one out of three cases.

In Canada as a whole, the combination of English and a language other than French is most common, representing 65% of cases of bilingualism. The combined use of English and French accounts for 25% of cases, compared to 7% for the combination of French and a language other than English. The situation in Quebec is different than that observed in the rest of Canada: half of Quebecers who speak two languages at home speak English and French, while only 17% speak these two languages in the other provinces and territories. Outside Quebec, 80% of people who speak more than one language at home use English and a language other than French.

Graph 3.6

Proportion of persons who speak more than one language at home according to language combination, Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Among Canadians who speak more than one language at home, at least on a regular basis, 64% have a mother tongue other than English or French, compared to 17% of Francophones and 14% of Anglophones. The proportion of all Canadians who speak more than one language at home varies considerably according to mother tongue. Three percent of Anglophones speak more than one language at home, compared to 11% of Francophones and 47% of people with an “other” mother tongue.

Overview

English is the language spoken most often at home by two out of three Canadians, while more than one out of five Canadians speaks primarily French. English is the main language spoken most often at home in every province and territory except Quebec, where French predominates, and Nunavut, where Inuktitut

is the majority language. Looking at languages spoken at home on a regular basis, over 5 million Canadians speak an “other” language. These people are concentrated mainly in Ontario and British Columbia. The use of French is also highly concentrated in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, where 97% of people speak French at home.

Almost all Anglophones speak their mother tongue at home. The same applies to Francophones in Quebec, but a large number of those who live in other provinces and territories also speak English. People whose mother tongue is an Aboriginal or an “other” language are more likely to speak a language other than their mother tongue at home. As a result, individuals with a mother tongue other than English or French account for two-thirds of the 4.5 million Canadians who speak more than one language at home.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGES USED AT WORK

The long-form census questionnaire includes two questions concerning language use at work. Language of work refers to the language used either most often or on a regular basis on the job the week prior to census day.³⁷ The first question identifies the main language, that is, the language used *most often*, and the second concerns other languages that are used *on a regular basis* at work, if any. These questions appeared in the 2001 and 2006 censuses, and their wording has remained unchanged.

The question on language of work used most often allows us to identify the main language used in the workplace. However, measuring the language used at work with one single question pertaining to main language is limiting and leads to an underestimation of the use of minority languages at work. These languages may in fact be used at work, but less often than the dominant language. In addition, it is impossible to describe with only one question more complex situations where the language used depends on the nature of the task or the speaker.

By adding a question on the language(s) used on a regular basis at work, a more comprehensive picture of language use can be created. When a person is given the possibility of reporting all languages used at work, at least on a regular basis, the use of minority languages is much more common. Using statistics collected through this question, we can determine if workers belonging to official-language minorities have an opportunity to use their language skills on a regular basis at work. We can also determine to what extent young Anglophones outside Quebec, who know French likely as a result of attending immersion programs, have the opportunity to use their language skills on a regular basis.

³⁷ If the respondent had more than one job during this period, the responses should apply to the job in which the person worked the greatest number of hours. If the respondent did not work at a job during this period, she/he should refer to the job held the longest since January 1 of the year prior to the census.

Respondents do not really have a problem distinguishing between the terms “most often” and “on a regular basis,” as is the case with language spoken at home.³⁸ However, the question on language of work refers to languages “used” at work, compared to languages “spoken” at home. A respondent may therefore use a language at work without necessarily speaking it when, for instance, consulting documentation or receiving instructions in a language other than that in which he/she expresses him/herself. This distinction, combined with the fact that workplaces are usually less homogeneous than places of residence, may give the respondent more leeway in interpreting the question.

Language used at work

In the 2006 Census, 78% of Canadians aged 15 years and older who had worked since January 1, 2005,³⁹ reported using primarily English at work, compared to 22% who used primarily French. Languages that are neither English nor French were the main language of work for 2% of Canadians, while Aboriginal languages, which are used very rarely at work, were the main language of 31,000 respondents, which is equal to 0.2% of Canadian workers.⁴⁰

The proportion of the population using English at work was 85% in Canada overall in 2006, with 78.3% using it most often and 6.7% using it on a regular basis. These proportions have not varied significantly compared to 2001, when the proportion of workers who reported using English most often was 78.5% and those who used it on a regular basis accounted for 6.3%. It should be noted that the 78% of the population who use English most often at work also includes almost 2% who indicated that they use English and another language equally most often, mainly French.

The proportion of the population who use English at work is equal to or higher than 98% in every province and territory except New Brunswick, Quebec and Nunavut. In New Brunswick, this proportion is 88% (76% most often and 12% on a regular basis), while in Quebec it is 40% (17% most often and 23% on a regular basis). In these two provinces, this proportion is the same as that observed in 2001 but, in both cases, we see a slight decrease in the number of people for whom English is the main language of work for those who use it on a regular basis. In Nunavut, the proportion of people who use English at work increased slightly to 91% in 2006, compared to 90% in 2001. The use of English on a regular basis at work has decreased there, dropping from 23% to slightly less

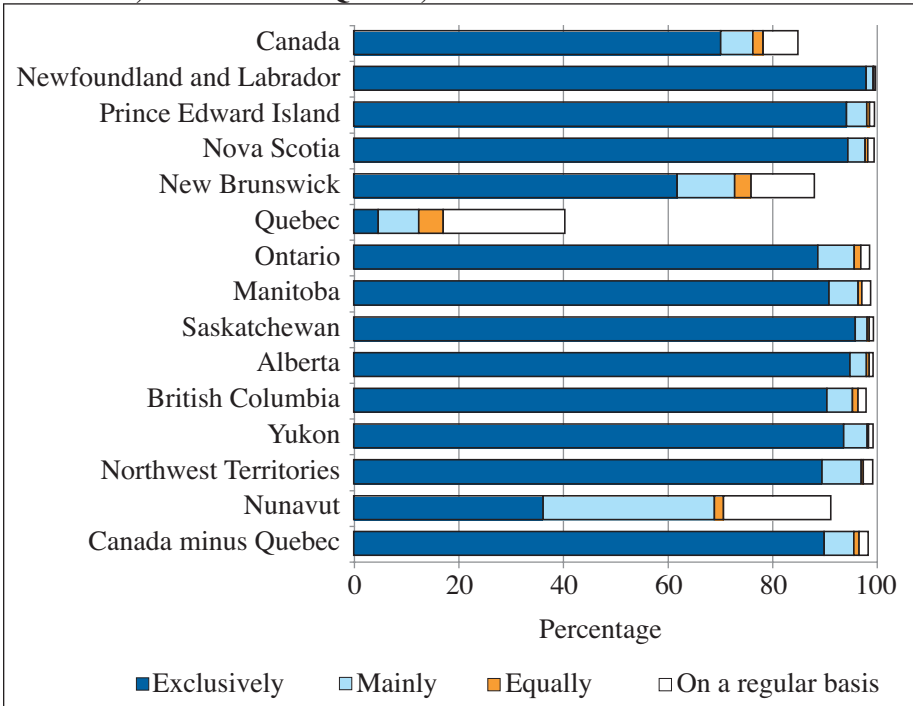
³⁸ See comments on interpretation of the terms “most often” and “on a regular basis” in the Introduction to Chapter 3.

³⁹ The statistics on language of work presented in this chapter concern those aged 15 years and older who worked between January 1, 2005, and Census day, May 16, 2006, or 18.4 million Canadians. These statistics therefore exclude those under the age of 15 and those who did not work during this period.

⁴⁰ Some people report more than one main language. Multiple responses are included in each of the categories, which explains why the total exceeds 100% of the population.

than 21%. On the other hand, 71% of workers in Nunavut used primarily English in 2006, compared to 66% in 2001.

Graph 4.1
Use of English at work, Canada, provinces and territories, Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Note: The category "Exclusively" refers to persons who reported only English as their primary language without any other language used on a regular basis at work. The category "Mainly" refers to persons who reported English as the primary language and another language used on a regular basis at work. The category "Equally" refers to persons who reported English and at least one other language as the primary language of work. The category "on a regular basis" refers to persons who did not report English as the primary language, but who use English on a regular basis at work.

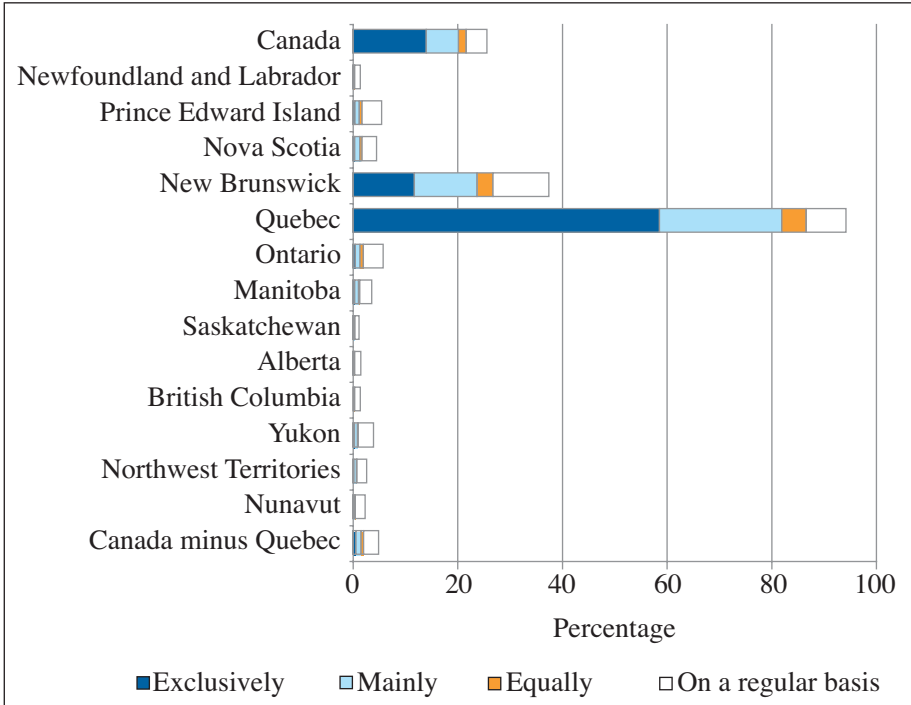
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Workers who use French at work make up 26% of Canadian workers, with 22% using it most often and 4% on a regular basis. These proportions have not changed significantly since 2001. Almost 2% of Canadian workers reported using French and another language equally most often, mainly English.

French is used at work by less than 6% of workers in all provinces and territories except New Brunswick and Quebec. In Quebec, 94% of workers use French, with 87% using it most often and 8% on a regular basis. Aside from Quebec, New Brunswick reports the highest proportion of workers using French with 37.5%, of which 27% use it most often and 11% on a regular basis. With 411,000 individuals, Ontario has the second largest population of workers who

use French at work, behind Quebec, although they only represent slightly less than 6% of all workers in the province. By and large, Canadians who use French at work are mainly concentrated in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, with these three provinces comprising 97% of all those who use French at work in the entire country.

Graph 4.2
Use of French at work, Canada, provinces and territories, Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Note: The category "Exclusively" refers to persons who reported only French as the primary language with no other language used on a regular basis at work. The category "Mainly" refers to persons who reported French as the primary language and another language used on a regular basis at work. The category "Equally" refers to persons who reported French and at least one other language as the primary language of work. The category "On a regular basis" refers to persons who did not report French as the primary language, but who use French on a regular basis at work.

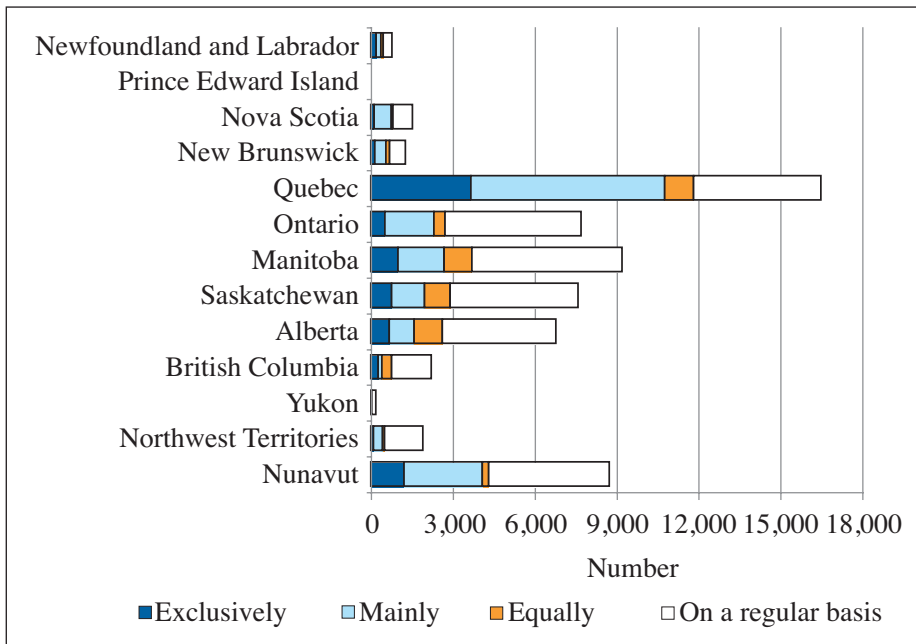
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Aboriginal languages are used relatively rarely at work by Canadians. In the country as a whole, 64,000 individuals use an Aboriginal language at work, which equals 0.3% of Canadian workers. In all the provinces, the proportion of workers who use an Aboriginal language, at least on a regular basis, is less than 1%, with the exception of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where the proportion is respectively 1.4% and 1.3%. In the territories, Yukon reports a proportion of workers using an Aboriginal language of 0.9%, while the proportion is 7% in the

Northwest Territories. Nunavut has by far the highest proportion of workers using an Aboriginal language at work, with 62%.

In terms of numbers, however, Quebec (16,500 individuals) and Manitoba (9,200 individuals) have the largest populations of workers using Aboriginal languages, ahead of Nunavut (8,700 individuals). Next are the provinces of Ontario (7,700), Saskatchewan (7,600) and Alberta (6,700). The other provinces and territories have a population of less than 2,500 workers using an Aboriginal language.

Graph 4.3
Use of Aboriginal languages at work, Canada, provinces and territories (by number), 2006



Note: The category "Exclusively" refers to persons who reported only an Aboriginal language as the primary language without a non-Aboriginal language used on a regular basis at work. The category "Mainly" refers to persons who reported an Aboriginal language as the primary language and another non-Aboriginal language used on a regular basis at work. The category "Equally" refers to persons who reported an Aboriginal language and at least one other non-Aboriginal language as the primary language. The category "On a regular basis" refers to persons who did not report an Aboriginal language as the primary language, but who use an Aboriginal language on a regular basis at work (including multiple responses).

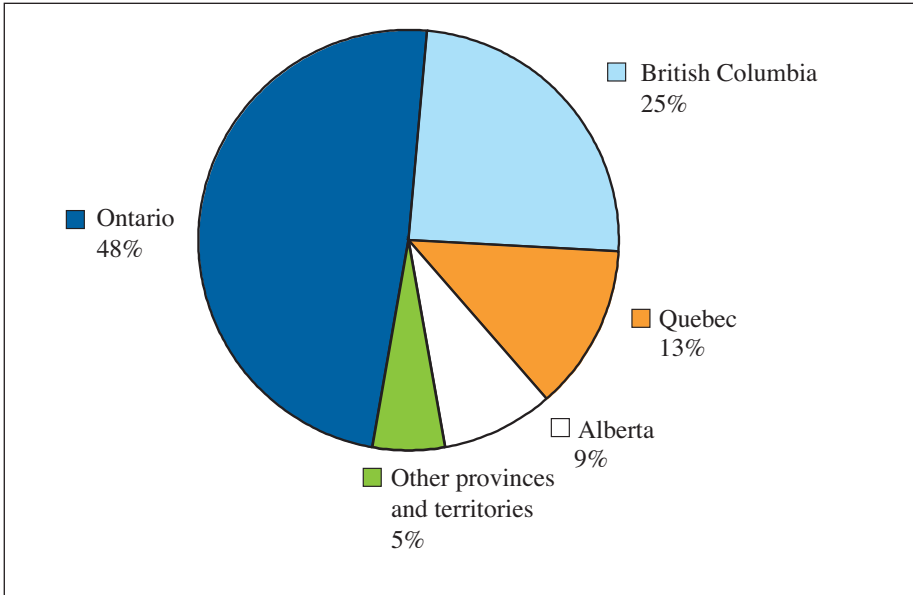
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Like Aboriginal languages, languages other than English or French are also used relatively rarely at work, especially when we consider the number of Canadian workers who know an "other" language. Among the 18.4 million Canadian workers, 4.3 million (23%) know an "other" language well enough to conduct a conversation; however, only 4.4%, or 804,000 workers, use it at work.

Workers who use an “other” language are concentrated mainly in Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec and Alberta, the main settlement areas for immigrants to the country. Almost half of them live in Ontario, while one out of four workers who use an “other” language live in British Columbia.

Graph 4.4

Distribution of Canadian workers who use an "other" language at work according to province of residence, 2006



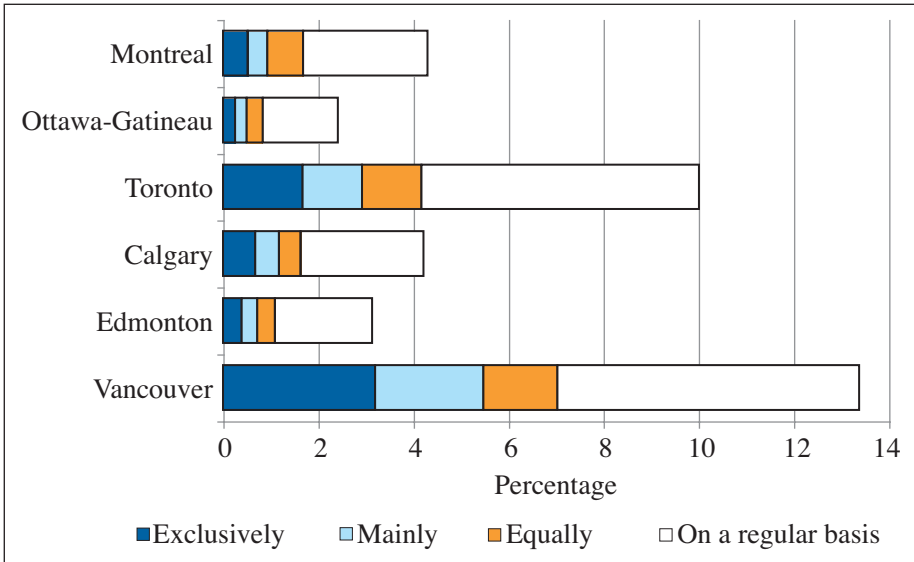
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

As with the population that has neither English nor French as their mother tongue, workers who use an “other” language at work are concentrated mainly in major cities. Ninety percent of them live in a CMA, with 70% in the three largest, namely Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. The Toronto CMA is home to 300,000, or 37%, of the 804,000 Canadians who use an “other” language at work. Using a language that is neither English nor French at work is therefore essentially an urban phenomenon.

Although the largest pool of workers using an “other” language is concentrated in Toronto, the Vancouver CMA has the highest relative proportion. In Vancouver, more than 13% of workers use a non-official language, with 7% using it as the main language of work and 3% as the only language of work. It follows that in the Vancouver CMA, over 40,000 individuals have a non-official language as their exclusive language of work.

Graph 4.5

Use of "other" languages at work in the six largest Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA), 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In short, the main language of work in Canada is English, followed by French, the use of which is, however, concentrated mainly in Quebec and the adjoining areas of New Brunswick and Ontario. In almost all the provinces and territories, English is the main language of work for more than 96% of workers. Quebec, where French is the main language of work for 87% of workers, is the only province where workers who have English as their main language are not the majority. Outside Quebec, New Brunswick and Nunavut stand out with a fairly high proportion of workers who have a language other than English as their main language of work: 27% of workers in New Brunswick use primarily French, while 30% of workers in Nunavut use primarily an Aboriginal language, in this case, Inuktitut.

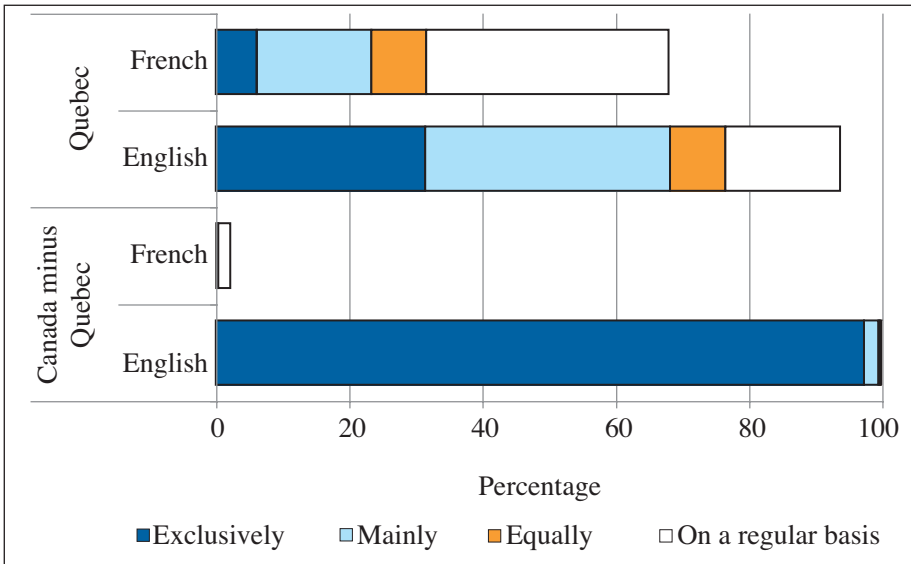
Language use at work according to mother tongue

Almost all individuals whose mother tongue is English use English at work (99.7%), with 95% using it exclusively. When English is used with another language, that language is French in 88% of cases. French is used by 4% of Anglophone workers, or 442,000 people. Of these, 26,000 report working only in French. Although it is uncommon for Anglophones to use a language other than English or French at work, 8,000 use an Aboriginal language and 63,000 use an "other" language, which is equivalent to less than 1% of all Anglophone workers.

In Quebec, two out of three Anglophone workers use French at work (31% as their main language and 36% as a language used on a regular basis). Nonetheless, 94% of them use English and three out of four have English as

their main language.⁴¹ Overall, 62% of Anglophone workers in Quebec use both English and French at work, at least on a regular basis. The situation is very different for Anglophone workers outside Quebec. Almost all of them use English at work (99.9%), of which 97% use English exclusively. Conversely, only 2% use French at work. Among the 223,000 Anglophone workers outside Quebec who use French at work, 82% use it on a regular basis but have English as their main language of work. Almost two-thirds of these workers live in Ontario (142,000 people, or 64% of Anglophone workers outside Quebec who use French), of which one out of four (57,000 respondents) lives in the Ottawa CMA.⁴²

Graph 4.6
Use of English and French at work by Anglophone workers,
Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Like Anglophones, a vast majority of Francophone workers across the country use their mother tongue at work (95%). Eighty-eight percent of them use French as their main language and 61% use it exclusively, while 99% of Anglophone workers use mainly their mother tongue at work, exclusively in 95% of cases. When Francophone workers use another language at work in addition to French, it is almost always English (99.6% of cases).

Overall, 39% of Francophone workers report using English at work, of which 16% use it as their main language and 5% as their only language of work. Overall,

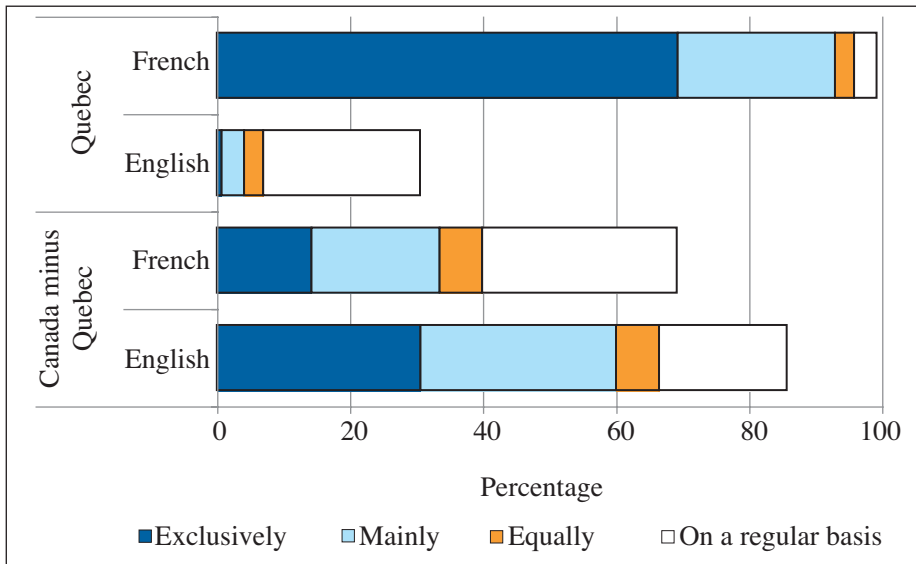
⁴¹ The data on main language includes multiple responses. In this case, eight percent of Anglophones in Quebec reported using English and French equally as the main language of work. Therefore, these persons are included in both the number of workers who have English as their main language of work and the number of workers who have French as their main language of work.

⁴² Excluding the Quebec side of the Ottawa–Gatineau CMA.

more than 200,000 Francophone workers use only English at work. Workers with a French mother tongue very rarely use languages other than French or English at work. The proportion who use “other” languages is lower than that of their Anglophone counterparts. Fewer than 1,000 individuals use an Aboriginal language at work, which corresponds to a tiny proportion of Francophone workers, while 19,000, or 0.5%, use a language other than English or French.

In Quebec, French is used at work by 99% of Francophone workers, of whom 96% use French as the main language and 69% use it exclusively at work. The rate of use of English is relatively high among Francophone workers in Quebec: 31% of them use English at work, of which 7% report it as their main language. Outside Quebec, Francophone workers use English more than their mother tongue. Sixty-nine percent use French at work, of whom 40% use it as their main language and 14% use it exclusively, compared to 86% who use English, with 66% using it as the main language and 31% as the exclusive language of work. Outside Quebec, 55% of Francophone workers use both French and English at work.

Graph 4.7
Use of English and French at work by workers whose mother tongue is French, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Respondents whose mother tongue is Aboriginal use mainly English at work, more often than Aboriginal languages. Eighty-five percent of these workers use English, with 69% using it as the main language and 38% using it exclusively as their language of work, compared to 60% who use an Aboriginal language, with 32% using it as the main language and 9% exclusively.

In every province and territory except Quebec and Nunavut, English is used more frequently than Aboriginal languages at work, at least on a regular basis, by

people with an Aboriginal mother tongue. In most cases, the difference in favour of English is fairly significant. In Nunavut, however, the proportion of the population with an Aboriginal mother tongue that uses an Aboriginal language at work (87.0%) is almost the same as the proportion that uses English (86.7%). Quebec is the only province where the use of Aboriginal languages at work (87.3%) is clearly more common than the use of English (53.6%) among persons with an Aboriginal mother tongue. Despite this “relatively low” use of English, the use of French by workers with an Aboriginal mother tongue in Quebec is even smaller, with only 33% who use it, at least on a regular basis.

Table 4.1

Use of English and Aboriginal languages at work by workers¹ with an Aboriginal mother tongue, Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	Workers with an Aboriginal mother tongue (single response)				
	Total	Workers who use an Aboriginal language		Workers who use English	
		Number	%	Number	%
Canada	88,935	53,480	60.1	75,930	85.4
Newfoundland and Labrador	950	690	72.7	745	78.8
Prince Edward Island	70	10	13.5	65	100.0
Nova Scotia	1,635	1,240	76.1	1,510	92.5
New Brunswick	1,685	1,075	63.9	1,550	91.9
Quebec	17,435	15,210	87.3	9,355	53.6
Ontario	10,110	5,895	58.3	9,610	95.0
Manitoba	13,115	7,360	56.1	12,150	92.6
Saskatchewan	12,405	6,245	50.4	11,625	93.7
Alberta	12,720	5,030	39.5	12,075	94.9
British Columbia	5,875	1,100	18.7	5,630	95.8
Yukon	530	105	20.5	530	98.7
Northwest Territories	3,305	1,585	48.0	3,205	97.0
Nunavut	9,100	7,915	87.0	7,890	86.7

¹ Persons aged 15 years and older who worked between January 1, 2005, and May 16, 2006.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Furthermore, in Canada as a whole, French is rarely used by workers with an Aboriginal mother tongue (7%). Ninety-one percent of those who use it live in Quebec.

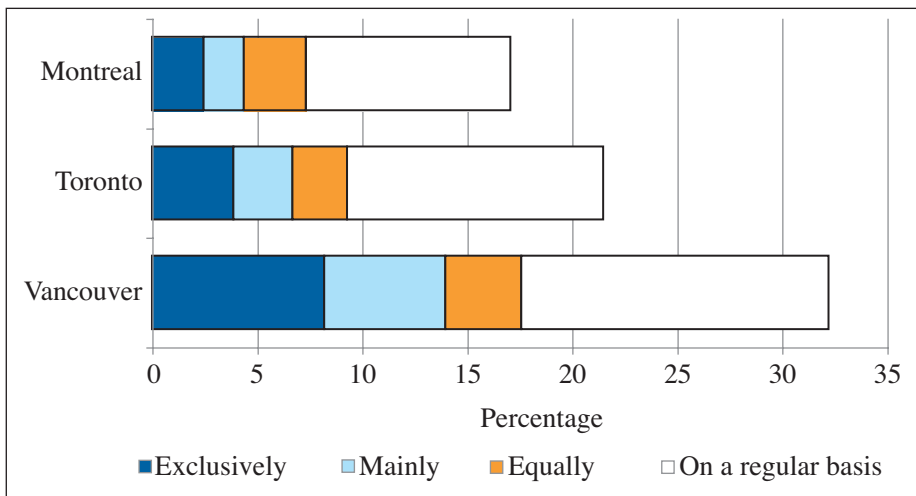
Among workers with a mother tongue other than English or French, English is clearly used most often as the language of work: 92% of them use English at work, at least on a regular basis, of which 86% use it as the main

language and 69% use it exclusively as their language of work. In comparison, “other” languages are used by 21% and French by 13% of workers with an “other” mother tongue.

Of the three largest CMAs in Canada, Vancouver has the highest proportion (32%)⁴³ of workers with an “other” mother tongue who use a language other than English or French at work, at least on a regular basis. This is almost double that of Montreal (17%). In Toronto, 21% of workers with an “other” mother tongue, or nearly 275,000 individuals, use an “other” language at work, at least on a regular basis.

Graph 4.8

Use of "other" languages at work by persons with an "other" mother tongue, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver CMAs, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In Canada, 86% of people with an “other” mother tongue who use French at work live in Quebec. In that province, those with an “other” mother tongue use French in 79% of cases (of whom 61% use it as the main language and 22% as the exclusive language of work). In comparison, this proportion is only 2% outside Quebec. The use of English is much more extensive among workers with an “other” mother tongue outside Quebec: 96% use English at work, at least on a regular basis, of which 92% use it as the main language and 77% as the exclusive language of work. In Quebec, 72% of them use English, with 47% using it as the main language and 15% as the exclusive language of work.

⁴³ The Vancouver CMA is second among all Canada’s CMAs, behind the Abbotsford CMA also located in British Columbia, where the rate of use of “other” languages at work for people with an “other” mother tongue is 39%. However, the number of workers there with another mother tongue (24,000) is much lower than in Vancouver (485,000), Toronto (1.3 million) and Montreal (418,000).

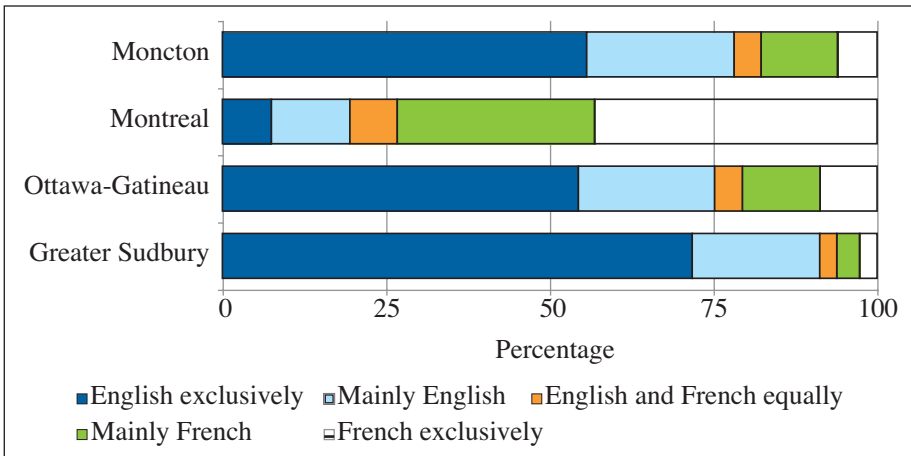
Use of English and French in high contact areas

In contrast to language spoken at home, which concerns language practices in a private environment, language of work corresponds to language practices that occur mainly in the public domain. Language dynamics are more varied and often more complex in certain regions where Francophones and Anglophones work more closely together. This is the case in four CMA: Moncton, Montreal, Ottawa–Gatineau and Greater Sudbury.

The majority of workers use only English at work in Moncton (56%), Ottawa–Gatineau (54%) and Greater Sudbury (72%). In these three CMAs, English is the main language of work for a high proportion of workers: 78%, 75% and 91% respectively. On the other hand, the proportion of workers there who use only French is less than 10%, with 6% in Moncton, 9% in Ottawa–Gatineau and 3% in Greater Sudbury. The situation is reversed in Montreal, where 7% of workers use only English (19% as the main language), compared to 43% of workers who use only French⁴⁴ (73% as the main language).

Graph 4.9

Rate of use of English and French in workers aged 15 years and older, who use at least one of these two languages at work, Moncton, Montreal, Ottawa-Gatineau and Greater Sudbury CMAs, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

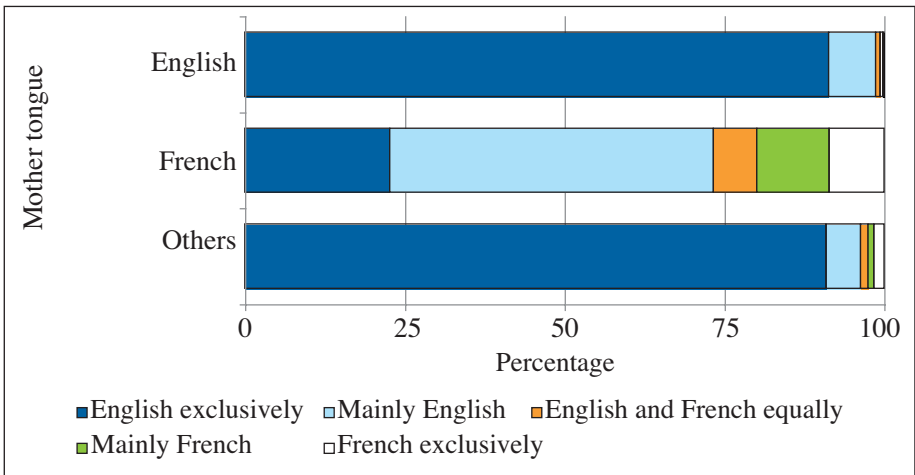
These CMAs all have a relatively high proportion of workers who use both English and French at work. This proportion is highest in Montreal at 49% (of whom 7% use them equally), almost double that observed in Greater Sudbury at 26% (of whom 3% use them equally). In comparison, 38% of workers use both official languages in Moncton and 37% in Ottawa–Gatineau (of whom 4% use them equally in both cases). While both languages are used at work, English nonetheless remains the main language for the majority of workers in Moncton,

⁴⁴ Although they do not form a majority, they constitute the modal category.

Ottawa–Gatineau and Greater Sudbury, while French is the main language for the majority of bilingual workers in Montreal.

Language use sometimes varies significantly according to language group. In Greater Sudbury, over 90% of Anglophones and individuals with an “other” mother tongue use only English at work. Seventy-seven percent of Francophones use French, but only as a second language of work, behind English, in 51% of cases.

Graph 4.10
Rate of use of English and French in workers aged 15 years and older, who use at least one of these two languages at work, according to mother tongue, Greater Sudbury CMA, 2006



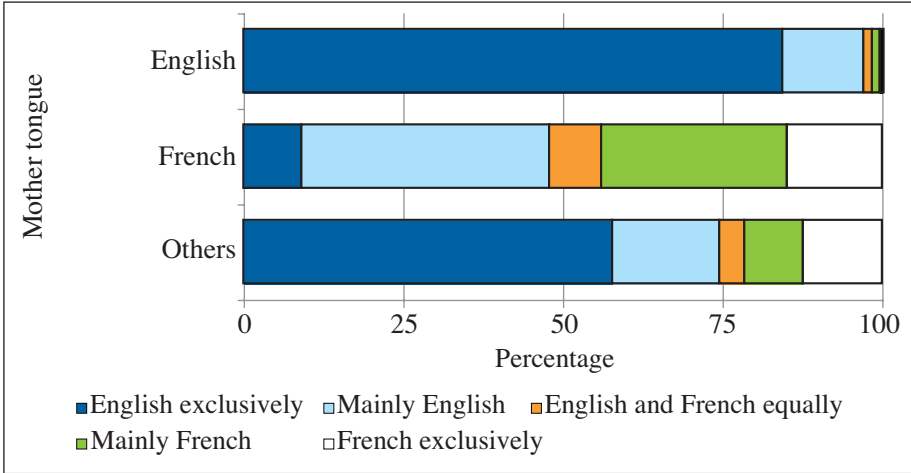
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In the Moncton CMA, the proportion of Anglophones who use French, at least on a regular basis, is somewhat higher (16%) than that observed in Greater Sudbury (9%). However, 42% of people with an “other” mother tongue in Moncton use French at work, at least on a regular basis, with 12% using it as the only language of work.⁴⁵ For Francophones, French is the main language of work in 44% of cases, while 48% of them use primarily English. However, 91% use French at work, at least on a regular basis.

⁴⁵ In Moncton, 2% of workers have an “other” mother tongue, compared to 6% in Greater Sudbury.

Graph 4.11

Rate of use of English and French in workers aged 15 years and older, who use at least one of these two languages at work, according to mother tongue, Moncton CMA, 2006

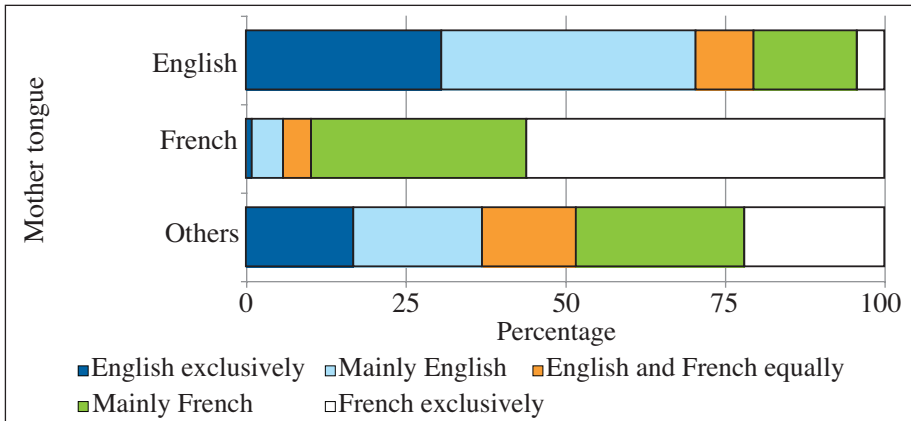


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In the Montreal CMA, French is used most often at work, both by Anglophones and by individuals with an “other” mother tongue. Sixty-nine percent of Anglophones use French, at least on a regular basis, 21% of whom report it as the dominant language. Those with an “other” mother tongue use French in 83% of cases, with 48% using it as the main language. Almost all Francophones use French, at least on a regular basis (99%). Forty-four percent use English, but in 34% of cases, it is the second language of work after French.

Graph 4.12

Rate of use of English and French in workers aged 15 years and older, who use at least one of these two languages at work, according to mother tongue, Montreal CMA, 2006

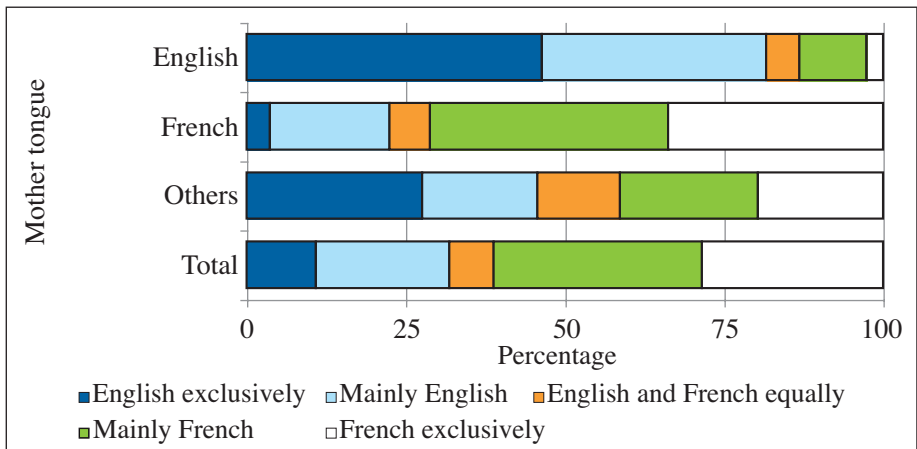


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

The situation is very different in the Ottawa–Gatineau CMA when comparing the Ontario side to the Quebec side.⁴⁶ Fifty-four percent of Anglophones living in Quebec use French at work, at least on a regular basis, even though it is the second language of work after English in 35% of cases. Workers with an “other” mother tongue living in Quebec use French in 72% of cases, compared to 20% of those who live in Ontario. Francophones who live in Quebec use English at work in 66% of cases and French in 96% of cases (71% as the dominant language).

Graph 4.13

Rate of use of English and French in workers aged 15 years and older, who use at least one of these two languages at work, according to mother tongue, Ottawa-Gatineau CMA (Quebec side), 2006



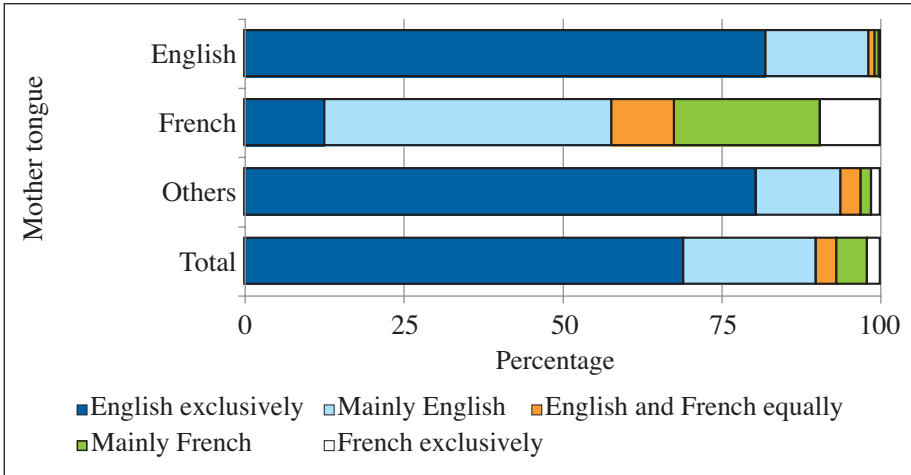
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

The vast majority of Francophones who live in Ontario use both English and French at work. Ninety-one percent of Francophones use English at work, compared to 87% who use French (for 32% of whom it is the dominant language). English is the main language of work for 58% of Francophones who live in Ontario.

⁴⁶ This refers to a worker’s place of residence. The situation could be somewhat different if we had looked at place of work.

Graph 4.14

Rate of use of English and French in workers aged 15 years and older, who use at least one of these two languages at work, according to mother tongue, Ottawa-Gatineau CMA (Ontario side), 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Overview

Of all workers in the country, 85% use English and 26% use French at work. Workers who use French are mainly concentrated in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. Aboriginal and “other” languages are used relatively rarely at work by Canadian workers. Workers who use a language other than English or French are mainly concentrated in Ontario and British Columbia and, to a lesser extent, in Quebec and Alberta.

Almost all those with English as their mother tongue use English at work, and very few of them use an “other” language. Those who do are mainly Quebec workers, who use French. Most Francophones also use their mother tongue at work, especially in Quebec. Outside Quebec, nearly nine out of ten Francophones use English at work, often in conjunction with French. Most workers who use a mother tongue that is neither English nor French at work are found in large CMAs, namely Montreal, Toronto and, especially, Vancouver.

In areas of high contact between Francophones and Anglophones, such as the Moncton, Montreal, Ottawa–Gatineau and Greater Sudbury CMAs, both official languages co-exist in the workplace, usually favouring the majority language.

CHAPTER 5

LINGUISTIC REPRODUCTION

Linguistic reproduction plays a major role in the evolution of language groups, especially those that are defined by mother tongue. It combines the effects of fertility with those of intergenerational linguistic mobility (the transmission of the mother's mother tongue, or lack thereof, to her children). Other phenomena that also influence demolinguistic dynamics are differential mortality and migration. Migratory phenomena will be discussed in later chapters. Differential mortality currently plays an almost negligible role in the evolution of language groups.⁴⁷

The first section studies the evolution of differential fertility, mainly according to mother tongue, but also according to language spoken most often or predominantly at home. The evolution of intergenerational linguistic mobility is the subject of the following section. Attention will be focused on how French has evolved, both in Quebec and elsewhere in the country, and particularly on the relationships between intergenerational linguistic mobility and intragenerational linguistic mobility (language transfer or shift between early childhood and present day). The third section presents and analyzes the evolution of a linguistic reproduction index, the combination of a fertility index and a language continuity index. The last section is devoted to a brief study of the evolution of the age distribution of different language groups.

Fertility

Fertility plays an important role in the renewal of language groups. To measure this phenomenon, we usually use vital statistics, in this case, birth statistics based on the mother's age as the numerator and the female population by age, as the denominator. However, estimating fertility according to mother tongue is a problem in Canada, as only Quebec includes language questions on its birth certificates, and only since the mid-1970s. This phenomenon can, however, be measured using census data alone, which offers one advantage: the numerator

⁴⁷ This general result does not necessarily apply to groups defined by an Aboriginal language (Lachapelle and Henripin, 1980, chapter 3).

and the denominator come from the same source, which makes the data more easily comparable.⁴⁸ Next, we will look at the most common measurement of the phenomenon over a period: the total fertility rate (TFR), or the average number of children that would be born to 100 women if, from the age of 15 to 49, they had the same fertility behaviour observed at the different ages during the period under review.

Prior to the mid-1960s, Francophone fertility clearly exceeded that of Anglophones (Table 5.1). Women with a mother tongue other than English or French, usually had a lower fertility rate than those in the official language groups, probably because most of them came from countries with lower fertility rates than Canada. The situation started to reverse in the mid-1960s and continued to do so afterwards due, first, to a more rapid decline in fertility than in other developed countries among both Francophones and Anglophones, and, second, to a change in the origin of immigrants, with fewer coming from Europe or the United States. The fertility of allophone women therefore declined less from the 1961-1966 five-year period (340 children per 100 women) to the next five-year period, 1966-1971 (285 children per 100 women), than that of Francophones (from 370 to 240) and Anglophones (from 350 to 250).

The over-fertility of Francophones compared to Anglophones persisted until the 1976-1981 five-year period, both within and outside Quebec, but not in Canada as a whole in 1966-1971 or 1971-1976, illustrating a composition effect often called Simpson's Paradox. For example, in 1966-1971, in Quebec, the TFR of Francophones (230 children per 100 women) exceeded that of Anglophones (210), but was lower than the TFR of Anglophones elsewhere in the country (250), which was lower than that of Francophones (290). The reversal on the national level stems from the fact that the fertility of Francophones (240) is close to that of Francophones in Quebec (230), who represent approximately 85% of this language group in Canada, while the fertility of Anglophones (250) corresponds to that of Anglophones living outside Quebec (250), who account for roughly 95% of the Anglophones in the country (see Chapter 1).

⁴⁸ This benefit is sometimes a disadvantage when the birth of a child significantly increases the likelihood of young couples migrating in the years that follow. The method used then leads to an underestimation of fertility in the region of origin and overestimation in the destination region. It is possible to essentially eliminate this bias by estimating fertility on the basis of information about children under one year of age instead of children under five years of age, which would make the results less reliable for small populations. However, this disadvantage could be beneficial when the estimates are used in projection models based on five-year increments.

Table 5.1
Total fertility rate according to women's mother tongue,
Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 1956 to 2006

Five-year period	Mother tongue			
	All languages	English	French	Other
	Children per 100 women			
Canada				
1956 - 1961	388	380	431	348
1961 - 1966	351	348	366	340
1966 - 1971	249	246	236	285
1971 - 1976	198	195	185	232
1976 - 1981	175	168	172	211
1981 - 1986	166	167	149	194
1986 - 1991	165	168	151	179
1991 - 1996	169	167	164	185
1996 - 2001	158	156	149	175
2001 - 2006	159	156	149	175
Quebec				
1956 - 1961	399	326	422	279
1961 - 1966	343	304	354	293
1966 - 1971	226	209	227	258
1971 - 1976	182	162	181	226
1976 - 1981	171	146	171	204
1981 - 1986	149	146	147	179
1986 - 1991	151	154	149	178
1991 - 1996	166	163	164	194
1996 - 2001	152	148	148	186
2001 - 2006	154	144	148	186
Canada minus Quebec				
1956 - 1961	384	382	495	357
1961 - 1966	355	350	434	346
1966 - 1971	258	248	287	289
1971 - 1976	204	196	212	233
1976 - 1981	176	169	176	212
1981 - 1986	172	168	160	196
1986 - 1991	169	168	156	179
1991 - 1996	170	168	157	184
1996 - 2001	160	157	146	174
2001 - 2006	161	157	149	173

Source(s): Marmen and Corbeil (2004); and Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 to 2006.

The fertility of Canadian women declined rapidly from the late 1950s to the early 1970s, with Anglophone fertility decreasing by almost 50% in 15 years, from 380 children per 100 women during the 1956-1961 five-year period to 195 in 1971-1976, and with Francophone fertility decreasing by more than 50%, from 430 in 1956-1961 to 185 in 1971-1976. Francophones living outside Quebec even saw their fertility rate drop by two-thirds in the space of 25 years, decreasing from almost 500 children per 100 women in 1956-1961 to 160 in 1981-1986. A similar change severely altered the demographic regime of language groups, especially for Francophones, because fertility was a factor that gave them an advantage. However, when population renewal is increasingly less dependent on fertility, families are able to devote more resources to each child.

During the past five five-year periods, from 1981 to 2006, the TFR of both official language groups has remained in the range of 140 to 170 children per 100 women, both in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada. Anglophones outside Quebec still maintained a slightly higher fertility rate in this range. The high end of this range is clearly lower than the generational replacement threshold. Given that there are 105 boys born for every 100 girls, the threshold is 205 children for 100 women with no mortality or migration between birth and age 50, as women very rarely have children after that age. If we take into account the low mortality in our societies, the threshold increases to almost 210. This is the figure usually used by demographers.⁴⁹ Even without migration, a fertility rate below this threshold does not necessarily, in the short or medium term, lead to a decline in population due, first, to a decrease in mortality and, second, to a favourable age structure maintained for some decades by a population with a strong fertility rate in the recent past.

The TFR can also be estimated according to language spoken most often at home or the dominant language spoken at home. While the estimate for English spoken at home is almost the same as the estimate for English as the mother tongue, it is different for French and all the “other” languages (Table 5.2). Except in New Brunswick, the estimate for language spoken at home is higher than the estimate for mother tongue. Thus, in Ontario, during the 2001-2006 five-year period, the fertility rate of Francophones was estimated at 173 children per 100 women with French as the language spoken at home, compared to 153 children per 100 women whose mother tongue is French; for allophones, the fertility rate was 184 children per 100 women with an “other” language spoken at home, compared to 173 children per 100 women with an “other” mother tongue. The difference in favour of language spoken at home both for Francophones and for allophones is attributable to one of the following factors: either the fertility rate is higher among women who maintain their mother tongue as the language most often spoken at home

⁴⁹ The threshold is lower or higher when migration is taken into account. For example, if at the ages of high fertility, a globally favourable net migration from birth caused an increase of 10% in the number of women, the replacement threshold would lower, for this **generation** of women, to approximately 190 children per 100 women, and to 175 for an increase of 20%. Conversely, if the net migration was globally unfavourable and reduced the number of women by 10%, the threshold would rise to 230 children per 100 women, because fertility should compensate for migratory losses.

than among those who become “anglicized,” or women who had children in the five years preceding the 2006 Census were less Anglicized than all women of the same age with the same mother tongue. A combination of these two factors may also account for the estimated difference.

Table 5.2

Total fertility rate according to mother tongue (MT) and according to language spoken most often at home or language spoken at home (LH) of women, for the 2001-2006 five-year period, Canada and certain provinces

	Mother tongue			
	All languages	English	French	Other
	Children per 100 women			
Canada				
MT	159	156	149	175
LH	159	156	152	186
Quebec				
MT	154	144	148	186
LH	154	145	150	199
Canada minus Quebec				
MT	161	157	149	173
LH	161	156	160	184
New Brunswick				
MT	148	154	134	157
LH	148	154	134	135
Ontario				
MT	159	154	153	173
LH	159	154	173	184
Rest of Canada				
MT	162	159	156	173
LH	162	159	176	184

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In New Brunswick, the fertility rate of Francophones is much lower than elsewhere for mother tongue and even lower for language spoken at home. In fact, for French as the mother tongue, the TFR is slightly more than 10% lower than that of Ontario; for French as the language spoken at home, the difference exceeds 20%. The differences with Quebec are less significant, but are more marked compared to the rest of Canada.

Transmission of mother tongue

The distribution of children according to their mother’s mother tongue results from applying the fertility rate according to mother tongue to the female

population of childbearing age, also according to mother tongue. For children to have the same mother tongue as their mother, the mother must transmit it to them. To study the transmission of a mother's mother tongue to her children, we need to look at children under the age of five who live in a two-parent or single parent family headed by a woman.⁵⁰ We then have to determine the ratio between the number of children with the mother tongue in question and the number of children whose mother has this mother tongue. The coefficient obtained corresponds to the intergenerational language continuity index for the five-year period preceding the census that provided the results used in the calculation (Table 5.3).⁵¹ A language group emerges at the top of the mother tongue transmission process when the index is higher than 1. The number of children with the mother tongue in question is higher than the number of children whose mother has this mother tongue. Language transfers are globally favourable, with gains prevailing over losses. Conversely, transfers are unfavourable to a mother tongue when the index is less than 1. This is the case of minority languages, with the exception of English in Quebec.

Mother tongues other than English or French lose in language transfers, with these mother tongues being less prevalent among children than among mothers overall. Without exception, the continuity index scarcely exceeds 50% from 1956 to 1986. Subsequently, mainly due to strong immigration that increased the proportion of foreign-born mothers, the index climbed to 60%, and then to 66% in 2001-2006. In Quebec, it varied little from around 70% since 1956. Until 1986, the continuity index for "other" mother tongues was much higher than elsewhere in Canada, a difference attributable mainly to a weaker attraction to Quebec's majority language. The difference between Quebec and all the other provinces and territories has decreased since the mid-1980s.

⁵⁰ Children under the age of five living in these types of families represent approximately 97% of all children in the same age group.

⁵¹ For the periods 1961-1966 and 1956-1961, the estimates are based on children aged 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 in the 1971 Census. Estimates for the 1971-1976 five-year period are based on children aged 5 to 9 in the 1981 Census.

Table 5.3
Intergenerational Language Continuity Index, Canada,
Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 1956-2006

Five-year period	Mother's mother tongue		
	English	French	Other
Canada			
1956 - 1961	1.172	0.944	0.493
1961 - 1966	1.167	0.941	0.511
1966 - 1971	1.136	0.945	0.596
1971 - 1976	1.163	0.954	0.449
1976 - 1981	1.128	0.969	0.507
1981 - 1986	1.105	0.971	0.517
1986 - 1991	1.121	0.974	0.570
1991 - 1996	1.129	0.983	0.611
1996 - 2001	1.148	1.000	0.607
2001 - 2006	1.155	1.004	0.658
Quebec			
1956 - 1961	1.151	0.998	0.736
1961 - 1966	1.141	0.999	0.776
1966 - 1971	1.100	1.001	0.845
1971 - 1976	1.149	1.013	0.691
1976 - 1981	1.087	1.013	0.711
1981 - 1986	1.070	1.015	0.723
1986 - 1991	1.118	1.025	0.697
1991 - 1996	1.141	1.031	0.707
1996 - 2001	1.183	1.047	0.670
2001 - 2006	1.216	1.051	0.721
Canada minus Quebec			
1956 - 1961	1.174	0.714	0.466
1961 - 1966	1.168	0.703	0.477
1966 - 1971	1.138	0.716	0.561
1971 - 1976	1.163	0.687	0.415
1976 - 1981	1.129	0.727	0.477
1981 - 1986	1.106	0.735	0.486
1986 - 1991	1.121	0.696	0.548
1991 - 1996	1.128	0.690	0.593
1996 - 2001	1.147	0.722	0.596
2001 - 2006	1.153	0.731	0.646

Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

English as the mother tongue emerges as the winner of language transfers everywhere. The continuity index was always lower in Quebec than elsewhere in the country until 1991. The situation reversed 15 years ago when, during the 2001-2006 period, the index reached 1.22 in Quebec, compared to 1.15 outside Quebec. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that English is stronger in Quebec. Moreover, the rise in the continuity index for an English mother tongue is not attributable to a surge of net gains in English-French exchanges. In fact, in the 1971 Census, among children under five years of age, mothers with English as their mother tongue reported 4,200 children with a French mother tongue, while mothers with French as their mother tongue reported 5,300 children with an English mother tongue, for a net gain of 1,100 in favour of English. Conversely, in the last four censuses, from 1991 to 2006, English suffered net losses ranging between 1,000 and 2,000. However, the attraction of English for non-official language speakers has continued to play a significant role, although it has diminished in relation to the attraction of French. Again, for children under the age of five whose mother has an “other” mother tongue, 69% had English as their mother tongue, in 1971, among children whose mother tongue was French or English. This proportion fell to 46% in 1991 and to 33% in 2006. But, at the same time, the immigration surge that began in the mid-1980s increased the proportion of mothers with an “other” mother tongue, which rose, among children under the age of five, from almost 8% in 1971 to 10% in 1991 and to 19% in 2006, increasing the number of women with an “other” mother tongue likely to transmit English or French to their children. The attraction of English remains much higher than the proportion represented by those whose mother tongue is English in Quebec’s population, mainly due to the importance of English in the world and, in particular, in North America.

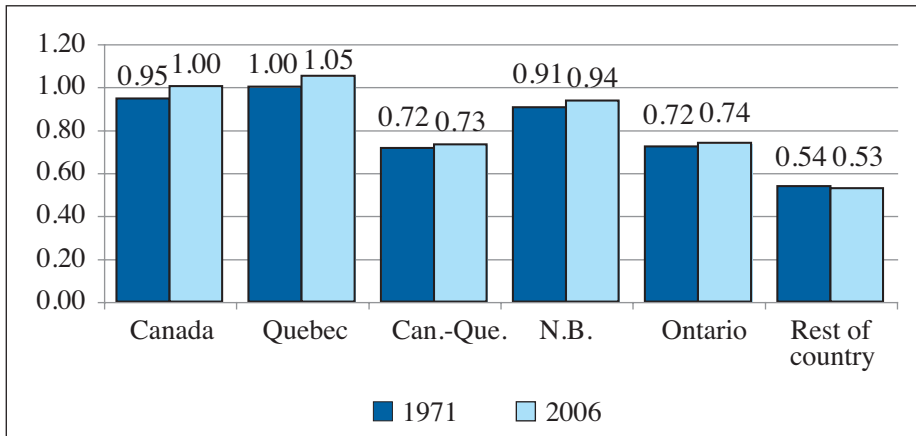
In Quebec, the continuity index has increasingly favoured French since the 1970s. It rose fairly steadily from 1.00 in 1966-1971 to 1.05 in 2001-2006, much lower, however, during the last five-year period than the index for English (1.22). For the continuity indices for French and English to be the same, they must both be equal in terms of the ratio of the number of children whose mother tongue is French or English to the number of children whose mother’s mother tongue is French or English. This ratio is 1.066. It is slightly higher than that for French (1.051), but much lower than that for English (1.216): the gains for French apply to a larger population; they must translate into much larger relative losses for English. For this to be so, it would have been necessary, all things being equal, for French to attract 84% of shifts from non-official languages to French or English, instead of 67%. In 35 years, the attraction of French for “other” mother tongues would have had to climb by 53 points, from 31% in 1971 to 84% in 2006, for the continuity index for French to attain the same level as English. The increase observed was, in fact, 36 points, two-thirds of the distance required for the French and English continuity indices to be equal.

In fifty years, from 1956 to 2006, outside Quebec, the French continuity index has hovered around 0.7, which corresponds to a net rate of non transmission of French,

or anglicization, of 30%. In New Brunswick, the French continuity index of mothers of children under the age of five is higher than elsewhere and climbed from 0.91 in 1971 to 0.94 in 2006 (Graph 5.1). In Ontario, the index rose slightly from 0.72 in 1971 to 0.74 in 2006, which is not much different from movement observed globally outside Quebec, from 0.72 to 0.73. Elsewhere outside Quebec, there was a slight drop in the index from 0.54 in 1971 to 0.53 in 2006. The variations in the French language continuity index from one province or region to another depend, to a large extent, on the proportion of Francophones in the area, a variable also associated with the prevalence of exogamy.

Graph 5.1

French Mother Tongue Continuity Index of mothers to children under the age of 5, 1971 and 2006

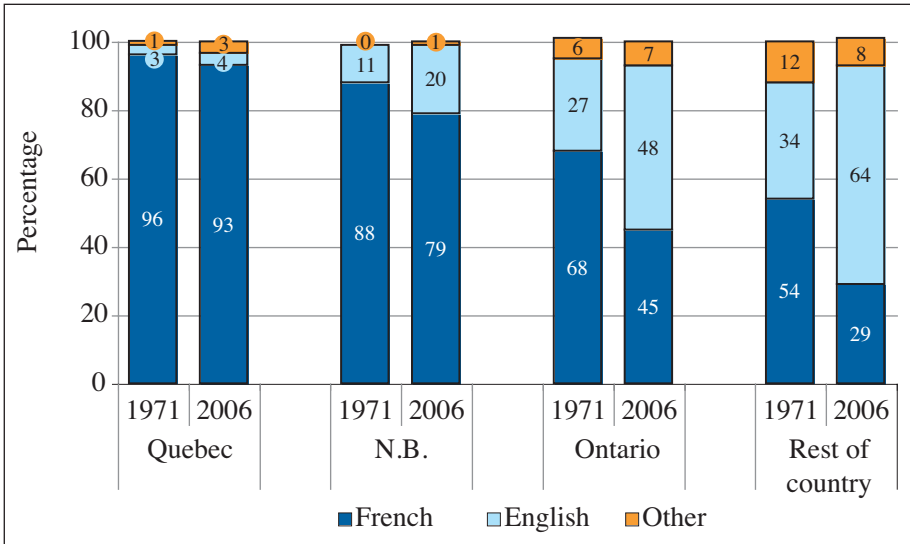


Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

These slight increases, for the most part, in French language continuity were observed despite a strong swell of exogamy (Graph 5.2). Thus, in Ontario in 2006, among children under the age of five whose mother has French as her mother tongue, in 48% of cases the father’s mother tongue was English, compared to 27% of cases in 1971. In total, in 2006, the father’s mother tongue was not French in over half the cases (55%), compared to one-third of cases (32%) in 1971. The full swell of exogamy was observed everywhere, including in Quebec (from 4% to 7%) and in New Brunswick (from 12% to 21%). This increase in exogamy demonstrates more association between language groups, more frequent and more intense contacts, and fewer obstacles to the union of persons with different mother tongues.

Graph 5.2

Distribution (in %) of children under the age of 5 whose mothers' mother tongue is French, according to father's mother tongue, 1971 and 2006



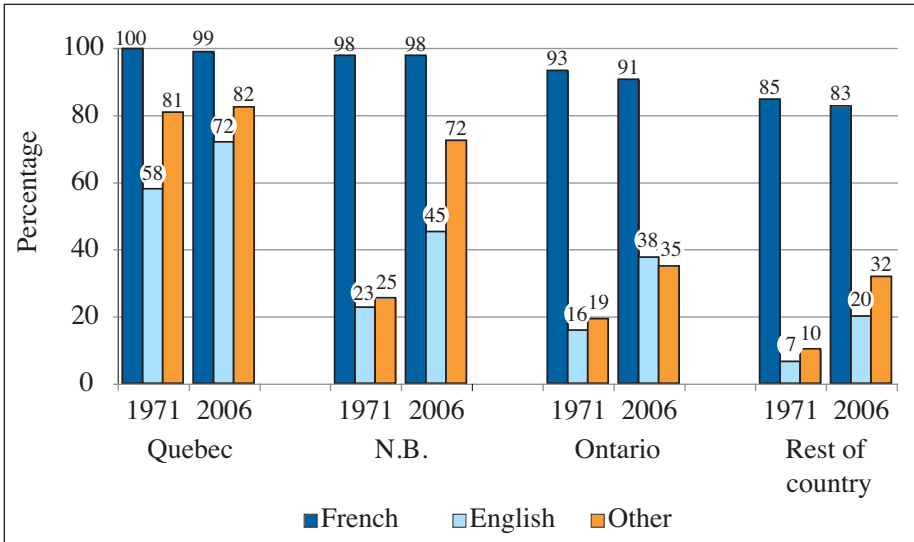
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

Had the transmission of the mother's French mother tongue to her children remained unchanged for every father's mother tongue, we should have seen a sharp decrease in the French language continuity index, because women transmit French much less often when the father's mother tongue is not French. Yet we observed an increase everywhere, except for a slight decrease in Canada outside Quebec other than in New Brunswick and Ontario. These changes are attributable to increased transmission of the mothers' French mother tongue to her children when the father's mother tongue is not French (Graph 5.3). For example, in Ontario, mothers with a French mother tongue had transmitted their mother tongue to their children under the age of five in 38% of cases in 2006 when the father's mother tongue was English, compared to 16% in 1971. When the father's mother tongue was a non-official language, we observed a similar change in the transmission of French as the mother tongue, from 19% in 1971 to 35% in 2006. These increases were observed everywhere and demonstrate an improvement in the situation of French in exogamous couples, mainly attributable to increased knowledge of French in spouses of non Francophones. They compensate for the swell of exogamy and account for the observed evolution of the intergenerational continuity of French,⁵² especially outside Quebec.

⁵² We obtain essentially the same estimate of the intergenerational continuity index whether we consider only children who live in a two-parent family or all children who live in a two parent family or in a single-parent family headed by a woman.

Graph 5.3

Percentage of children under the age of 5 (whose mothers' mother tongue is French) whose mother tongue is French, according to father's mother tongue, 1971 and 2006



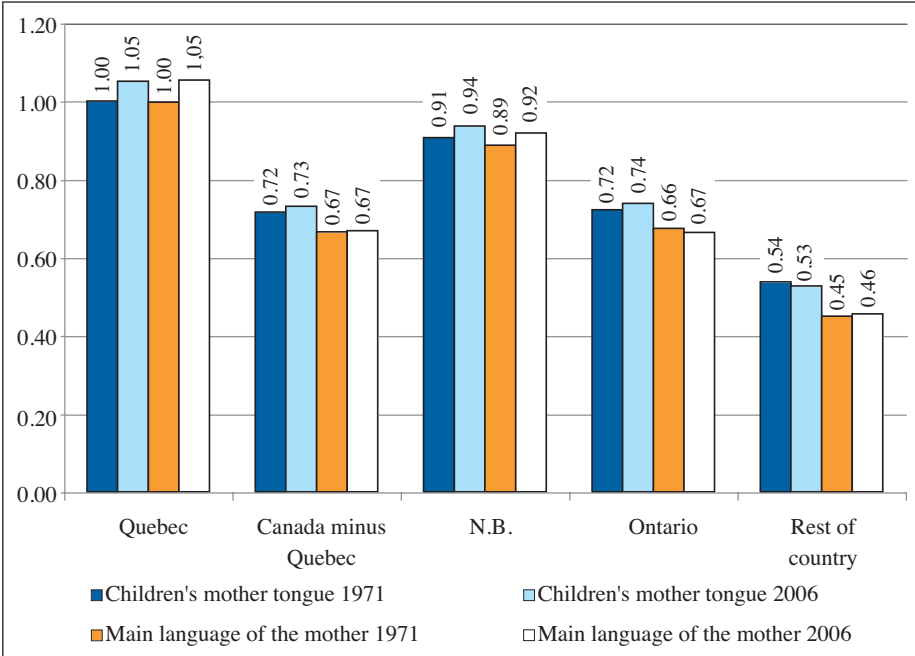
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

Is this slight increase, especially in New Brunswick, or this stability in French language continuity outside Quebec specific to intergenerational transmission or is it also found in intragenerational linguistic mobility? The mother's mother tongue is the source variable in the continuity indices that we estimated, the target or destination variable being the child's mother tongue. Still bearing in mind children under the age of five living in a two-parent or single-parent family headed by a woman, we can also consider two other target variables, namely the language spoken most often at home by the child, a variant of the mother tongue, or the language spoken most often at home by the mother, information that provides a completely relevant estimate of intragenerational mobility. The latter estimate is even more relevant when it involves women who directly contribute to the birth of the new generation and, therefore, to the endogenous replacement of the population.

For Francophones living in a minority situation, we expect the new variables to provide slightly weaker estimates of the continuity index measured to date, because the definition of mother tongue is based on a criterion of precedence (language "first learned" at home in childhood), while the definition of language spoken at home (predominately) is based on a criterion of primacy (the language "spoken most often" at home). In fact, this is what we observed in the 1971 and 2006 censuses (Graph 5.4). Thus, in Ontario, the intergenerational continuity index was 0.74 in 2006, compared to 0.66 for the intragenerational continuity index. The language spoken predominately at home by the mother does not depend solely on interactions with her young

children and, for that matter, she can first teach them a language that she will not necessarily primarily speak to them later.

Graph 5.4
Continuity Index of French mother tongue of mothers of children under the age of 5, according to target variable (children's mother tongue and language spoken most often at home by the mother), 1971 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

The intragenerational continuity of French is essentially evolving everywhere in the same way as intergenerational continuity, both increasing or, if not, decreasing only slightly.⁵³ In Quebec and New Brunswick, both phenomena increased significantly from 1971 to 2006. Thus, the intergenerational continuity index climbed from 0.91 to 0.94 in New Brunswick, while the intragenerational continuity index rose from 0.89 to 0.92. In Ontario, while the intergenerational continuity index rose (from 0.72 to 0.74), intragenerational continuity declined slightly (from 0.67 to 0.66). These slight increases or decreases occurred in spite of a strong swell of exogamy.

Except for Quebec and New Brunswick, the classic intragenerational continuity index dropped sharply. For the 25-44-year-old age group, for a given language, this index corresponds to the ratio of the number of people who speak it at home (predominantly) to the number of people for whom it is the mother tongue. In New Brunswick, the index rose from 0.89 in 1971 to 0.91 in 2006, while in

⁵³ The same applies to another estimate of the intergenerational continuity index where the language predominantly spoken at home by the child is the target variable.

Ontario, it dropped from 0.63 to 0.56 and, in the rest of Canada outside Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, from 0.42 to 0.37, during the same period.

Linguistic reproduction

Linguistic reproduction combines the effect of fertility with that of inter-generational linguistic mobility. A good estimate of the phenomenon, namely the linguistic reproduction index (LRI), is obtained by multiplying, for the five-year period in question, the total fertility rate of the mother tongue in question (Table 5.1) by the intergenerational language continuity index of the same mother tongue (Table 5.3). The index obtained corresponds to the number of children with the mother tongue in question per 100 women with this same mother tongue (Table 5.4).⁵⁴ When all languages are combined, the estimate corresponds quite simply with the total fertility rate. The language reproduction index, then, is interpreted in the same way as the TFR.

⁵⁴ An estimate of the LRI can be obtained by calculating the ratio of the number of children under the age of five with mother tongue A to the number of 30-34 year-old women with the same mother tongue; the age difference between the women and children is 30 years, which is close to the mean age of fertility. A larger denominator usually provides a better estimate: the average of the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups for former periods and, for more recent periods, the mean age of fertility having increased, the average of the 25-29, 30-34 and 35-39 age groups.

Table 5.4
Linguistic Reproduction Index (per 100 women), Canada,
Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 1956 to 2006

Five-year period	Mother tongue			
	All languages	English	French	Other
Canada				
1956 - 1961	388	445	407	172
1961 - 1966	351	406	344	174
1966 - 1971	249	279	223	170
1971 - 1976	198	227	176	104
1976 - 1981	175	190	167	107
1981 - 1986	166	185	145	100
1986 - 1991	165	188	147	102
1991 - 1996	169	189	161	113
1996 - 2001	158	179	149	106
2001 - 2006	159	180	150	115
Quebec				
1956 - 1961	399	375	421	205
1961 - 1966	343	347	354	227
1966 - 1971	226	230	227	218
1971 - 1976	182	186	183	156
1976 - 1981	171	159	173	145
1981 - 1986	149	156	149	129
1986 - 1991	151	172	153	124
1991 - 1996	166	186	169	137
1996 - 2001	152	175	155	125
2001 - 2006	154	175	156	134
Canada minus Quebec				
1956 - 1961	384	448	353	166
1961 - 1966	355	409	305	165
1966 - 1971	258	282	205	162
1971 - 1976	204	228	146	97
1976 - 1981	176	191	128	101
1981 - 1986	172	186	118	95
1986 - 1991	169	188	109	98
1991 - 1996	170	190	108	109
1996 - 2001	160	180	105	104
2001 - 2006	161	180	109	112

Sources: Tables 5.1 and 5.3.

Despite the high fertility of Francophones until the mid-1960s and the subsequently higher fertility of allophones, English still wins the linguistic reproduction index award, both in Canada overall and in Canada outside Quebec. In Quebec, the French index has sometimes surpassed the English, but not in the past 25 years. The LRI for non-official languages is the lowest almost everywhere due to its much lower continuity index. Outside Quebec, during certain recent five-year periods, the LRI has been less than 100 children with an “other” mother tongue per 100 women whose mother tongue is neither French nor English. This has not prevented this very heterogeneous subpopulation to rapidly increase in numbers and proportion (see Chapter 1), because it is replaced essentially by immigration.

Francophones living outside Quebec have reported low linguistic reproduction for the past 40 years, especially during the last four five-year periods. Since 1986-1991, their LRI has been slightly less than 110 children with a French mother tongue per 100 women with the same mother tongue. Given that the replacement level is 210, the number of births of children with a French mother tongue will have decreased by almost 50% every thirty years.

For all language groups, including English, the linguistic reproduction index has been lower than the replacement level since 1976. For English, the LRI is still slightly lower in Quebec than outside that province. During the last five-year period, 2001-2006, it rose to 180 children with an English mother tongue per 100 women with the same mother tongue outside Quebec, compared to 175 in Quebec; for French, the LRI is distinctly lower in Quebec (156).

Age distribution

The age distribution of a population provides both a summary of its past and indicators of its future. Among the populations themselves, those whose replacement relies mainly on endogenous inputs, which are births, inputs from the outside playing a secondary role, the fertility rate and its variations during the past 50 or, indeed, 75 years determine the form of the age distribution, especially at its base. The high mortality in advanced age gradually thins its peak. Some subpopulations, especially allophones, essentially replace themselves through international immigration, because there have been many more immigrants with an “other” mother tongue during the last five-year periods than births of children with an “other” mother tongue.

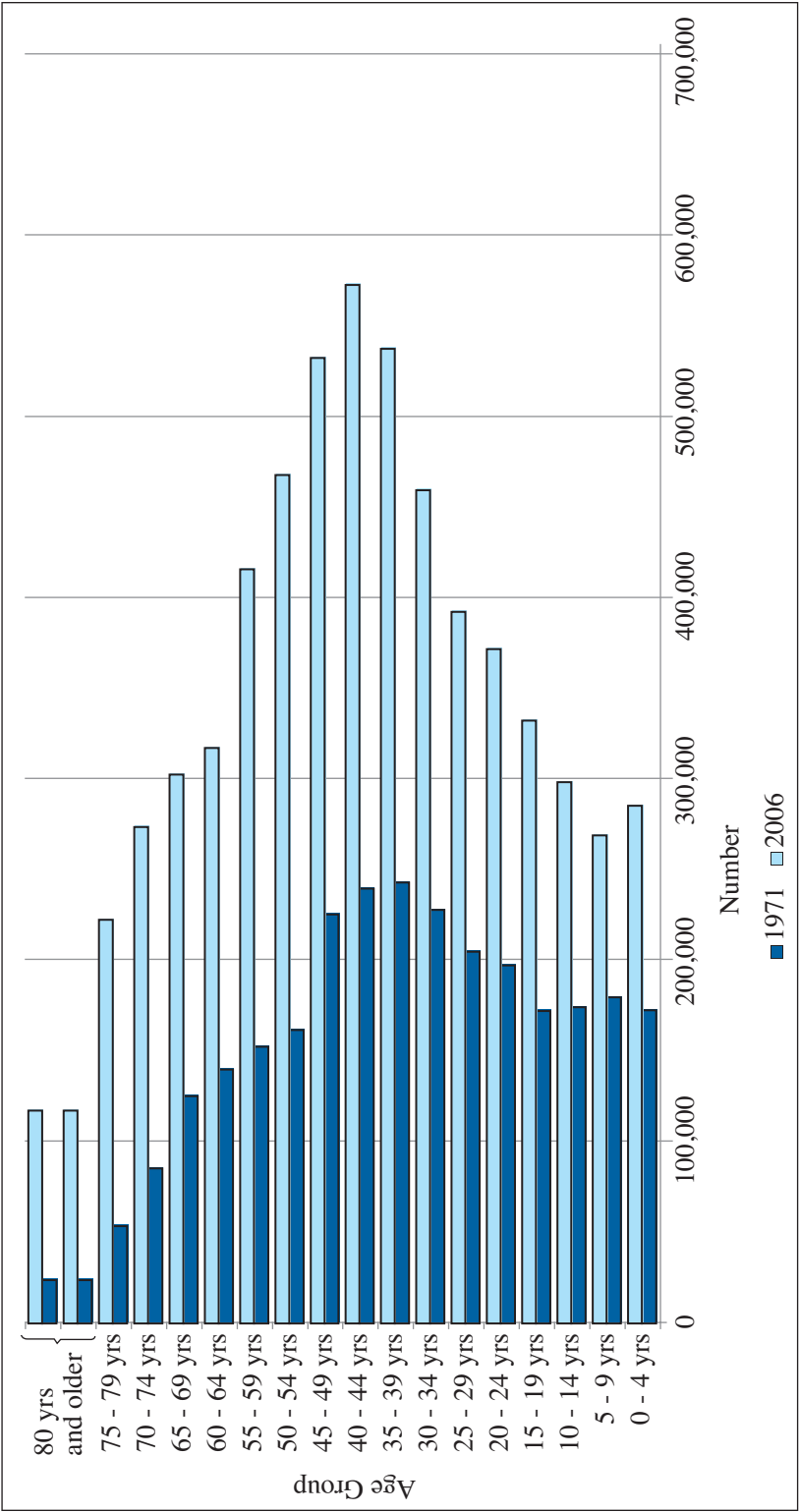
In Canada overall, the number of allophones rose from 2.8 million in 1971 to 6.3 million in 2006. This rapid growth in 35 years is essentially attributable to international immigration and affects all age groups (Graph 5.5). The down-trend in numbers in the 40-44 and 0-4 age groups in 2006 is the result of low linguistic reproduction. The number of children under the age of five (286,000) is, in fact, much lower than the number of adults in the 30-34 age group (460,000), who are 30 years older. The ratio of the first to the second is 0.62, which demonstrates that the linguistic reproduction index (115) is well below the replacement level (210); for that matter, the ratio of one to the other (or $115/210 = 0.55$) is not much different from the previous ratio.

The number of Francophones living outside Quebec grew slightly in the past 35 years, increasing from 926,000 in 1971 to 975,000 in 2006. This applies to the population aged 35 and older, the under-30 number having decreased considerably (Graph 5.6). The numbers in the age groups ranging from 5-9 years to 20-24 years in 1971, the baby boomers born between 1946 and 1966, had not changed much 35 years later in 2006: they are in the age groups ranging from 40-44 years to 55-59 years. However, their replacements will not be so numerous because the numbers decrease from one age group to the preceding one starting with the 45-49 age group. This rapid decline is attributable to the low linguistic reproduction index. In 2006, the ratio of the number of children under the age of five (34,000) to the number of adults aged 30-34 years (59,000), or 0.58, was in fact not very different from the ratio of the LRI (109) to the replacement level (210), or 0.52. The decline in linguistic reproduction essentially results from a drop in fertility, because intergenerational linguistic mobility has not varied much in 50 years: approximately 70% of women whose mother tongue is French still transmit it to their children. Of course, if the language continuity index had recorded a marked increase, the decrease in numbers of the young cohorts would have been mitigated. In the next decades, the large cohorts will be turning 65.

In Quebec, the number of Anglophones decreased considerably, dropping from 789,000 in 1971 to 607,000 in 2006. This decrease concerns mainly those under the age of 30 (Graph 5.7). In the past 35 years, there was a significant decrease in numbers in the under-30 cohorts in 1971, who were between 35 and 64 years old in 2006, due to substantial migratory losses to the benefit of the other provinces and territories. The gains made in intergenerational linguistic mobility, which translated into a language continuity index higher than 1, could not compensate for these losses. In 2006, there was little variation in the numbers in the different age groups under age 25, partly because the LRI for English mother tongues is usually slightly more than 170 children per 100 women. However, we note a significant decrease in the numbers of 10-14 to 0-4 year olds, a decrease similar to that for the age groups in which we find a large number of their mothers, that is, the 40-44 to 30-34 year-olds.

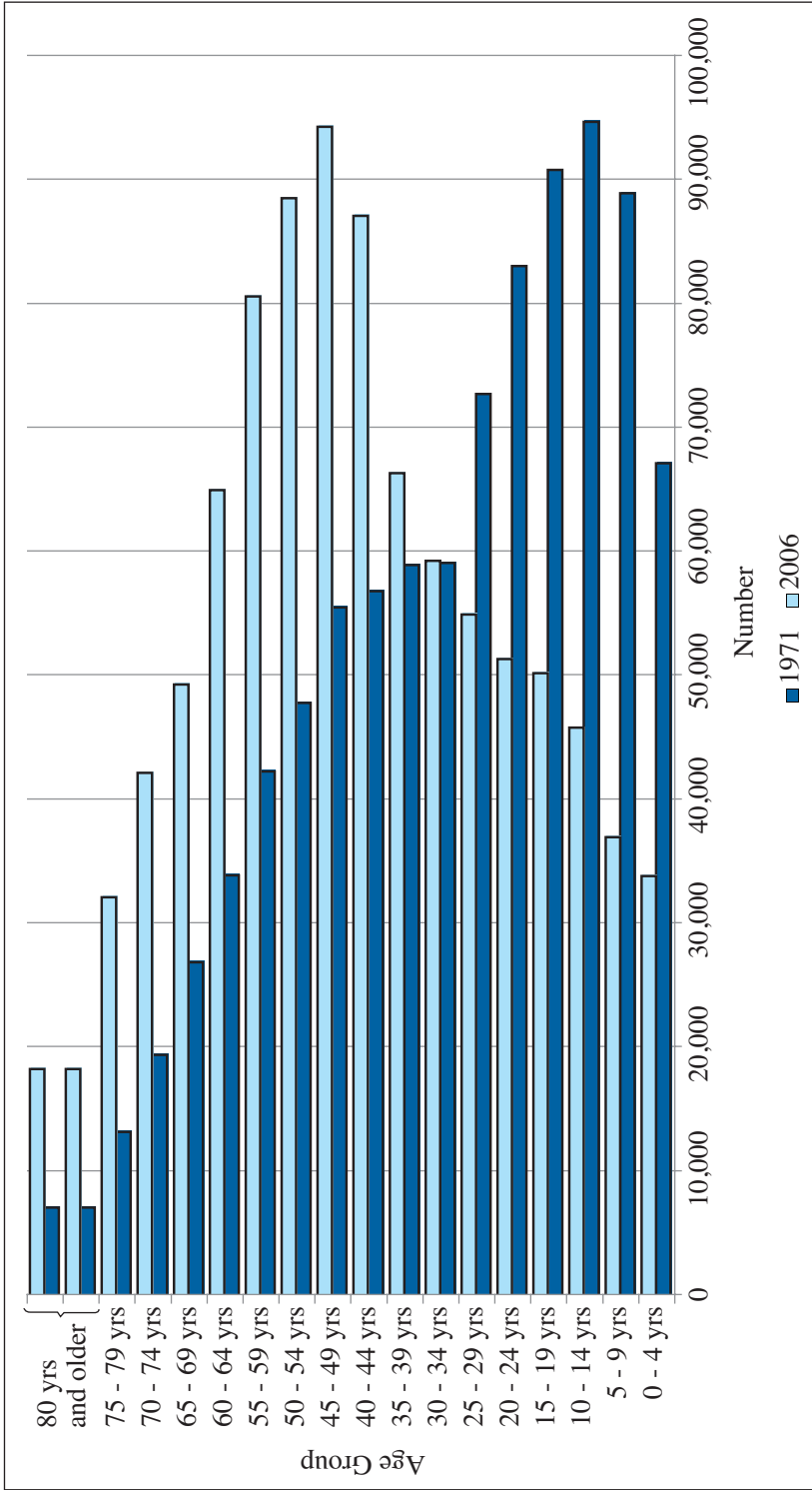
There was an increase in the number of Francophones in Quebec in the past 35 years, from 4.9 million in 1971 to 5.9 million in 2006. Similarly to the Francophone situation in the rest of the country, this increase only concerns those aged 30 and older, those under 25 having experienced a substantial decrease (Graph 5.8). The number of baby boomers born between 1946 and 1966 varied little between 1971 and 2006. They were between 5 and 24 years of age in 1971 and between 40 and 59 in 2006. In the next few decades, these large cohorts will cause accelerated aging of the Francophone population both in Quebec and elsewhere in the country. This phenomenon will not have much effect on Quebec's Anglophones, because a large portion of baby boomers left Quebec to live in other parts of the country. In 2006, there was little variation in the number of Francophones in Quebec under the age of 40 from one five-year age group to the next, with the exception of the three youngest age groups. Similarly to Anglophones in Quebec, the decrease in numbers of 10-14 to 0-4 year-olds is parallel to that of the 40-44 to 30-34 year-olds.

Graph 5.5
"Other" mother tongue population, Canada, 1971 and 2006



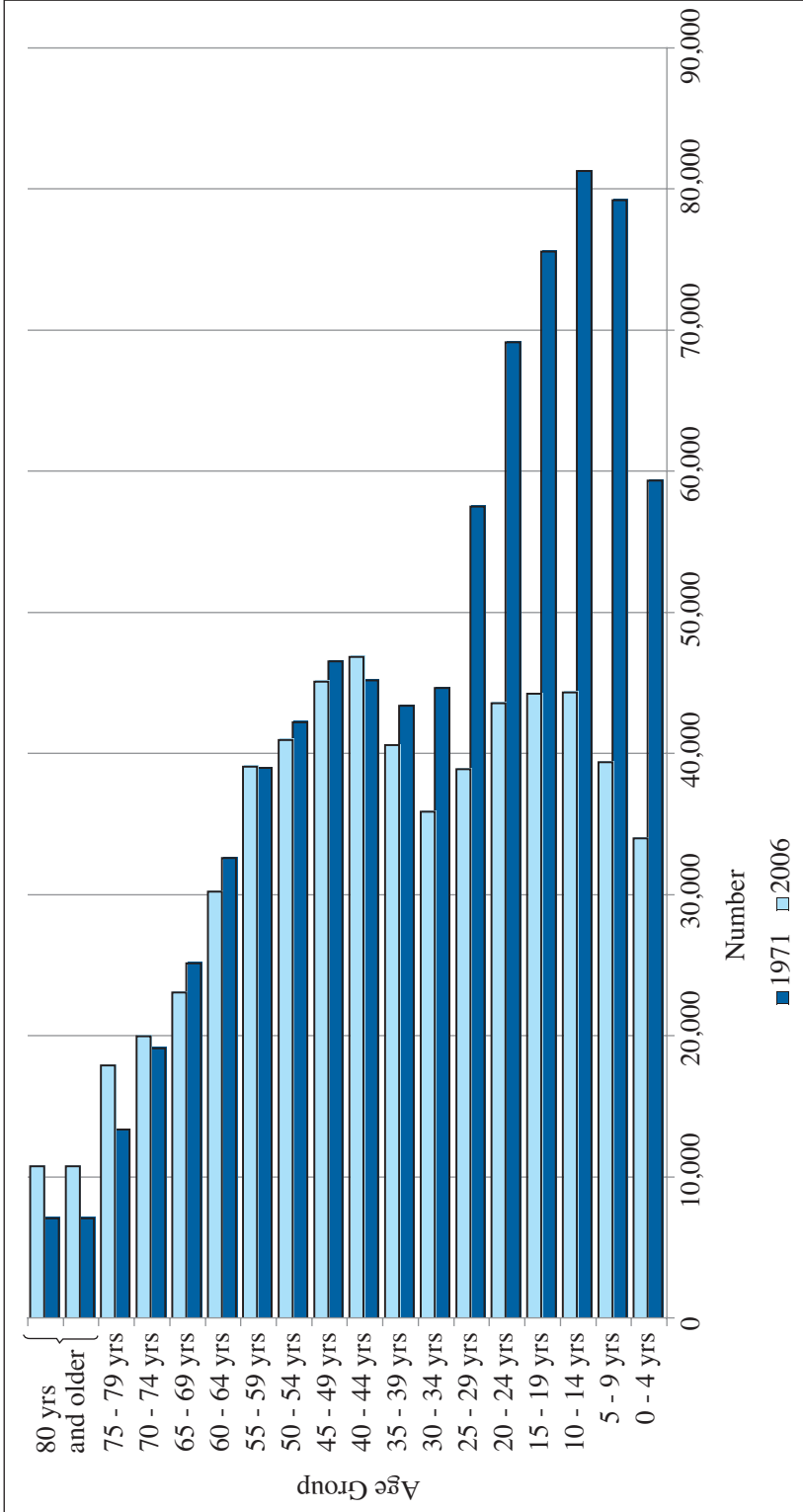
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

Graph 5.6
French Mother Tongue Population, Canada minus Quebec, 1971 and 2006



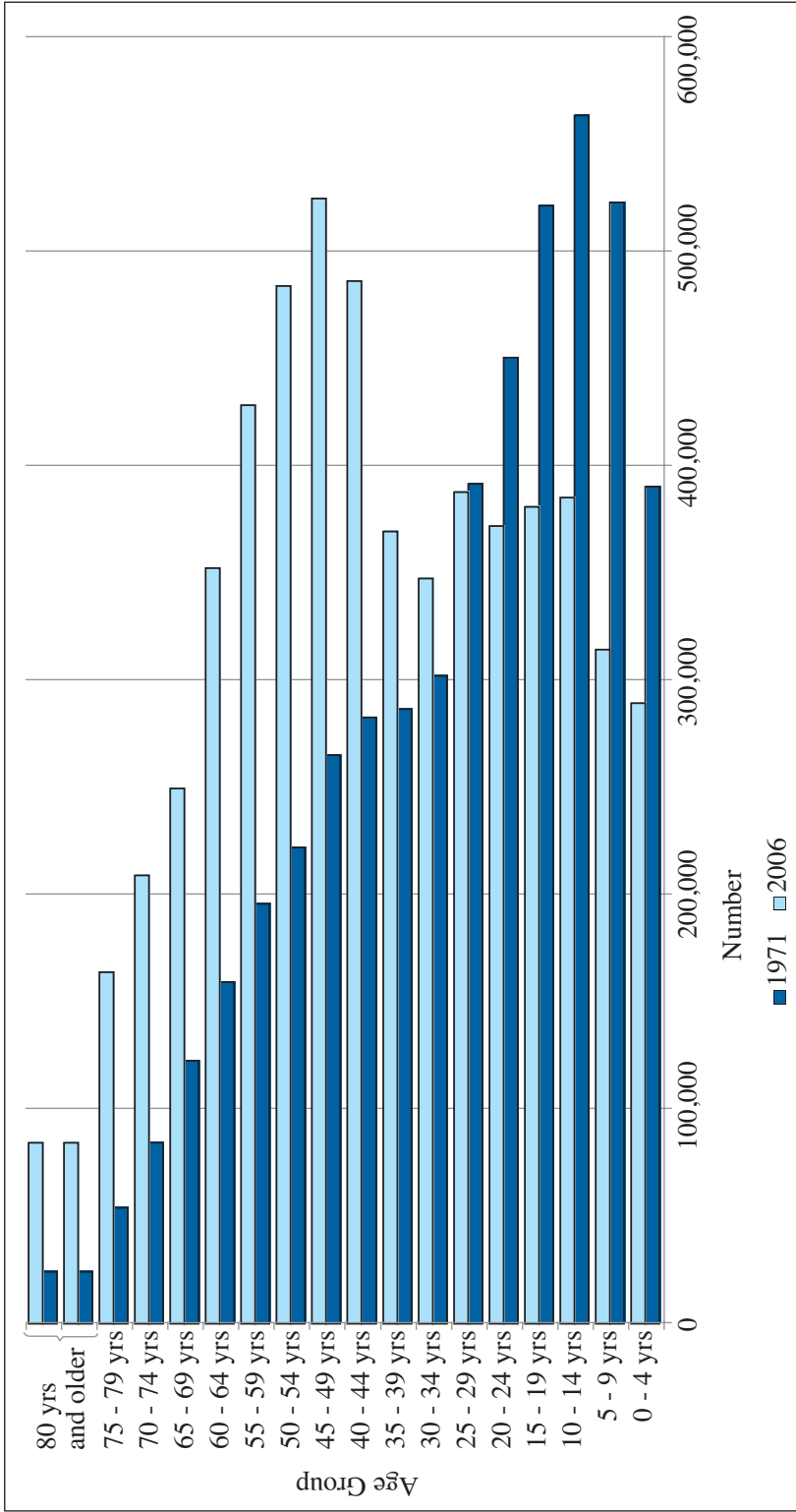
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

Graph 5.7
English Mother Tongue Population, Quebec, 1971 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

Graph 5.8
French Mother Tongue Population, Quebec, 1971 and 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

Overview

Demolinguistic dynamics were drastically upset by the rapid general drop in fertility from the late 1950s to the late 1970s. Francophones were slightly more affected by this change than Anglophones. From 430 children per 100 women during the 1956-1961 five-year period, Francophone fertility dropped to 170 children per 100 women in 1976-1981, distinctly lower than the replacement level, which is approximately 210 children per 100 women. In the early 2000s, Francophone fertility was slightly less than 150 children per 100 women, very different from that of Anglophones. Because couples now have much fewer children than in the past, they can devote more resources to enhancing each one's human capital.

During the past half-century, the clear transmission of the mother's French mother tongue to her children has improved overall, more in Quebec and New Brunswick than in other parts of Canada. This increase—in certain cases, a slight decrease—was recorded despite a strong swell of exogamy that was compensated, however, by increased transmission of French to the children of exogamous couples. This translated into a rise in the status of French. The increased exogamy demonstrates more association between official-language groups, increased contacts and fewer obstacles to couple unions.

Linguistic reproduction combines the effects of differential fertility and the transmission of the mother's mother tongue to her children, or lack thereof. It is higher among Anglophones, who enjoy a very favourable net continuity or transmission index everywhere, than among Francophones, who surpass allophones. Linguistic reproduction has been lower than the replacement level for all language groups for about 30 years. The decline in the linguistic reproduction index has had a more profound effect on Francophones. This evolution is entirely the result of reduced fertility, as language continuity from mother to child has increased in Quebec and New Brunswick, and varied little in other parts of Canada.

The evolution of linguistic reproduction has had significant effects on the age distribution of the different language groups, especially for Francophones living outside Quebec. Over the past 20 years, their linguistic reproduction has remained at a level slightly less than 110 children per 100 women, which is well below the replacement level. Add to this a substantial decrease in numbers from one five-year age group to the preceding one, starting with 45-49 year-olds. Moreover, in 2006, the number of children under the age of five whose mother tongue was French (33,900) was only about one-third of the number of adults aged 45-49 with the same mother tongue (94,400). In addition, during the next 20 years, most of the large cohort who were 40 to 59 years old in 2006, what we call baby boomers, will reach the age of 65. This will accentuate the aging of the population and increase the number of deaths, although there continues to be progress in life expectancy. This phenomenon will also affect Francophones in Quebec, even with the much smaller decrease in numbers in the younger cohorts there due to a higher reproduction index.

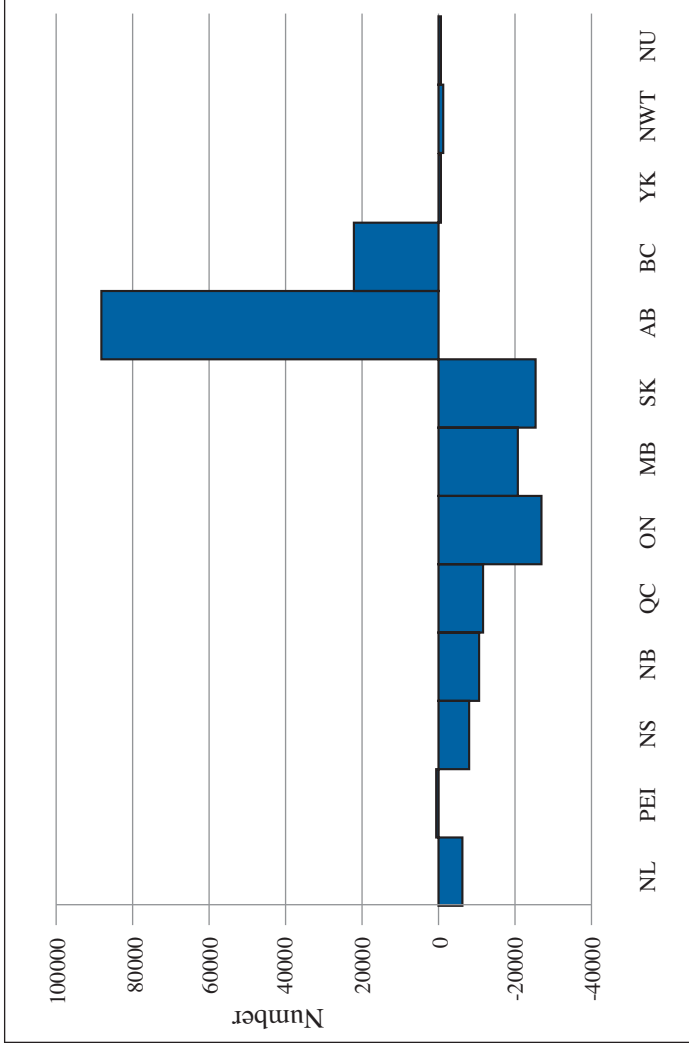
CHAPTER 6 INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION

Interprovincial migration is a factor that significantly influences the evolution of language groups in Canada, especially in relation to official language minority communities. Since 1971, we have been able to identify the province or territory of residence five years beforehand for residents of Canada aged five years and older. Interprovincial mobility during each intercensal period can therefore be studied.

In 2006, as in 2001, Quebec was the province with the lowest proportion of its population that had migrated from another province in the five years preceding the census: 1% of Quebec residents in 2006 lived in another province at the time of the 2001 Census. Ontario follows with a proportion of 1.5% of its population having migrated from another province, which makes it the only other province below the national average (which is 2.7%). In the other provinces, this proportion varies between 3.2% (in Manitoba) and 7.0% (in Alberta). The proportion of interprovincial migrants is distinctly higher in the territories, where it is 12.1% in Yukon, 15.5% in the Northwest Territories and 8.3% in Nunavut.

However, a significant proportion of interprovincial migrants does not necessarily mean a positive net migration. For example, in spite of having the highest proportions of interprovincial migrants in Canada, all three territories had a slightly negative net migration between 2001 and 2006. Only three provinces have a positive net migration, having received more people from other provinces than having lost people to other provinces: Alberta heads the list with a net gain of 88,200 individuals in its migratory exchanges with the other provinces, compared to a net gain of 22,100 for British Columbia and 600 for Prince Edward Island. Conversely, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Manitoba show the most significant net migratory losses with 27,000, 25,400 and 20,700 respectively.

**Graph 6.1
Net Interprovincial Migration, provinces and territories, 2001 to 2006**



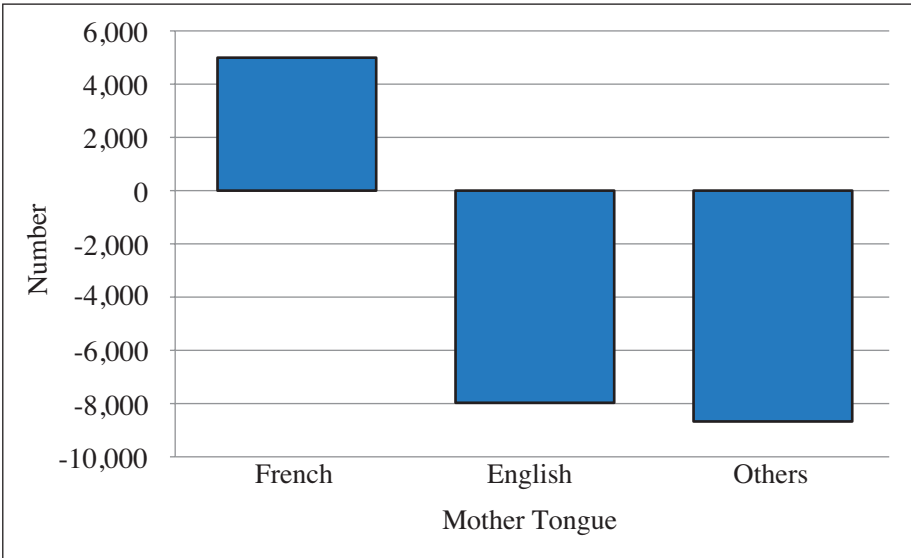
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Language is an important factor to take into consideration when studying Canadians' tendency to migrate from one province to another, but it is not necessarily an issue in all migrations. This factor is especially important in the case of Quebec:⁵⁵ migration to this province is frequently associated with moving to a more Francophone environment and, conversely, migration out of this province often corresponds to moving to a more Anglophone environment.

Between 2001 and 2006, 73,600 individuals moved to Quebec from other provinces, while 85,200 left Quebec to move to another province or territory, for a negative net migration of almost 11,600. However, during this period, language groups had different migratory behaviour: while Francophones tended to migrate to Quebec, Anglophones and allophones⁵⁶ migrated more from Quebec to other provinces.

In fact, the net interprovincial migration of Francophones between 2001 and 2006 favours Quebec, with a net gain of 5,000 people, but not enough to offset the migratory losses recorded by Anglophones (net loss of 8,000 people) and allophones (net loss of 8,700 people).

Graph 6.2
Net Interprovincial Migration according to
mother tongue (single response), Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

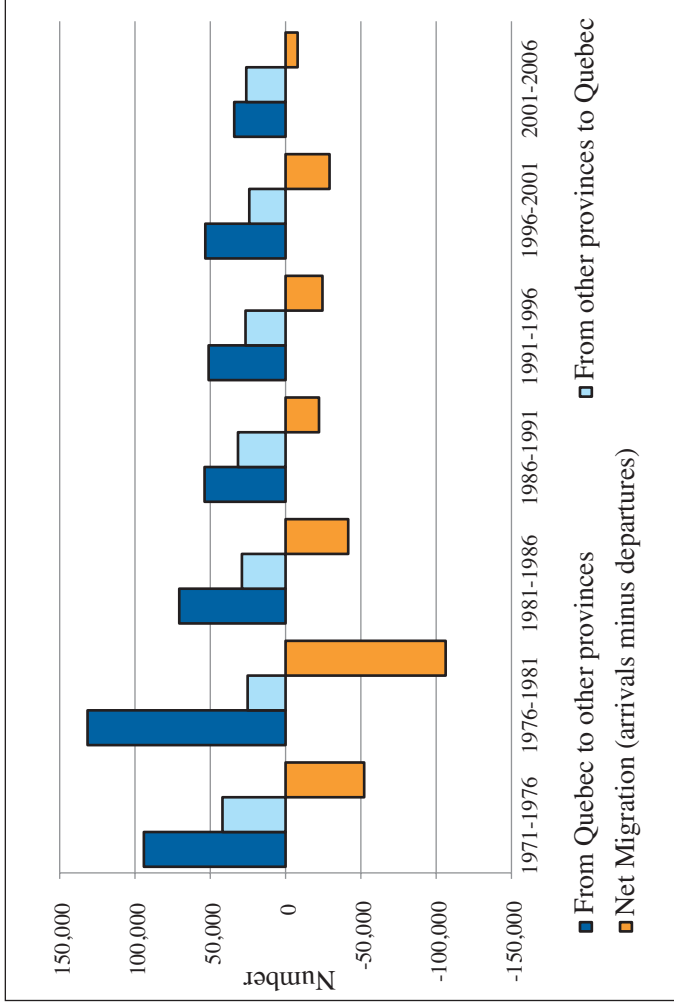
⁵⁵ The analyses presented in this chapter focus on migratory movements between Quebec and the other provinces and territories of Canada. More detailed data on arriving and departing migrants according to mother tongue can be found in the Appendix (Table A.5).

⁵⁶ Very few people with an Aboriginal mother tongue migrated from Quebec to other provinces (200 persons) and very few migrated to Quebec from other provinces and territories (300 persons). This is why they are not differentiated from those with another mother tongue (and are included in that category).

Anglophone migrants

The number of Anglophones who left Quebec to move to another province or territory has continuously declined since 1981. The migration of Anglophones out of Quebec reached a peak during the 1976-1981 period: approximately 130,000 Anglophones left Quebec for other provinces, while only 25,000 entered the province from another part of the country, for a net loss of over 100,000 people in the Anglophone population. Since then, the number of departures has declined in every intercensal period, except for a slight increase between 1996 and 2001, to 34,000 departures between 2001 and 2006. Since 1976, the number of Anglophones who moved to Quebec from other provinces and territories has fluctuated between 24,000 and 32,000 individuals. The net migration of Anglophones to Quebec is negative for each of the five-year periods observed. However, the migratory loss recorded between 2001 and 2006 is distinctly lower than the losses of the preceding five-year periods.

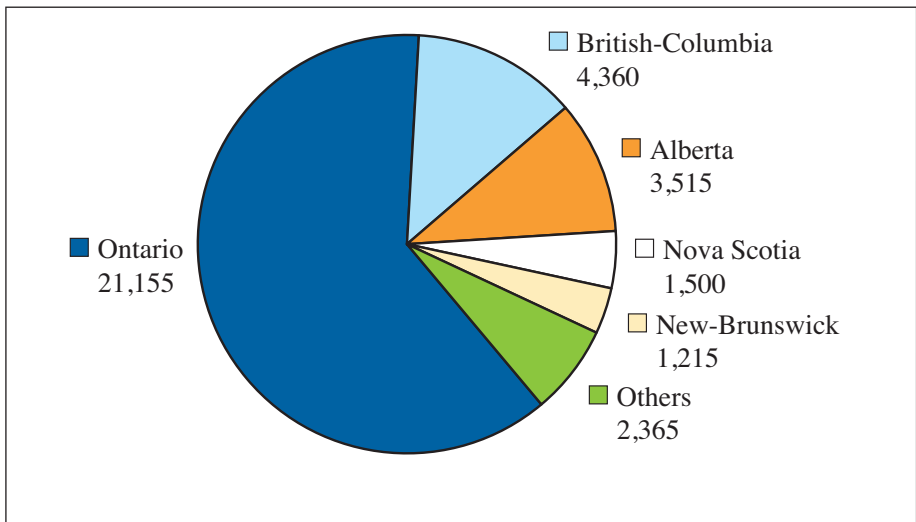
Graph 6.3
Interprovincial migration of persons whose mother tongue is English between Quebec and the other provinces and territories, 1971-1976, 1976-1981, 1981-1986, 1986-1991, 1991-1996, 1996-2001 and 2001-2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

The preferred destination of Anglophones who left Quebec between 2001 and 2006 is by far Ontario, where 62% of them moved. This was also the case between 1996 and 2001, when 68% of Anglophones who left Quebec chose this destination. British Columbia and Alberta follow, receiving 13% and 10% respectively of Anglophone migrants from Quebec. This was a reversal compared to 1996-2001, when Alberta (11%) was in second place ahead of British Columbia (10%). Between 2001 and 2006, Nova Scotia (4.4%) and New Brunswick (3.6%) were destinations favoured by a slightly higher proportion of Anglophone migrants than between 1996 and 2001 (3.9% and 2.4% respectively). While the proportions did not change much, the number of Anglophone migrants from Quebec decreased for each of these provinces, particularly in Ontario and Alberta (42% reduction in both cases).

Graph 6.4
Destination of Anglophones who left Quebec for another province or a territory, 2001 to 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

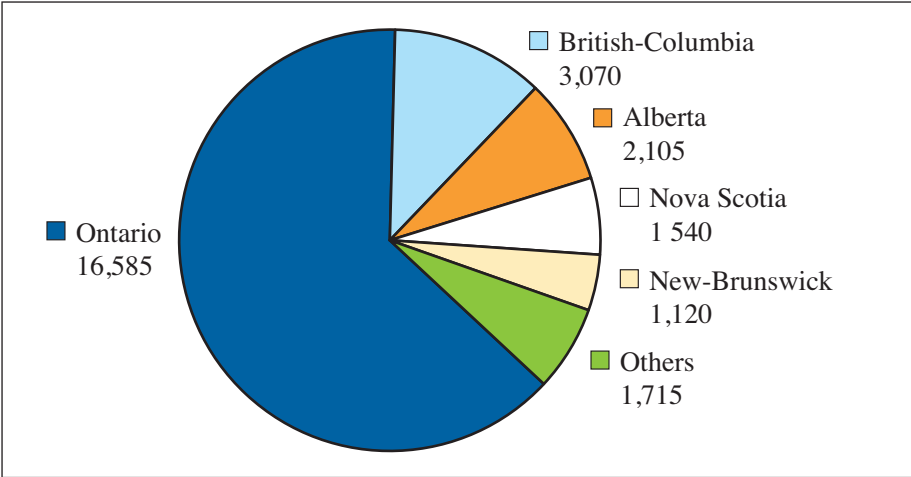
However, most of the Anglophone migrants who left Quebec between 2001 and 2006 were not born in Quebec. Over half of them were born in another province, while 13% were foreign-born. In fact, of all the Anglophones who left Quebec, barely one-third were born there.⁵⁷ Taking the destination province into account, we note that more than a third (35%) of Anglophone migrants leaving Quebec in fact returned to their birth province.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ This proportion was higher and stable in the preceding intercensal periods: 46% between 1986 and 1991, 47% between 1991 and 1996, 46% between 1996 and 2001. This allows us to estimate the substantial decrease in the number of Anglophones born in Quebec who migrated outside of their birth province: from 24,800 migrants between 1986 and 1991, 23,800 migrants between 1991 and 1996 and 24,400 migrants between 1996 and 2001, only 11,600 left Quebec between 2001 and 2006.

⁵⁸ This proportion was one out of four in the preceding five-year periods: 25% between 1986 and 1991, 24% between 1991 and 1996, and 27% between 1996 and 2001.

Most Anglophones who migrated to Quebec between 2001 and 2006 came from Ontario (63%), followed in order by British Columbia (12%), Alberta (8%), Nova Scotia (6%) and New Brunswick (4%). In addition, 22% of them were born in Quebec, which means that they returned to their birth province after living somewhere else in Canada.

Graph 6.5
Origin of Anglophones who migrated to Quebec from another province or a territory, 2001 to 2006



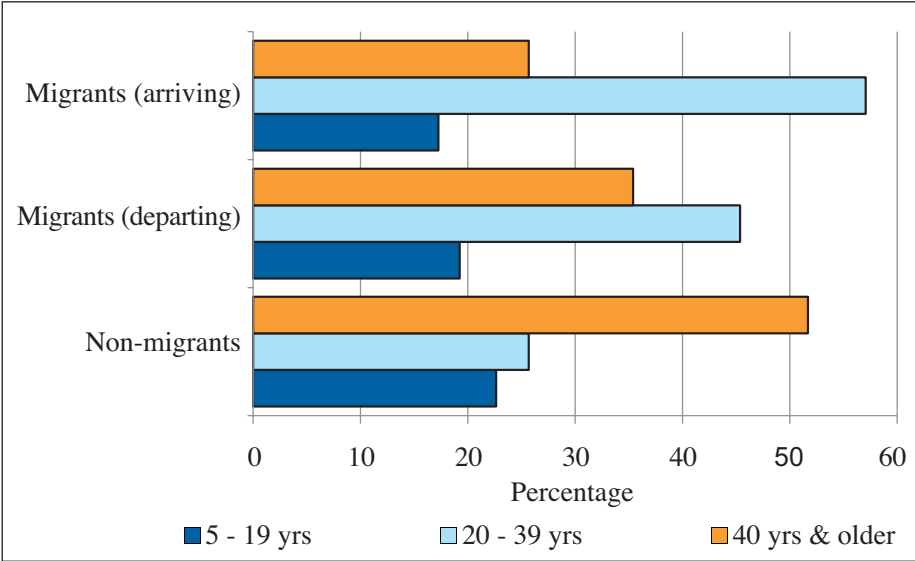
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Anglophone migrants who leave Quebec to move elsewhere in the country are younger and more educated than Anglophones who stay in Quebec. Respondents aged 20 to 39 represent 45% of migrants, but only 26% of non-migrants. Conversely, those aged 40 and older represent 52% of Quebec’s non-migrants, compared to 35% of migrants. Migrants are particularly over-represented in the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups. Similarly, 52% of migrants aged 25 to 34 and older have a bachelor’s degree or a graduate degree, compared to 30% of non-migrants in Quebec.

Anglophones who migrate to Quebec from other provinces or territories are also younger and more educated than non-migrant Anglophones in Quebec. Fifty-seven percent of them are between 20 and 39 years old.⁵⁹ Conversely, only 26% are aged 40 or older. In addition, 54% of those aged 25 to 34 have a bachelor’s degree or a graduate degree, which is more than double that of non migrants outside Quebec in the same age group (25%).

⁵⁹ It is possible that a considerable number of them come to Quebec to complete their university education.

Graph 6.6
Age (in 2006) of Anglophones in Quebec according to
their migratory status between 2001 and 2006



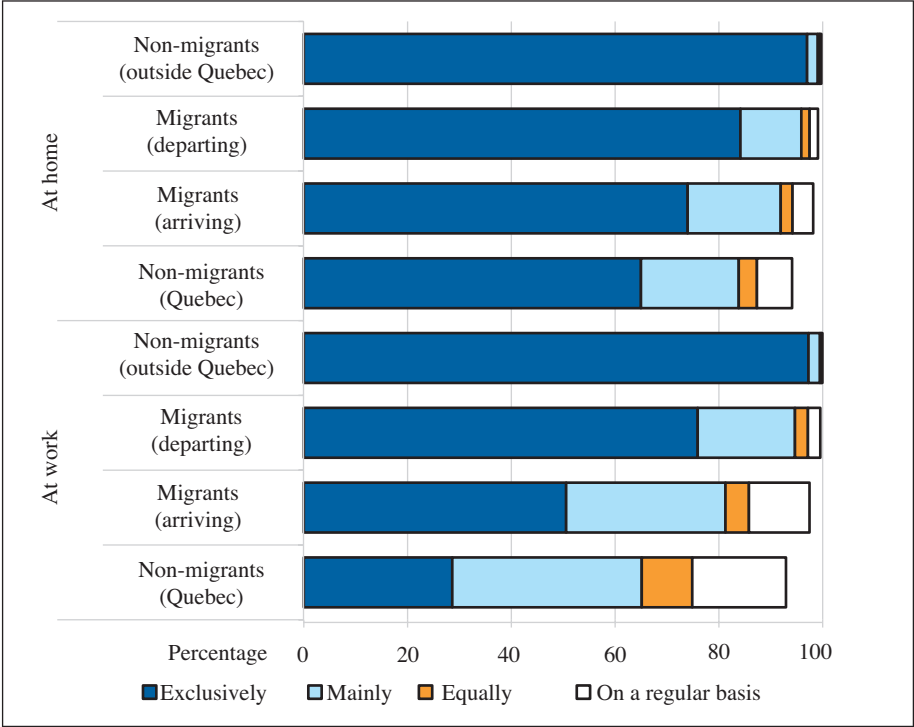
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Almost all Anglophones who migrated between Quebec and the other provinces or territories between 2001 and 2006, both those who left Quebec and those who moved there, use English, at least on a regular basis, at home and at work. However, in many cases, English is not used exclusively. Anglophones who moved to Quebec use French at home, at least on a regular basis, in 24% of cases, and at work, in one out of two cases. However, in the other half of cases, English is the only language of work. French is used less frequently by Anglophones who left Quebec,⁶⁰ but 13% of them still speak French at home, at least on a regular basis, and 23% at work. These proportions are distinctly higher than those observed among Anglophones outside Quebec (see Chapters 3 and 4). This shows a certain persistence in using French after spending time in Quebec. The use of French is more widespread in Quebec both among Anglophones born in Quebec and those who moved there before 2001: 31% of them speak French at home, at least on a regular basis, and 71% use French at work.

⁶⁰ They undoubtedly have fewer opportunities to use it.

Graph 6.7

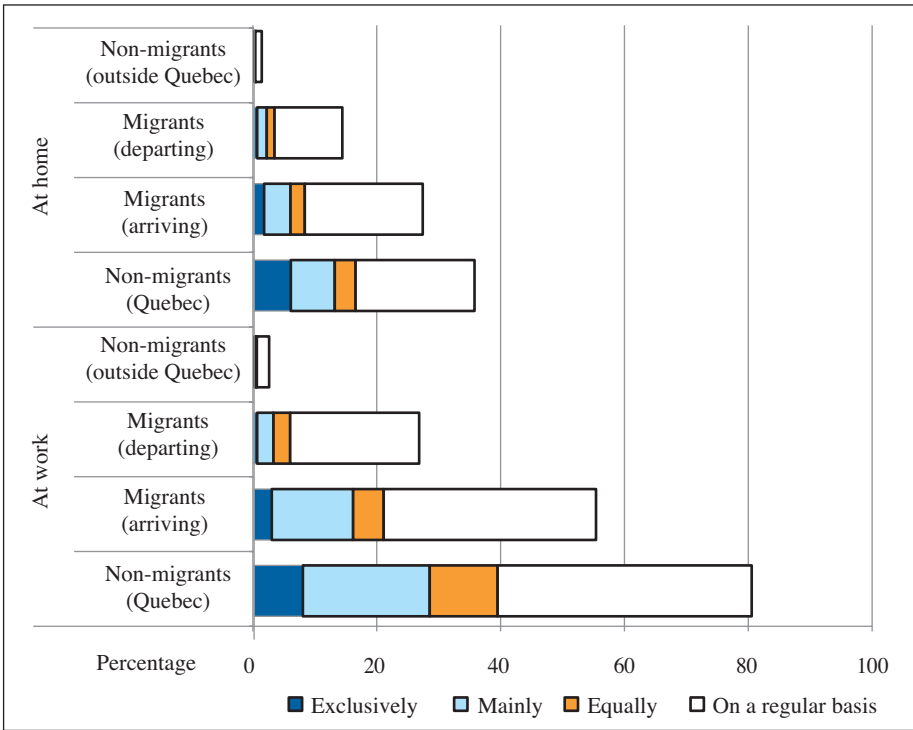
Use of English at home and at work by Anglophones, according to migratory status (in relation to Quebec), 2001 to 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Graph 6.8

Use of French at home and at work by Anglophones, according to migratory status (in relation to Quebec), 2001 to 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Based on this data alone, it is impossible to know if language skills and practices influence migration or if migration affects language behaviours. Do Anglophones leave Quebec because they do not have the language skills to work there or, on the other hand, are they asked to take bilingual jobs outside Quebec because of the language skills acquired in this province? Do they move to Quebec because of language skills that allow them to have a bilingual job or do they move there precisely to acquire a better knowledge of the French language? Although it does not answer these questions specifically, data from the 2006 Census shows us, at least, that the presence of French in social and professional environments fosters its use both at home and at work by people whose mother tongue is English.

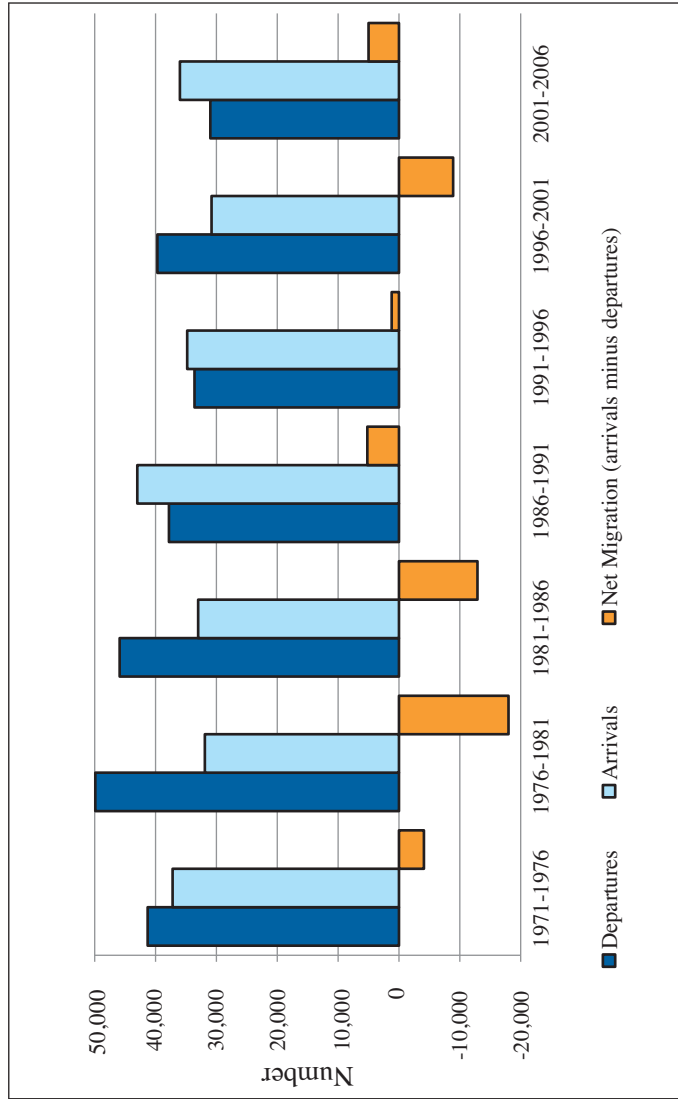
Francophone migrants

It is not possible, using data from recent censuses, to identify clear trends with regard to the migration of people with a French mother tongue between Quebec and the other provinces and territories. Nonetheless, there are always fewer Francophones than Anglophones who migrate out of Quebec to other provinces or territories. Taking into account the relative proportion of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec, it is obvious that Francophones are much less inclined than Anglophones to leave Quebec to move elsewhere in Canada.

There has been a general downtrend in the number of Francophones leaving Quebec since 1976, despite a brief increase between 1996 and 2001. Francophone departures reached a peak between 1976 and 1981 (approximately 50,000 individuals), only to decline during the next three intercensal periods (1981 to 1996) to 33,600 departures between 1991 and 1996. After an increase between 1996 and 2001 (almost 40,000 respondents), the number of departures reached its lowest level of the period observed (1971 to 2006), with 31,000 Francophones leaving Quebec between 2001 and 2006.

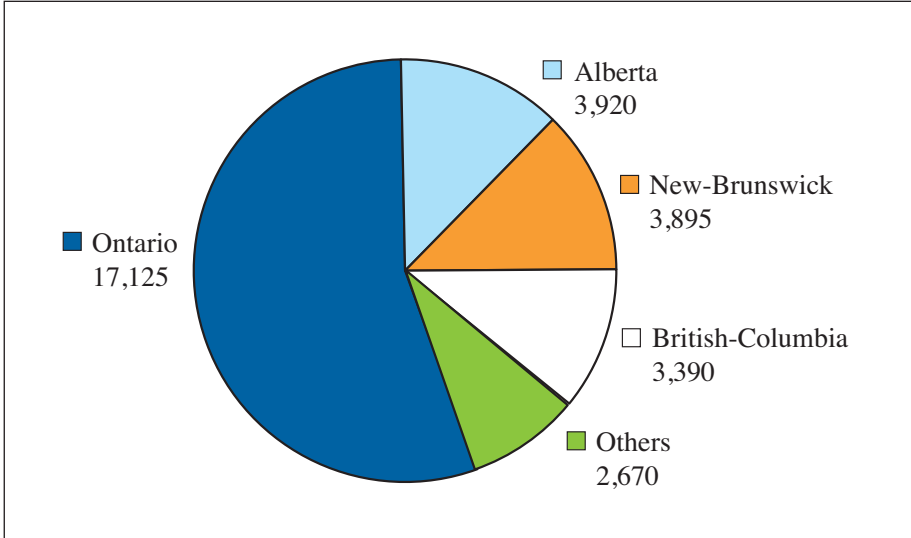
Since 1986, the number of Francophones moving to Quebec from other provinces and territories has compensated for the number of departures. During this period, the net migration favoured Quebec in all the intercensal periods, except between 1996 and 2001. The number of Francophone arrivals in Quebec varied from one five-year period to the next, following no particular trend, and reached a peak of 43,000 people between 1986 and 1991. Ten years later, between 1996 and 2001, arrivals dropped to their lowest level in the period observed, to 30,800 respondents, before climbing back up to 36,000 between 2001 and 2006.

Graph 6.9
Interprovincial migration of persons whose mother tongue is French between Quebec
and the other provinces and territories, 1971-1976, 1976-1981, 1981-1986,
1986-1991, 1991-1996, 1996-2001 and 2001-2006



Like Anglophone migrants, Francophones who leave Quebec for another province mostly move to Ontario (55%). The other favourite destinations are Alberta (13%), New Brunswick (13%) and British Columbia (11%).

Graph 6.10
Destination of Francophones who left Quebec for another province or a territory, 2001 to 2006



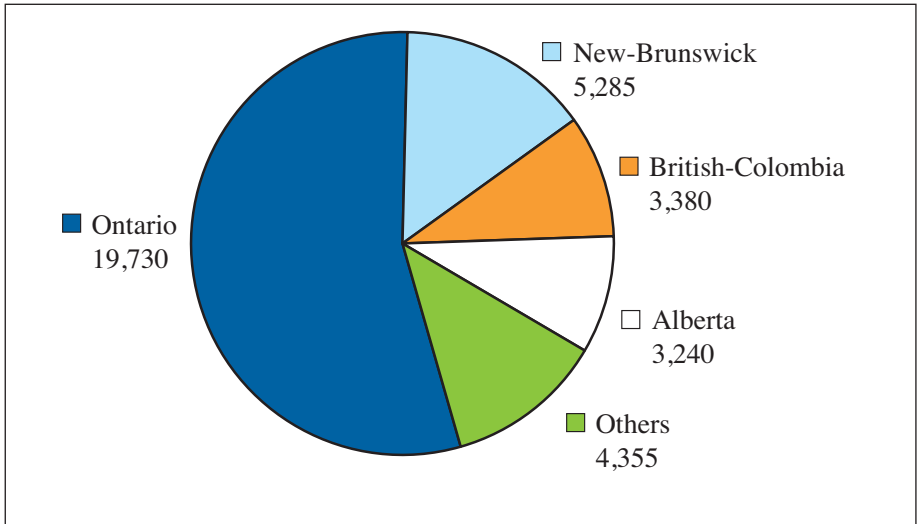
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Seventy-one percent of Francophones who left Quebec between 2001 and 2006 were born in Quebec, compared to 11% who were born in Ontario and 8% in New Brunswick.

The provinces that most Francophones left to move to Quebec between 2001 and 2006 are the same provinces to which those who left Quebec moved during the same period. In 55% of cases this was Ontario, 15% New Brunswick, and 9% British Columbia and Alberta. However, more than two out of three individuals who moved to Quebec were returning to their birth province. In fact, 68% of these Francophone migrants were born in Quebec.

Graph 6.11

Origin of Francophones who migrated to Quebec from another province or a territory, 2001 to 2006



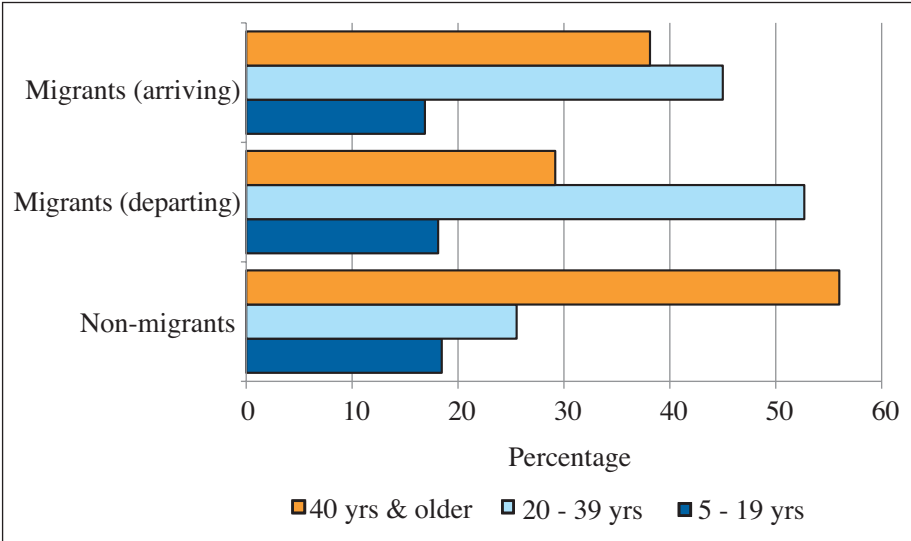
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Similarly to what we observed among Anglophones, Francophone migrants are younger and more educated than non-migrants.⁶¹ Forty-five percent of Francophones who move to Quebec from another province or territory are 20 to 39 years old, while 38% of them are aged 40 or older. Francophones who left Quebec are even younger: 53% of them are 20 to 39 years old and 29% are aged 40 or older. These proportions are reversed among non-migrant Francophones: 26% are 20 to 39 years old and 56% are aged 40 or older.

⁶¹ The term “non-migrant” refers here to Francophones who have not migrated between Quebec and another province or territory. Non-migrants from outside Quebec, however, may have migrated between two provinces other than Quebec. Non-migrant Francophones living in Quebec have characteristics similar to Francophones from other provinces and territories with regard to age and education. There are slight differences—for example, Francophones from outside Quebec especially are slightly older than those in Quebec—but these are much less significant than the differences between migrants and non migrants. Therefore, in this section, non-migrants are not differentiated by place of residence, and the statistics shown concern both residents of Quebec and those of other provinces and territories.

Graph 6.12

Age (in 2006) of Francophones according to their migratory status between Quebec and the other provinces and territories, 2001 to 2006



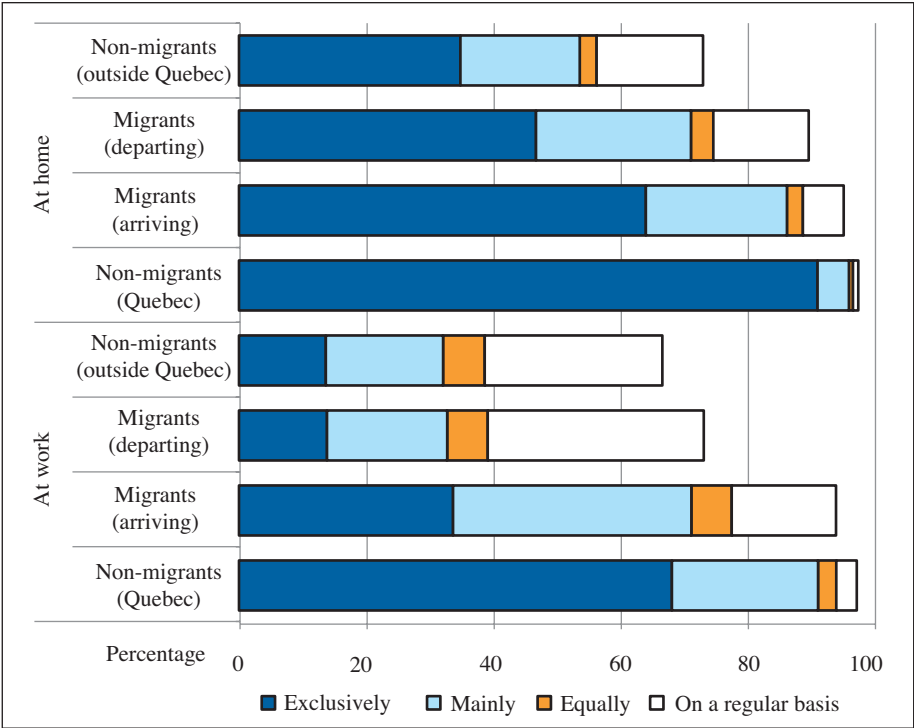
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

A much larger proportion of migrants than non-migrants have a bachelor’s degree or a graduate degree. Forty-three percent of Francophones aged 25 to 34 who left Quebec have attained this level of education, compared to 37% of those who moved to Quebec from another province or a territory, and 24% of non-migrants.

French is used more often at home and work by Francophones in Quebec and, conversely, English is used more often by Francophones outside Quebec, but it seems that the length of stay is a factor to consider. Thus, Francophones who moved to Quebec between 2001 and 2006 speak French more at home (97%) than those who left (92%), but less than non-migrant Francophones in Quebec (99.5%). The same applies to French at work, used by 96% of migrants entering Quebec, by 75% of departing migrants and by 99% of non-migrants in Quebec. Outside Quebec, the proportion of Francophones who use French as their main language at work, whether exclusively (14%), mainly (19%) or equally with another language (7%), is almost identical among migrants and non-migrants. However, a higher proportion (35%) of migrants who leave Quebec use French on a regular basis at work compared to non-migrants (29%).

Graph 6.13

Use of French at home and at work by Francophones, according to migratory status (in relation to Quebec), 2001 to 2006

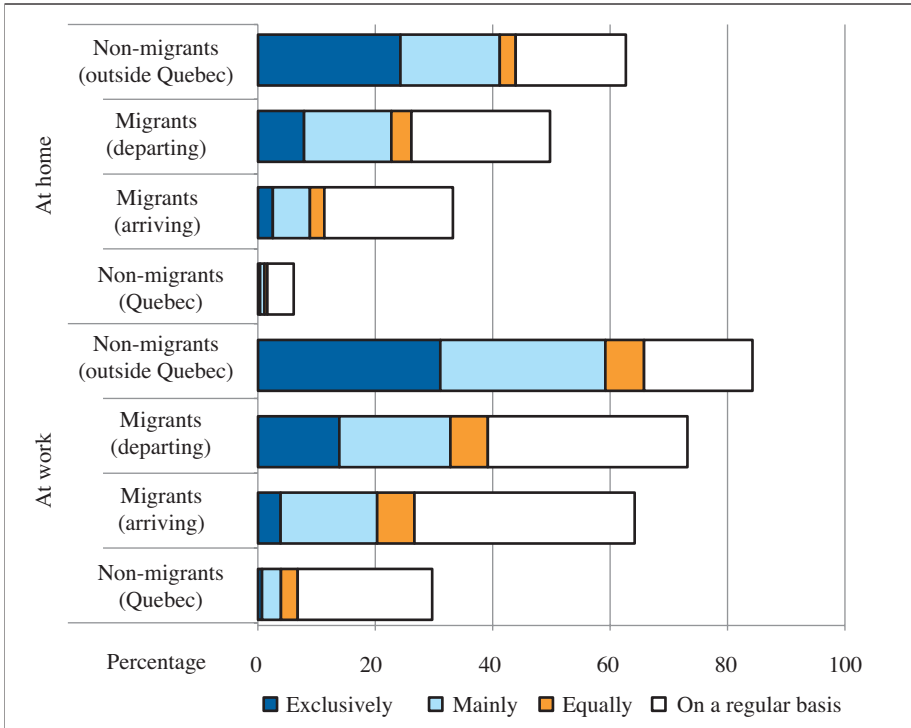


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Using the same logic, the proportion of Francophones who moved to Quebec who speak English at home is smaller (34%) compared to those who left Quebec to move to another province or territory (51%) and compared to non-migrants from outside Quebec (64%). The same applies to English at work: 66% of migrants to Quebec use it, at least on a regular basis, compared to 75% of migrants leaving Quebec and 86% of non-migrants outside Quebec. For comparison purposes, 6% of non-migrant Francophones in Quebec speak English at home and 30% use English at work.

Graph 6.14

Use of English at home and at work by Francophones, according to migratory status (in relation to Quebec), 2001 to 2006



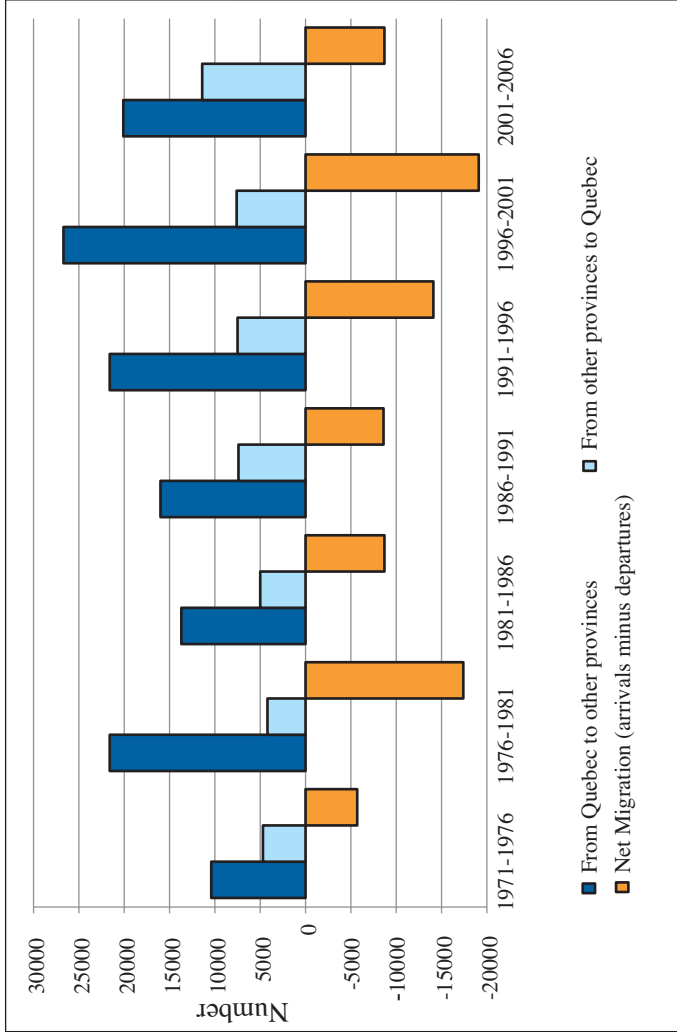
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Spending time in a province where English is a majority language therefore fosters its use by Francophones at home and at work. However, it is no more possible than it is for Anglophones to know whether pre-existing language skills and practices favour migration or whether, on the contrary, migration favours the acquisition of new skills and new behaviours in the other official language.

Migrants with a non-official language as mother tongue

The migration of allophones between Quebec and the other provinces and territories involves language issues insofar as it is related to their language skills and practices. From 1971 to 2006, the net migration of allophones was always negative for Quebec. The number of those who migrated from Quebec to other provinces or territories has varied from one intercensal period to the next, in a generally upward trend until 2001, before dropping between 2001 and 2006. Conversely, the number of allophones who moved to Quebec from other provinces and territories has been fairly stable since 1986, but increased in the past five-year period.

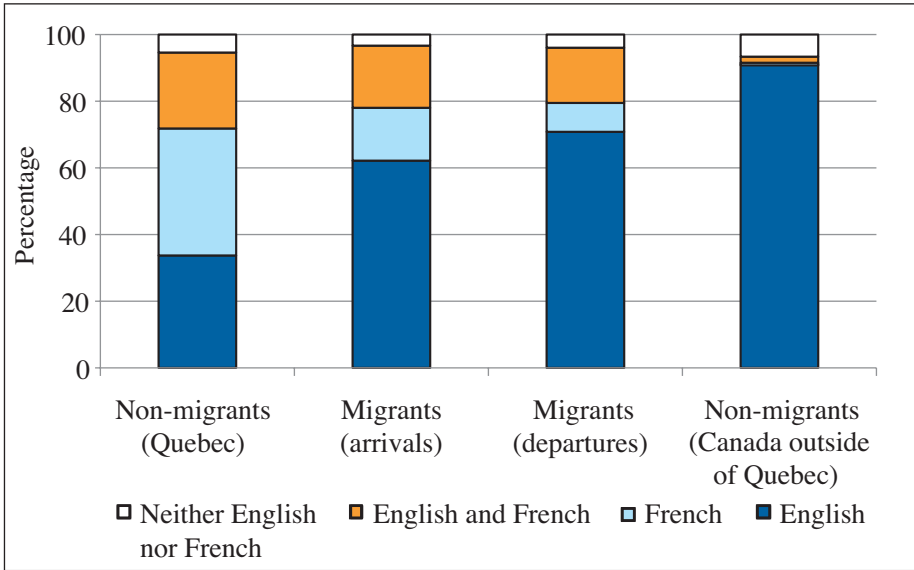
Graph 6.15
Interprovincial migration of persons with an "other" mother tongue between Quebec and the other provinces and territories, 1971-1976, 1976-1981, 1981-1986, 1986-1991, 1991-1996, 1996-2001 and 2001-2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971 and 2006.

Here, mother tongue does not provide any information on the knowledge or use of official languages. By using the derived variable *first official language spoken*, we see that allophones who tend to adopt French have a greater tendency to live and stay in Quebec. Allophones who move to Quebec from another province or territory (arriving migrants) and those who leave Quebec to move elsewhere in Canada (departing migrants) both mostly tend to adopt English (62% and 71% respectively), but to a lesser extent than non-migrants outside Quebec (91%).

Graph 6.16
First official language spoken (FOLS) by persons with an "other" mother tongue, according to migratory status between Quebec and the other provinces and territories, 2001 to 2006

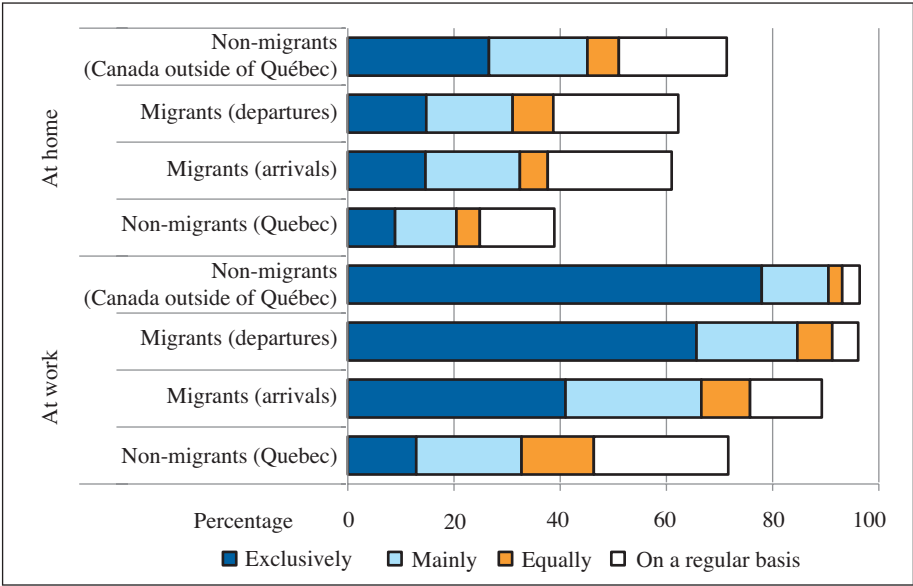


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

As is the case for Anglophones and Francophones living in Quebec, moving there or having spent time there is associated with a higher use of French at home and at work by people with a mother tongue other than English or French. Similarly, living outside Quebec results in a higher use of English at work and at home.

Graph 6.17

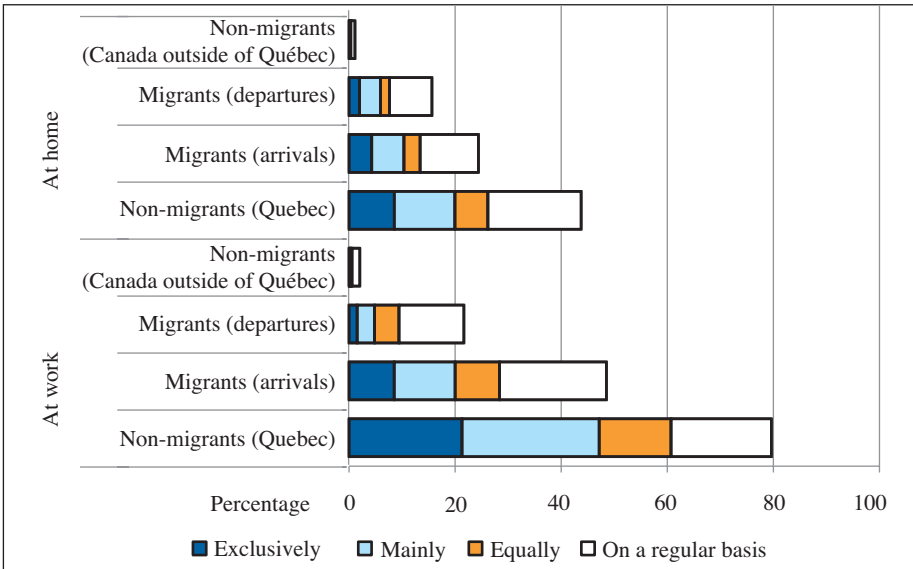
Use of English at home and at work by persons with an "other" mother tongue, according to migratory status between Quebec and the other provinces and territories, 2001 to 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Graph 6.18

Use of French at home and at work by persons with an "other" mother tongue, according to migratory status between Quebec and the other provinces and territories, 2001 to 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Overview

The number of Anglophones who left Quebec to move to another province or territory between 2001 and 2006 was 34,000 individuals, the lowest number since 1971. The net migration of Anglophones between Quebec and the rest of Canada is negative for each period observed, but migratory losses are increasingly less significant. Conversely, the net migration of Francophones between Quebec and Canada varies considerably. Since 1986, the net migration of Francophones has favoured Quebec.

We note that migrants are generally younger and more educated than non migrants. For both Francophones and Anglophones, the presence of the other official language in social and professional environments fosters its use both at work and at home.

With regard to the interprovincial migration of people with a mother tongue other than English or French, we note that those whose first official language spoken is French tend more to live in Quebec, and stay there. Arriving and departing migrants tend more to adopt English. Living in Quebec or having spent time there, however, fosters the use of French at work and at home.

CHAPTER 7

IMMIGRATION AND LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

International immigration is an increasingly important factor in understanding the evolution of Canada's language groups. In 2006, foreign born individuals accounted for nearly 20% of Canada's population, the highest proportion since 1931. This puts Canada in second place internationally, with only Australia having a higher proportion of foreign-born residents. Canada's foreign born population—totalling nearly 6.2 million in 2006—grew at a rate four times faster than that of the Canadian-born population between 2001 and 2006. The number of recent immigrants who settled in Canada during that time is estimated at 1.1 million, or 3.6% of Canada's population.⁶²

Canada's foreign-born population is very diverse linguistically. In 2006, 71% of immigrants reported a mother tongue other than English or French. Nearly 150 languages were reported as mother tongues by immigrants in the 2006 Census.⁶³ Immigration therefore contributes to linguistic diversity and affects the evolution of Canada's language groups. Furthermore, immigrants' language practices and proficiency are significant factors in their integration into Canadian society. Consequently, it is important to consider not just mother tongue, but also knowledge of official languages and languages used at home and at work. Lastly, intra- and intergenerational transmission must be examined more specifically.

Immigration and evolution of language groups

While immigrants reported a wide range of mother tongues in the 2006 Census, English was reported most often. Nonetheless, 71% of immigrants had a mother tongue other than English or French, compared to 25% of Anglophones and 3%

⁶² For more information about international immigration, see the document *Immigration in Canada: A Portrait of the Foreign-born Population, 2006 Census* (Chui, Tran and Maheux, 2007).

⁶³ As a matter of fact, it is the number of mother tongues for which data has been published. Several mother tongues have been grouped together in "other" categories ("Romance languages not included elsewhere", "Germanic languages not included elsewhere", "Slavic languages not included elsewhere", etc.), among other things, for reasons of confidentiality.

of Francophones.⁶⁴ The most common mother tongues among the foreign-born population were Chinese languages, Italian, Punjabi, Spanish and German.⁶⁵

Table 7.1
Most common mother tongue in immigrants, Canada, 2006

Mother tongue ¹	Number	%
English	1,500,650	24.3
Chinese Languages²	808,815	13.1
Cantonese	282,410	4.6
Mandarin	143,815	2.3
Italian	286,955	4.6
Punjabi	257,270	4.2
Spanish	253,735	4.1
German	235,680	3.8
Tagalog (Filipino)	208,790	3.4
Arabic	203,085	3.3
French	192,385	3.1
Portuguese	160,485	2.6
Polish	156,625	2.5
Persian (Farsi)	115,650	1.9
Urdu	113,070	1.8
Russian	109,475	1.8
Vietnamese	105,995	1.7
Dutch	103,395	1.7
Others³	1,374,895	22.2
Total³	6,186,950	100.0

¹ Single responses only (except when specified)

² The Chinese Languages category includes Cantonese, Mandarin, the other Chinese languages and non-specified Chinese languages

³ Includes multiple responses

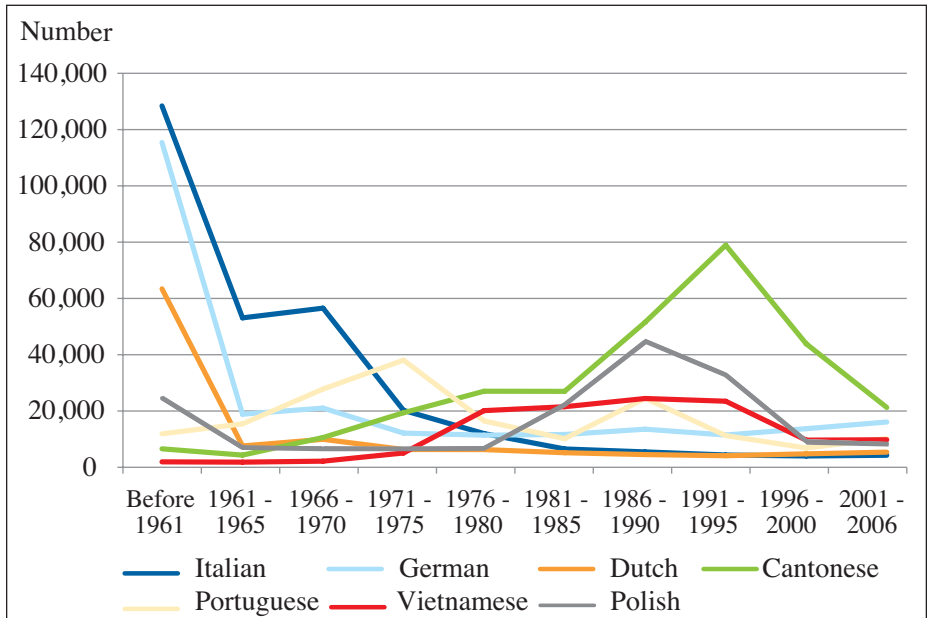
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

⁶⁴ After multiple responses are distributed.

⁶⁵ Table 8.1 shows mother tongues (single responses) whose speakers totalled more than 100,000 among immigrants in 2006.

Among immigrants, the relative proportion of mother-tongue groups vary considerably depending on the period of immigration. Some language groups benefited considerably from earlier waves of immigrants, only to see their representation all but dry up during recent periods of immigration. Such is the case of individuals with Italian, German or Dutch as their mother tongue (see Chart 7.1). Other language groups accounting for large numbers of immigrants experienced rather intense periods of immigration in the past, only to see their representation fade during more recent times. Such is the case in particular for individuals reporting Portuguese (who immigrated to Canada in the early 1970s especially), Vietnamese (who immigrated to Canada in the early 1970s especially), Vietnamese (who immigrated to Canada in the early 1970s especially), Vietnamese (1976 to 1995), Polish (late 1980s) and Cantonese (early 1990s) as their mother tongue. Conversely, other language groups with lesser representation in earlier immigration cohorts have seen their numbers increase rapidly during the most recent five-year periods. Such is the case in particular for individuals with Spanish, Arabic, Punjabi or Mandarin as their mother tongue. These individuals topped the list of immigrants during the most recent five-year period, i.e., from 2001 to 2006, behind Anglophones (see Chart 7.2).

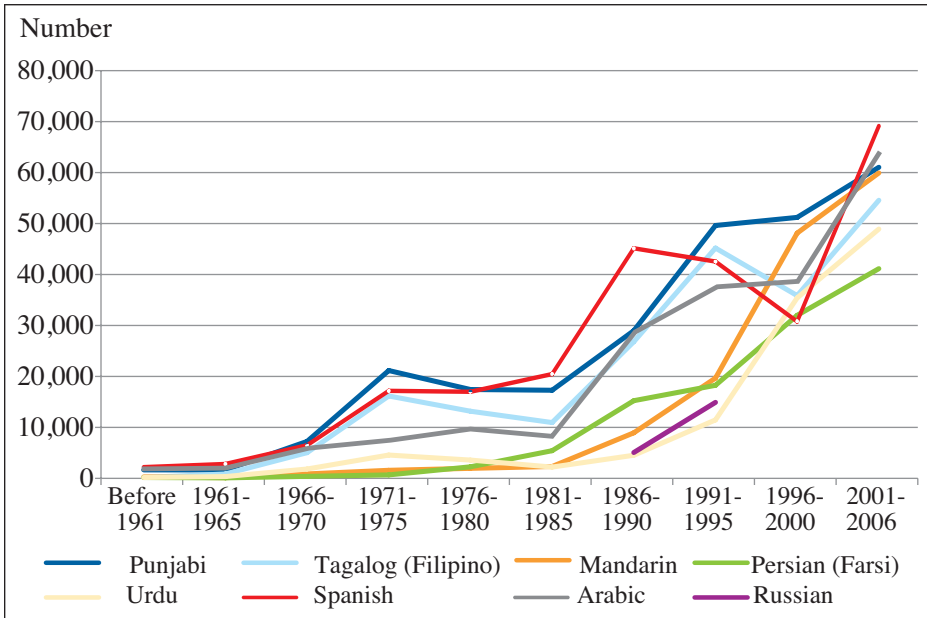
Graph 7.1
Number of immigrants with certain mother tongues,
according to period of immigration, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Graph 7.2

Number of immigrants of certain mother tongues, according to period of immigration, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

The majority of immigrants live in Ontario and British Columbia. Nearly three immigrants out of four reside in those two provinces, with more than half in Ontario alone. In 2006, 55% of newcomers to Canada lived in Ontario, which accounted for 39% of Canada's population. Similarly, 18% of immigrants lived in British Columbia, with that province making up 13% of the country's population. Ontario and British Columbia were the only two provinces whose proportion of immigrants was higher than their share of Canada's population. After those two provinces, Quebec had the highest proportion of foreign-born people, at 14%. In contrast, the province accounted for 24% of Canada's population.

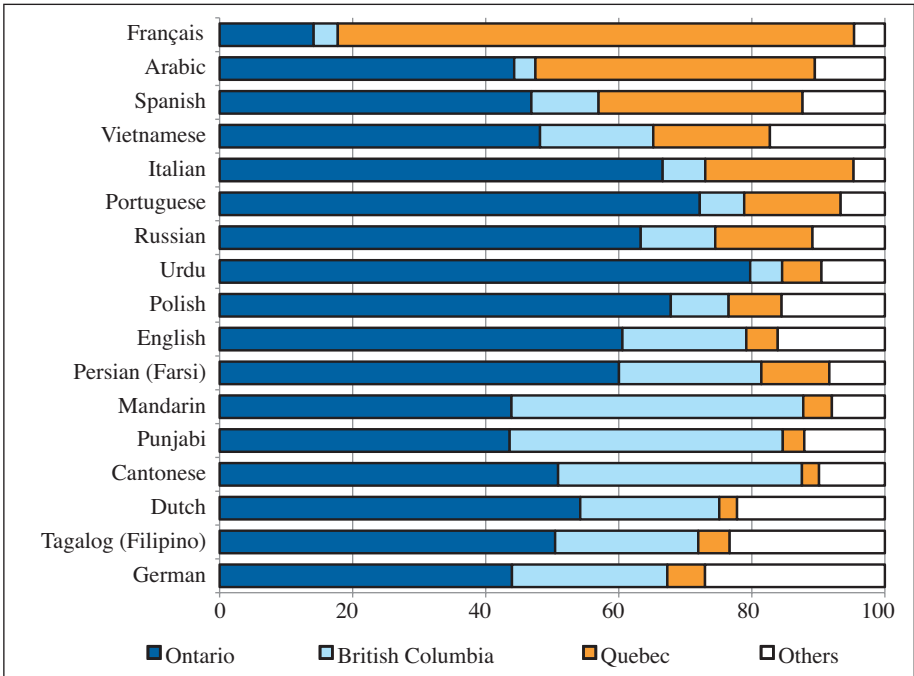
The geographic distribution of the main mother tongues among immigrants follows this general pattern in all but a few cases. For each of the language groups observed, that is, the mother tongues listed in Table 7.1, the immigrants in those cohorts live in Ontario for the most part. Individuals with French or Mandarin as their mother tongue are the only two exceptions: more than three out of four Francophone immigrants live in Quebec, compared to 14% in Ontario. In contrast, just as many people with Mandarin as their mother tongue live in British Columbia as in Ontario (44% in both cases).

Certain language groups are mainly concentrated in Ontario. Such is the case of immigrants with Urdu (80%), Portuguese (72%), Polish (68%), Italian (67%), Russian (63%), English (61%) or Persian (Farsi) (60%) as their mother

tongue. British Columbia is home to relatively large numbers of other groups, with 44% of immigrants reporting Mandarin as their mother tongue; 41% Punjabi; 37% Cantonese; 23% German; and 22% Tagalog. The same holds true in Quebec, with 78% of immigrants reporting French as their mother tongue; 42% Arabic; 31% Spanish; and 22% Italian. Lastly, immigrants with German (27%), Tagalog (23%), Dutch (22%) or Vietnamese (17%) as their mother tongue tend to live mostly in provinces other than Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia—primarily in Alberta, and in some cases, Manitoba.

Graph 7.3

Proportion of immigrants with different mother tongues, according to province of residence, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Immigration has a varying impact on the different language groups. Only a small proportion of Francophones (3%) and Anglophones (8%) are foreign-born. Of those who have another language as their mother tongue, immigrants account for 73%, ranging from 52% (German) to 89% (Tagalog). Those with German (46%), Italian (36%), Punjabi (29%) or Portuguese (25%) as their mother tongue have the highest proportion of Canadian-born individuals. In contrast, individuals with Tagalog (6%), Mandarin (10%) or Persian (11%) as their mother tongue have the lowest proportion. More than one-third of people with Mandarin (35%) or Urdu (34%) as their mother tongue are recent immigrants, having arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006. These language groups account for the largest proportion of recent immigrants, followed closely by those with Persian (31%) or Russian (30%) as their mother tongue.

Table 7.2

Composition of some mother tongue groups (single response), according to immigration status, Canada, 2006

Mother tongue	Total		Non-immigrants		Immigrants		Recent immigrants		Non-permanent residents	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
English	17,882,775	91.3	16,318,405	91.3	1,500,650	8.4	148,025	0.8	63,720	0.4
French	6,817,655	97.0	6,609,860	97.0	192,385	2.8	43,155	0.6	15,405	0.2
Non-official languages	5,937,765	23.8	1,412,560	23.8	4,345,350	73.2	885,190	14.9	179,850	3.0
Chinese languages	1,012,065	16.8	169,820	16.8	808,815	79.9	170,570	16.9	33,425	3.3
Cantonese	361,450	20.6	74,600	20.6	282,410	78.1	20,185	5.6	4,435	1.2
Mandarin	170,955	10.4	17,695	10.4	143,820	84.1	59,925	35.1	9,440	5.5
Italian	455,040	36.5	166,020	36.5	286,955	63.1	2,600	0.6	2,065	0.5
German	450,570	46.4	209,145	46.4	235,675	52.3	14,825	3.3	5,745	1.3
Punjabi	367,505	28.7	105,390	28.7	257,270	70.0	61,040	16.6	4,850	1.3
Spanish	345,350	19.7	67,950	19.7	253,735	73.5	69,130	20.0	23,665	6.9
Arabic	261,640	18.2	47,745	18.2	203,085	77.6	63,725	24.4	10,810	4.1
Tagalog (Filipino)	235,615	6.3	14,780	6.3	208,790	88.6	54,560	23.2	12,050	5.1
Portuguese	219,275	24.9	54,620	24.9	160,485	73.2	8,740	4.0	4,165	1.9
Polish	211,175	25.2	53,175	25.2	156,620	74.2	6,720	3.2	1,380	0.7
Urdu	145,810	19.6	28,585	19.6	113,070	77.5	48,915	33.6	4,150	2.8
Vietnamese	141,630	23.9	33,885	23.9	105,990	74.8	8,305	5.9	1,755	1.2
Persian (Farsi)	134,080	10.9	14,635	10.9	115,655	86.3	41,150	30.7	3,795	2.8
Russian	133,575	20.3	20,320	15.2	109,480	82.0	39,505	29.6	3,780	2.8
Dutch	128,900	18.8	24,220	18.8	103,390	80.2	3,750	2.9	1,290	1.0
Others	1,695,540	23.7	402,270	23.7	1,226,330	72.3	291,640	17.2	66,930	3.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Knowledge of official languages

For immigrants, the ability to carry on a conversation in English or French is a major factor in their integration into Canadian society. In 2006, 94% of foreign-born individuals were able to converse in at least one of Canada's two official languages. More specifically, 90% of immigrants could speak English, and 16%, French.⁶⁶ Slightly more than 6% of immigrants could speak neither English nor French well enough to conduct a conversation.

Knowledge of official languages varies slightly among recent immigrants⁶⁷ from one intercensal period to another, as shown in Table 7.3. Since 1976, the proportion of recent immigrants with no knowledge of either official language has fallen. Similarly, the proportion of recent immigrants able to conduct a conversation in English and French rose slightly during the most recent five-year period.

Table 7.3
Knowledge of official languages by recent immigrants,
according to period of immigration, Canada, 1976 to 2006

Period of immigration	English	French	English and French	Neither English nor French
	%	%	%	%
1976 - 1980	70.4	6.6	9.3	13.7
1981 - 1985	70.7	6.4	9.2	13.8
1986 - 1990	72.5	5.6	9.3	12.6
1991 - 1995	73.1	5.3	8.8	12.7
1996 - 2000	75.5	4.8	9.8	9.8
2001 - 2006	72.5	6.6	11.6	9.3

Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1976 to 2006.

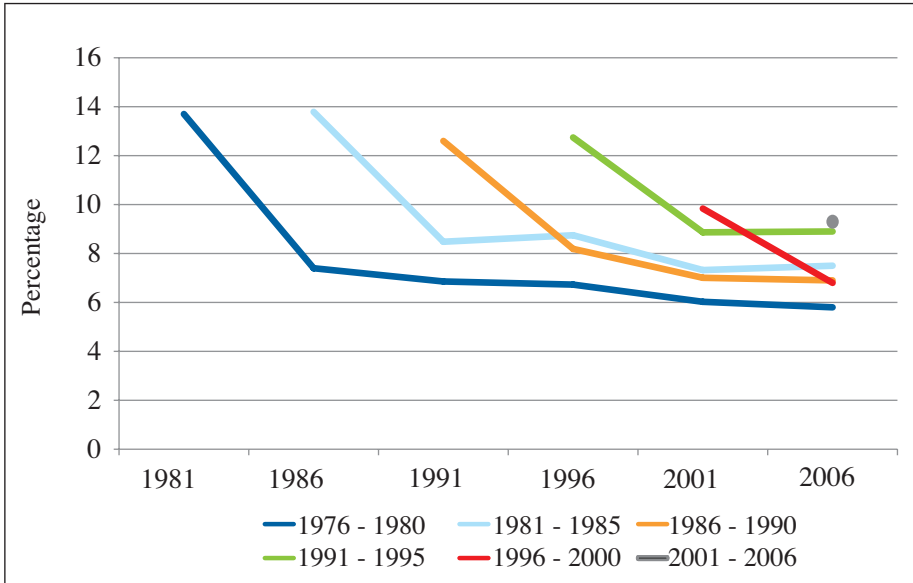
A comparison of statistics on knowledge of official languages among recent immigrants and statistics for each cohort in later censuses shows that immigrants have been acquiring new language skills, particularly in the first ten years following their arrival in Canada. For each immigrant cohort observed in Chart 7.4, the proportion of those with no knowledge of either English or French fell significantly between the five-year period during which they settled in Canada and the following five-year period. While the decline is somewhat less pronounced for

⁶⁶ These proportions include the 12% of immigrants who reported being able to conduct a conversation in both English and French. Thus, if we take only these two languages into account, 77% of immigrants know only English, compared to 4% who know only French.

⁶⁷ "Recent immigrants" refers to landed immigrants who arrived in Canada within five years prior to a given census. Since language knowledge is likely to evolve over time, it is important here to compare immigrants' knowledge of official languages during each census round. The statistics concerning individuals having immigrated between 1976 and 1981 are therefore taken from the 1981 Census; those concerning individuals having immigrated between 1981 and 1986 are taken from the 1986 Census, and so forth.

the more recent immigration cohorts, proportionally more and more newcomers report knowledge of at least one of Canada’s two official languages, according to their first post-arrival census.

Graph 7.4
Evolution of the proportion of immigrants who know neither English nor French, according to period of immigration, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006



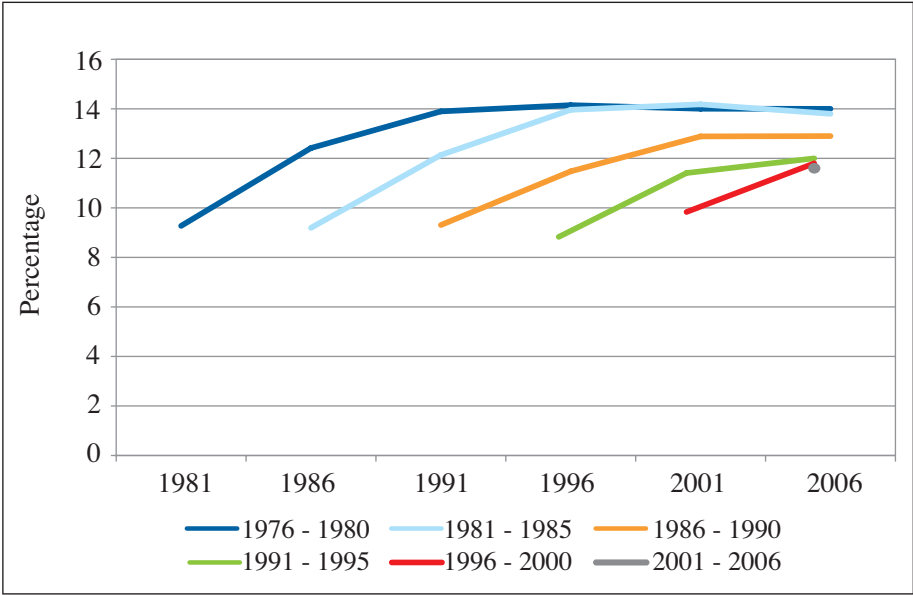
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1981 to 2006.

Similarly, for each cohort observed, the proportion of immigrants able to converse in both official languages increased in the ten years following the five year period during which they arrived in Canada. The increase is much more pronounced in Quebec, where recent immigrants have shown sharply higher levels of English – French bilingualism compared to their counterparts elsewhere in Canada.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ For instance, in the 1996 Census, 34% of recent immigrants in Quebec reported knowing both English and French. For the same cohort, the proportion of English–French bilingual individuals in the 2001 Census was 47%, and 52% in the 2006 Census. In the other provinces and territories, those proportions were 4% in 1996, 6% in 2001 and 6% in 2006.

Graph 7.5

Evolution of the proportion of immigrants who know both English and French, according to period of immigration, Canada, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006



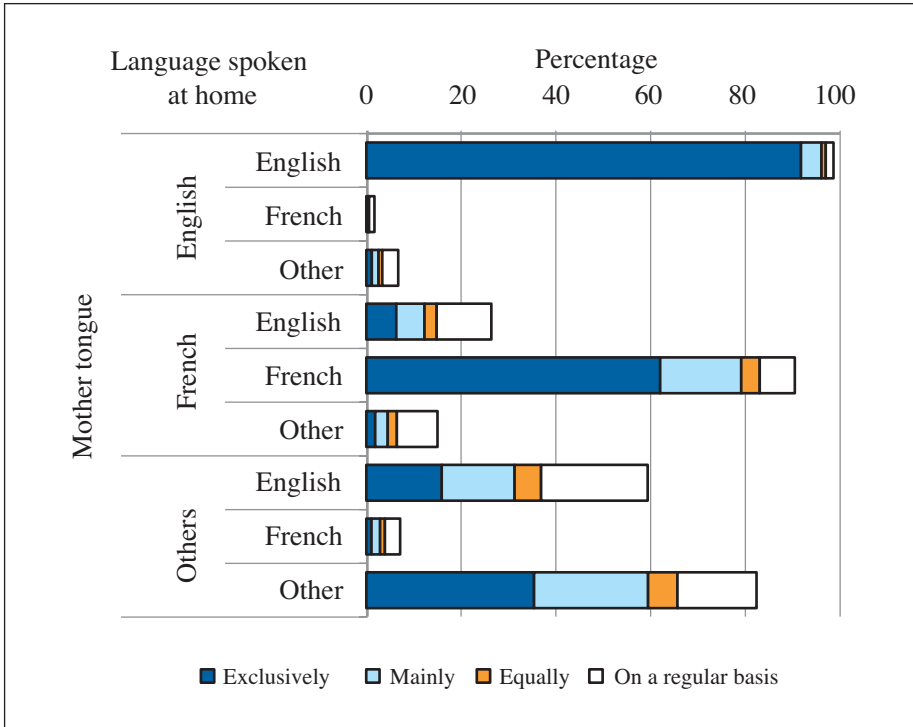
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1981 to 2006.

Immigrants who know French live mostly in Quebec (65%) and Ontario (25%), and to a lesser extent in British Columbia (7%) and Alberta (3%). However, 96% of immigrants who know French alone live in Quebec. In the other provinces and territories, 97% of immigrants who know French also report knowledge of English. In New Brunswick, one immigrant out of four can converse in French, compared to three out of four in Quebec.

Language use

The majority of immigrants, like other Canadians, speak their mother tongue at home. Immigrants with English as their mother tongue speak English at home in 99% of cases. Of that number, 92% do not speak any other language. In contrast, 90% of Francophone immigrants speak French at home, with 62% of them reporting French as their only language spoken. Even though 82% of immigrants with neither English nor French as their mother tongue speak their first language at home, they speak it together with another language—primarily English—in 47% of cases. Nearly 60% of them speak English at home. The proportion of those who speak English alone is 16%.

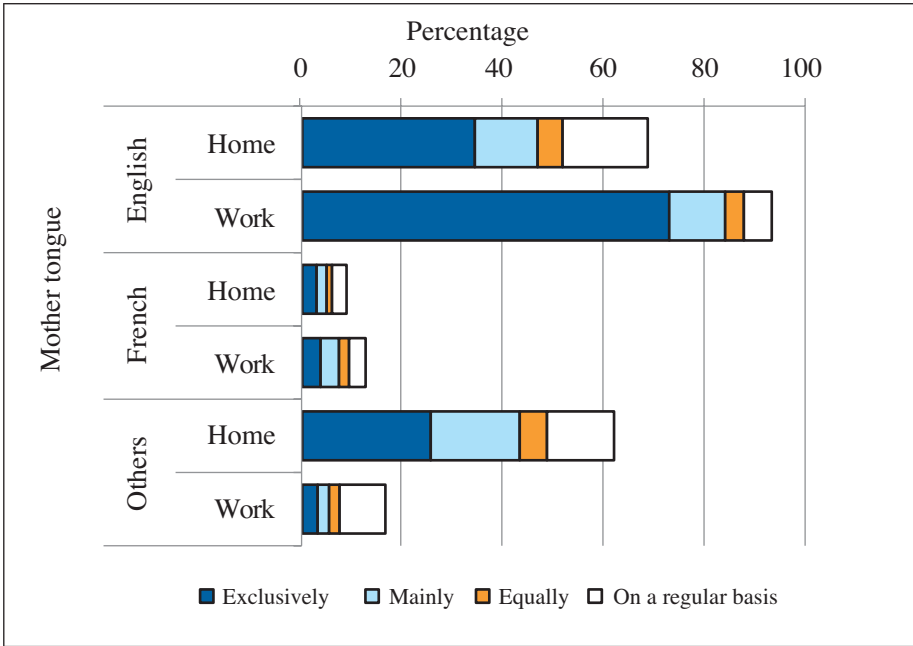
Graph 7.6
Languages spoken at home by immigrants according to mother tongue, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

The situation is different in terms of languages used at work. Non-official languages are used less often in public situations than in private ones. All mother tongues taken into account, the proportion of immigrants using a non official language at work (16%) is lower than the proportion of those who use a non-official language at home (62%). Conversely, English is used more at work (93%) than at home (68%) by immigrants. French is also used more at work (13%) than at home (9%), except among Francophones, 90% of whom speak their mother tongue at home, compared to 88% at work.

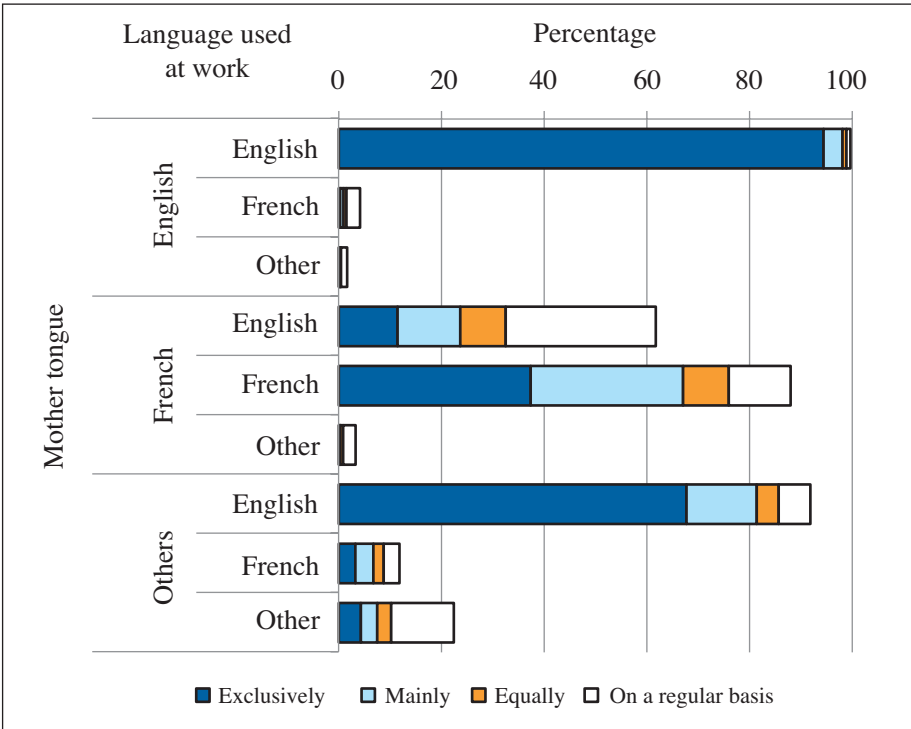
Graph 7.7
Language spoken at home and language used
at work by immigrants, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Virtually all Anglophone immigrants (99.6%) use their mother tongue at work, with English being the only language of work for 94% of them. Nearly nine out of ten immigrants with French as their mother tongue speak French at work. However, 51% of them speak it together with another language, primarily English. Although immigrants with a mother tongue other than English or French use mainly English at work (92%), 22% of them use their mother tongue.

Graph 7.8
Languages used at work by immigrants, according to mother tongue, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

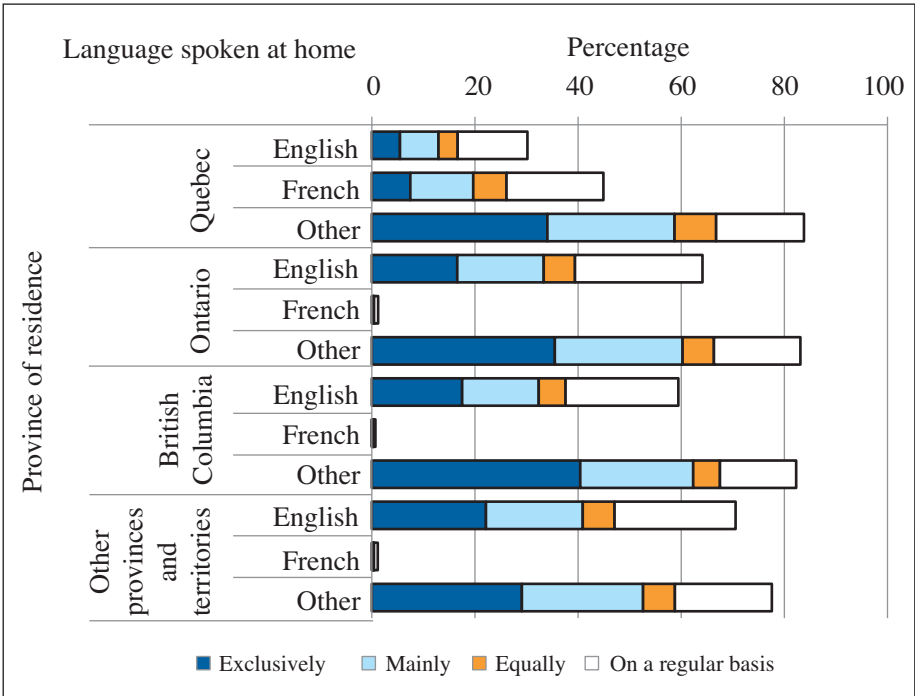
The use of English and French varies depending on the province of residence. The use of French at home and at work is concentrated primarily in Quebec and, to a lesser extent, in Ontario. These two provinces combined are the place of residence for 95% of immigrants who speak French at home (84% in Quebec alone) and 96% of those who use French at work (83% in Quebec alone). The situation is similar when we consider only immigrants with a mother tongue other than English or French: 87% of those who speak French at home live in Quebec, and 9%, in Ontario.

In Quebec, 45% of immigrants who reported a non-official language as their mother tongue speak French at least regularly at home, compared to just 1% who do so in the other provinces and territories. Conversely, 30% of those who live in Quebec speak English at least regularly at home, compared to 64% in Ontario, 59% in British Columbia and 71% in the other provinces and territories.

The proportion of immigrants who reported a non-official language as their mother tongue and who speak it at least regularly at home is similar in Quebec (84%), Ontario (83%) and British Columbia (82%). However, their proportion is slightly lower in the other provinces and territories (78%).

Graph 7.9

Use of English, French or "other" language at home by immigrants with an "other" mother tongue, according to province of residence, 2006

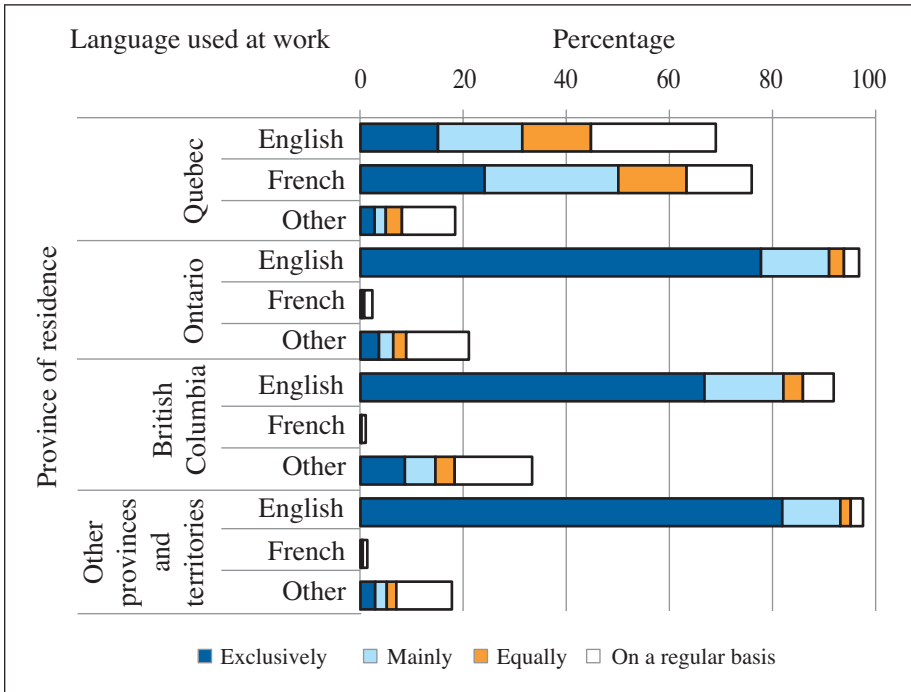


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

While immigrants generally used an “other” mother tongue in private life, the opposite is true in the public sphere. In British Columbia, 33% use an “other” mother tongue at work (18% most often, 15% regularly), compared to 21% in Ontario (9% most often, 12% regularly), 18% in Quebec (8% most often, 10% regularly) and in the other provinces and territories (7% most often, 11% regularly). English, the main language of work in most provinces, is widely used by immigrants whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, not only in Quebec (69%), but especially in the rest of the country (96% in Ontario, 91% in British Columbia and 97% in the other provinces and territories). However, in Quebec, more immigrants whose mother tongue is neither English nor French use French at least regularly at work (78%).

Graph 7.10

Use of English, French or another language at work by immigrants with an "other" mother tongue, according to province of residence, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

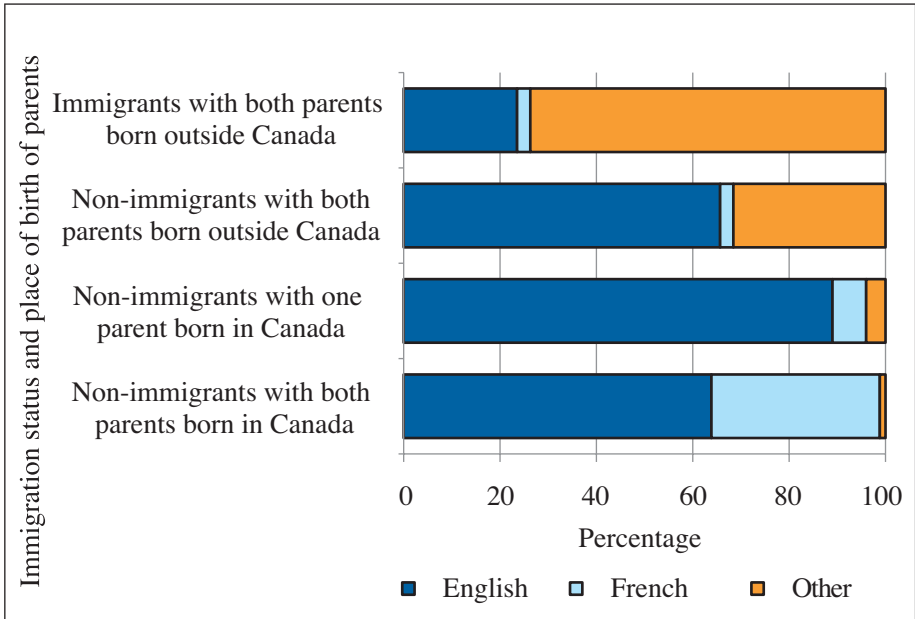
Language transfer

Proportionally, significantly more immigrants have a non-official language as their mother tongue than do second-, third- or later-generation Canadians. In 2006, 74% of immigrants with both parents born outside Canada reported a mother tongue other than English or French, compared to 24% of Anglophones and 3% of Francophones. On the other hand, 32% of non-immigrants with both parents born outside Canada had a mother tongue other than English or French, compared to just 4% of non-immigrants with only one parent born in Canada and 1% of third- or later-generation Canadians (non-immigrants with both parents born in Canada).⁶⁹

⁶⁹ These proportions are calculated taking into account only individuals aged 15 and over with English, French or another language as their mother tongue (single responses).

Graph 7.11

Mother tongue (single response) according to immigration status and place of birth of parents, population aged 15 years and older, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

By comparing mother tongue—which provides a retrospective picture—with the language spoken most often at home—which refers to the current situation—we can estimate the proportion of language transfer and retention for a given population. Intragenerational language transfer occurs among individuals whose language used most often is different than their mother tongue. Language transfer may be partial in cases where the mother tongue is no longer the main language used, but is spoken regularly at home nonetheless.

The proportion of language transfers among immigrants with a non-official language as their mother tongue is 37%.⁷⁰ Complete language transfers slightly outpace partial transfers, 20% versus 18%. Language transfer rates are much higher among non-immigrants whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, particularly among second-generation Canadians. In fact, 88% of those with both parents born outside Canada and 87% of those with only one foreign-born parent have transferred languages, for the most part, completely⁷¹ (see Table 7.4). Lastly, language transfers are observed among 66% of third- or later-generation Canadians with a mother tongue other than English or French. It would therefore

⁷⁰ Calculations take into account only those aged 25 and over, so as not to include persons still living with their original families.

⁷¹ Proportionally, complete language transfers occur less frequently among non immigrants with both parents born outside Canada (65%), compared to non-immigrants with just one foreign-born parent (74%).

appear that intragenerational transfers from an “other” mother tongue to French or—mainly—English are especially true of the immigrants’ children, and not the immigrants themselves.

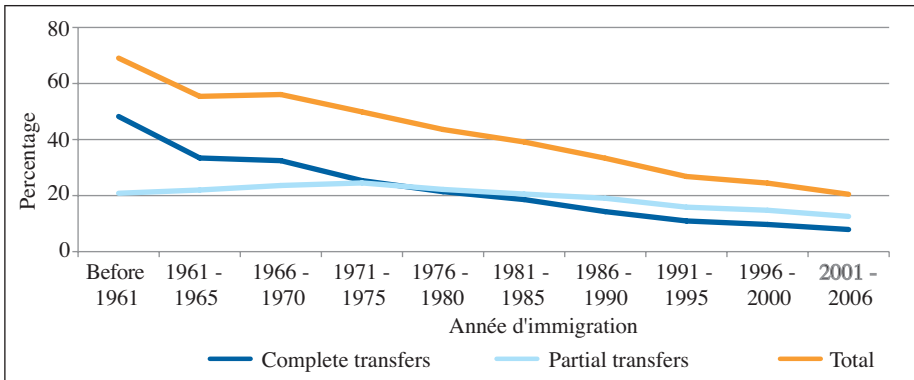
Table 7.4
Language transfer rates of persons with an “other” mother tongue (single response), according to immigration status and place of birth of parents, Canada, 2006

Immigration status and place of birth of parents	Language retention	Language transfers		
		Partial	Complete	Total
Non-immigrants with both parents born in Canada	34.3	9.3	56.3	65.7
Non-immigrants with only one parent born in Canada	12.8	12.8	74.4	87.2
Non-immigrants with both parents foreign-born	12.2	22.7	65.1	87.8
Immigrants with both parents foreign-born	62.8	17.6	19.6	37.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

The language transfer rates of immigrants with an “other” mother tongue vary depending on the period of immigration. Proportionally speaking, far fewer recent immigrants have transferred their language compared to newcomers during previous five-year periods.⁷² Chart 7.11 shows, however, that it is mostly complete transfers that are observed as the length of time spent in Canada increases.

Graph 7.12
Language transfer rates in immigrants with an “other” mother tongue, according to period of immigration, Canada, 2006



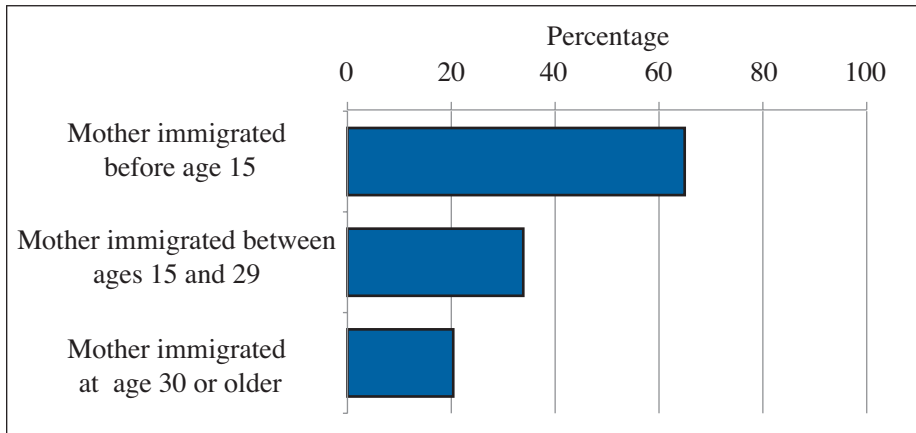
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

⁷² These statistics must be interpreted with caution. Chart 7.11 in essence focuses on the impact of the length of time in Canada, whereas other factors can affect the rates of language transfer observed, particularly the cohort in question and the period of immigration. The proportion of language transfers observed shortly after arrival can, in fact, differ significantly from one cohort to another.

Intergenerational language transfers can also be observed by comparing children’s mother tongue to that of their parents.⁷³ In the case of immigrant mothers whose first language is neither English nor French, the proportion of intergenerational language transfers is 33%. This means that nearly one child out of every three born to an immigrant mother with an “other” mother tongue has not received his or her mother’s first language, but rather French, or—mostly—English.⁷⁴

Certain factors affect the transmission of a mother tongue other than English or French by immigrant women, particularly their age at the time of immigration, their children’s immigrant status, and the fathers’ immigrant status and first language. Of the mothers who immigrated before the age of 15, 35% have transmitted their mother tongue, compared to 66% of those who immigrated between age 15 and 29, and 80% of those who immigrated when they were 30 years of age or older. Consequently, early immigration and the likelihood of having attended school in Canada in English or French would appear to be a driver in intergenerational language transfers.

Graph 7.13
Intergenerational language transfer from immigrant mothers with an "other" mother tongue to their children under the age of 18 living in a two-parent family, according to age of mother at time of immigration, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

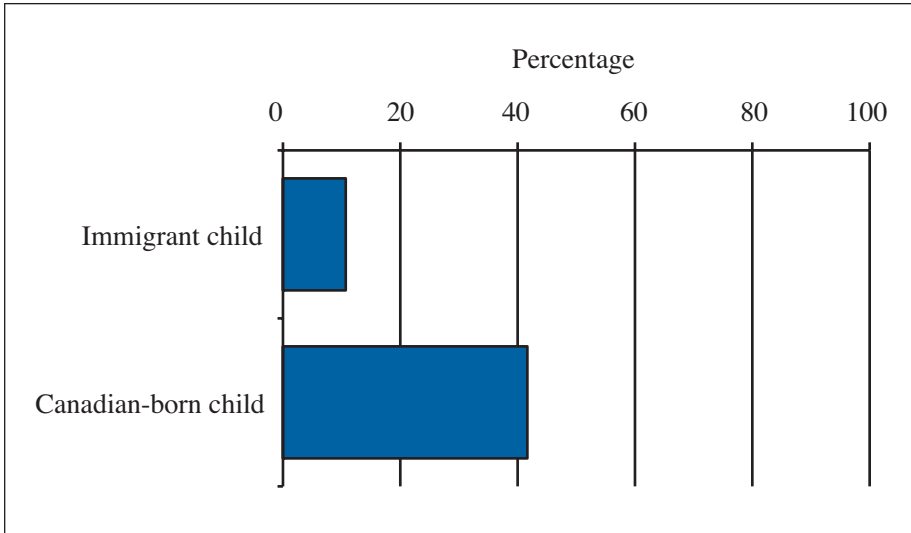
⁷³ Here we basically calculate the proportion of children whose mother tongue is different from that of their parents or of one of their parents, as the case may be. The numbers are tallied based on the total number of children under 18 living in husband-and-wife families.

⁷⁴ Language transfers involving languages other than English and French are excluded from the calculations. While Census data allows for more detailed analysis, to simplify matters, the calculations here were performed using data in which all “other” mother tongues are grouped together into a single category. Consequently, a mother and her child who both have an “other” mother tongue are assumed to have the same mother tongue, even if there are instances where this is not the case. In situations where the mother’s first language is neither English nor French, intergenerational language transmission in favour of one of these two languages is estimated to be roughly 95%.

With regard once again to immigrant mothers with a mother tongue other than English or French and to their children, we see that language transfer occurs least often among foreign-born children, with 11% having English or French as their mother tongue. By comparison, intergenerational language transfers are observed among 42% of Canadian-born children.

Graph 7.14

Intergenerational language transfer from immigrant mothers with an "other" mother tongue to their children under the age of 18 living in a two-parent family, according to child's immigration status, Canada, 2006

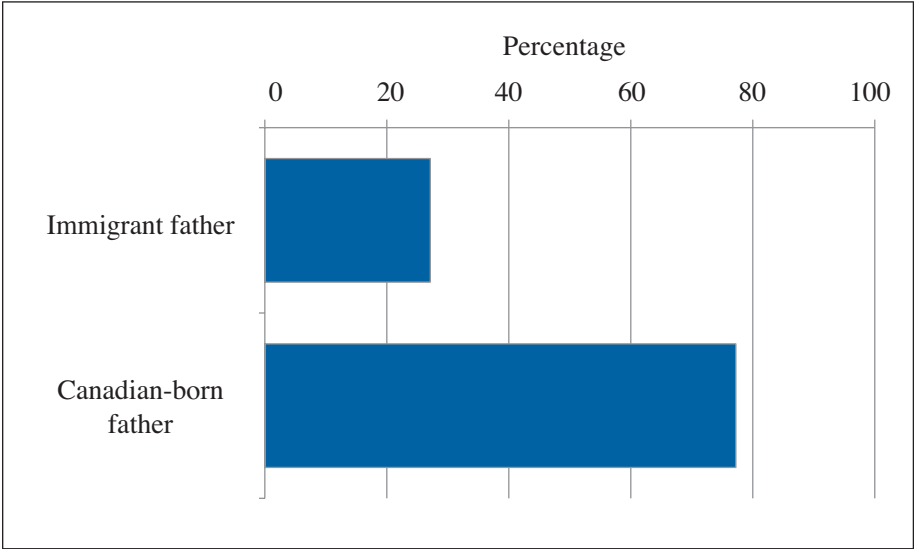


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Language transmission is much more common among children whose fathers were born in Canada. Where both parents are immigrants, the mother transmits her mother tongue in 73% of cases. However, if the father was born in Canada, the mothers pass on their non-official mother tongue in only 23% of cases. By comparison, immigrant fathers with an “other” mother tongue and whose spouses were born in Canada transmit their mother tongue to their children in 17% of cases.

Graph 7.15

Intergenerational language transfer from immigrant mothers with an "other" mother tongue to their children under the age of 18 living in a two-parent family, according to father's immigration status, Canada, 2006

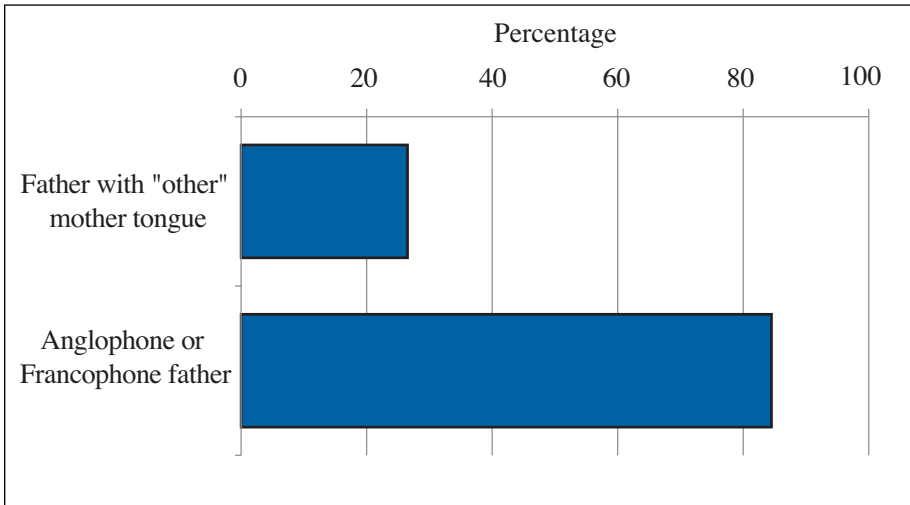


Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

However, language transmission is most pronounced among children of exogamous unions: 85% of children born to immigrant mothers with an “other” mother tongue have English or French as their mother tongue when the father’s first language is different from the mother’s. Conversely, couples whose mother tongue is a language other than English or French pass on their mother tongue in 73% of cases.

Graph 7.16

Intergenerational language transfer from immigrant mothers with an "other" mother tongue to their children under the age of 18 living in a two-parent family, according to father's mother tongue, Canada, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

These factors are often related: women having immigrated at an early age are more likely to have Canadian-born spouses with a different mother tongue and to have given birth to a child in Canada, that is, a non-immigrant.⁷⁵ When we combine these factors, we note a low level of intergenerational language transmission (10%) in cases of mothers with a non official language as their mother tongue who immigrated when they were 30 years of age or older and whose child and spouse—the latter also having an “other” mother tongue—are immigrants. Conversely, in the case of mothers who immigrated before the age of 15 and whose children were born in Canada to Anglophone or Francophone fathers also born in Canada, language transfer increases to 98%, that is, in virtually all instances.

Overview

More than seven out of ten immigrants reported a mother tongue other than English or French in the 2006 Census. Although English is the most common mother tongue among immigrants, these newcomers contribute significantly to Canada’s linguistic diversity. Representation of the language groups varies depending on the period of immigration. For instance, most immigrants with Italian, German or Dutch as their mother tongue have been in Canada for several decades already, whereas the number of immigrants with Spanish, Arabic, Punjabi or Mandarin as their mother tongue has risen during the most recent periods of immigration.

⁷⁵ A logistic regression (results not shown) confirms that each of these factors taken separately affects the transmission of “other” mother tongues between immigrant mothers and their children.

The proportion of immigrants able to conduct a conversation in English and/or French in 2006 stood at 94%. Proportionally, there are fewer and fewer recent immigrants who have no knowledge of either of Canada's two official languages, with their number declining significantly during the first five-year period following their arrival in Canada. While most of them use their mother tongue at home, immigrants in the labour force use primarily English, or, in the case of those living in Quebec, French.

The rate of language shifts to English or French is high among immigrants with an "other" mother tongue. The transmission of "other" mother tongues by immigrant mothers to their children depends on a number of factors, particularly exogamous unions. Proportionally, intragenerational language transfers occur more often among second-generation Canadians with an "other" mother tongue, adopting English or French as the main language spoken at home.

CHAPTER 8

OFFICIAL-LANGUAGE MAJORITIES AND MINORITIES: AN OVERVIEW

French and English are Canada's official languages but, strictly speaking, there is no meaningful comprehensive definition of official-language majority or official-language minority. Of course, there are two majorities, Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones in the other provinces and territories⁷⁶ as well as in the country as a whole, and two official-language minorities, Anglophones in Quebec and Francophones in the other provinces and territories as well as in the country as a whole. But how do we define the concepts of Francophone and Anglophone? In the following pages we will focus on definitions based on the questions asked in the Census. Particular attention will be paid to the concept of first official language spoken, a variable derived from the three main questions included in the decennial census since 1971 and in the mid-decade census since 1986.

Definitions and use

There are several ways to define Anglophones and Francophones based on the census questions. In fact, the statistics they provide were discussed in the first four chapters, which focused on mother tongue, language knowledge, in particular English and French, language(s) spoken at home and, finally, language(s) used at work. A significant number of people are neither Anglophone nor Francophone, according to their mother tongue or according to the language spoken most often at home. They are allophones, a very heterogeneous sub-group. Outside of their family, friendships or close business relationships, these people almost always have to use English or French in the public domain, especially at school and in the

⁷⁶ Nunavut is the exception, because according to the 2006 Census, 70% of the approximately 30,000 inhabitants have Inuktitut as their mother tongue and almost 80% of the population know this language, while nine out of ten inhabitants also reported being able to conduct a conversation in English and one in 25, in French.

workplace⁷⁷ or to obtain private or public goods or services. From an analytical perspective, the “first official language spoken” derived variable aims to include allophones in the English or French official-language population, according to the language they tend to adopt.

The first official language spoken provides us with a picture of the geographic, demographic, ethno-cultural and socio-economic situation of official language groups or communities.⁷⁸ In particular, it allows us to measure allophones’ tendency towards English or French. This variable includes two main categories, one English and one French, and two residual categories, both English and French for one, and neither English nor French for the other. Two methods were proposed to create the variable “**first official language spoken**” (Statistics Canada, 1989). The federal government chose Method I in the *Official Languages (Communication with and Services to the Public) Regulations*, registered in 1991.⁷⁹ It states that the category “English and French” is split “in equal parts between English and French.” This creates two major expanded categories, namely “French plus” and “English plus” and confers official status on the variable “first official language spoken,” determined by Method I. For this reason, Statistics Canada has used it since the 1991 Census and we will use it subsequently.

The epithet “spoken” in the expression “first official language spoken” emphasizes that the person must be able to conduct a conversation in the language corresponding to the assigned category. In both methods, the first step consists of assigning the category “French” to people who are able to conduct a conversation in French but not in English, and the category “English” to those who can conduct a conversation in English but not in French. Those who know both English and French or who do not know either of the two official languages remain to be categorized. The qualifier “first” in the expression “first official language spoken” can be interpreted in two ways. In the sense of “initial,” the variable refers to the official language learned or spoken first. This is why Method I prioritizes mother tongue over language spoken most often at home. It is the reverse for Method II, where “first” refers instead to “main,” or the official language currently best known or spoken most often at home. Method I first uses data related to mother tongue: respondents are categorized as “French” when they reported their mother tongue as French or French and a non official language; the category “English” is assigned to those who reported their mother tongue as English

⁷⁷ In 2006, 10% of allophone workers used a non-official language most often at work (including when it was used equally with an official language). In some places, the phenomenon was more common. In the Vancouver CMA, 30% of workers with a Chinese mother tongue used it most often at work.

⁷⁸ In this regard, see the slide presentation entitled “The Diversity of the Canadian Francophonie” (Lachapelle, 2009) available at <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/about-aperçu/diversity-franco-diversite-eng.htm>, and consult the DVD entitled Portrait of Official-language Communities in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2009).

⁷⁹ Of course, there is nothing to prevent analysts from using Method II instead. One or another of the variable’s declinations may also be used for other purposes.

or English and a non-official language. For people who do not fit into either of these main categories, information regarding language spoken most often at home is used. The category “French” is assigned to those who reported French or French and a non-official language as the language spoken most often at home; the category “English” is assigned similarly.

For both methods, the numbers in the residual categories are identical (Table 8.1). The main categories represent 96% of the population in Quebec and 98% outside Quebec. In Quebec, there is little difference in the number of individuals with English or French as the first official language spoken, whether Method I or Method II is used. Nonetheless, there is a gain of 9,400 from Method I (885,400 persons) to Method II (894,800), which reverses to a loss of the same size for French. This is due to the fact that, in the population that knows English and French, shifts from a French mother tongue to English as the main language exceed reverse shifts from English to French by approximately 10,000. Outside Quebec, net shifts from French to English are much more common: this results in a substantial decrease in French (first official language spoken) from Method I (940,400 persons) to Method II (613,600) because individuals with a French mother tongue who speak English most often at home are classified as “French” by Method I and as “English” by Method II.

The proportion of the population that knows neither English nor French is smaller in Quebec (0.9%) than in the rest of the country (1.8%), due to the smaller proportion of allophones in Quebec. In fact, there, they represent 12% of the population, compared to 23% of the population in all the other provinces and territories.⁸⁰ The category “neither English nor French” consists exclusively of allophones and is much more common among children under the age of 5 and adults aged 70 and older. The proportion of the population that belongs to the category “English and French” is higher in Quebec (2.9%) than elsewhere in the country (0.5%), due to the higher prevalence of English–French bilingualism in Quebec.⁸¹ In 90% of cases, the category consists of allophones, both in Quebec and in the rest of the country; these individuals are able to conduct a conversation in English and in French, but have a non official language as their mother tongue and as the language spoken (predominantly) at home. They are therefore trilingual. The remaining 10% consists of people who reported knowing English and French, and who have at least both official languages as their mother tongue and as the language spoken most often at home. However, the portion of allophones is smaller in provinces where they represent a small proportion of the population. Therefore, in New Brunswick allophones represent 3% of the population, and only 42% of the “English and French” category are allophones.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 1.

⁸¹ See Chapter 2.

Table 8.1
Population according to first official language spoken, Methods I and II,
Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006

Region	First official language spoken					
	Total	English	French	English and French	Neither English nor French	English plus French plus
Canada	Number in thousands					
Method I	31,241.0	23,197.1	7,204.4	331.9	507.6	23,363.1
Method II	31,241.0	23,533.3	6,868.2	331.9	507.6	23,699.2
Quebec						
Method I	7,435.9	885.4	6,264.0	218.6	68.0	994.7
Method II	7,435.9	894.8	6,254.6	218.6	68.0	1,004.1
Canada minus Quebec						
Method I	23,805.1	22,311.7	940.4	113.4	439.7	22,368.3
Method II	23,805.1	22,638.5	613.6	113.4	439.7	22,695.2
Canada	Distribution in %					
Method I	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Method II	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Quebec						
Method I	23.8	3.8	86.9	65.8	13.4	4.3
Method II	23.8	3.8	91.1	65.8	13.4	4.2

Table 8.1 (cont'd)
Population according to first official language spoken, Methods I and II,
Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006

Region	First official language spoken					
	Total	English	French	English and French	Neither English nor French	English plus French plus
Canada minus Quebec	Distribution in % (cont'd)					
Method I	76.2	96.2	13.1	34.2	86.6	95.7
Method II	76.2	96.2	8.9	34.2	86.6	95.8
Canada	Composition in %					
Method I	100.0	74.3	23.1	1.1	1.6	74.8
Method II	100.0	75.3	22.0	1.1	1.6	75.9
Quebec						
Method I	100.0	11.9	84.2	2.9	0.9	13.4
Method II	100.0	12.0	84.1	2.9	0.9	13.5
Canada minus Quebec						
Method I	100.0	93.7	4.0	0.5	1.8	94.0
Method II	100.0	95.1	2.6	0.5	1.8	95.3

Note: The category "English plus" includes the category "English" and half the category "English and French"; the same applies to the category "French plus", replacing "English" with "French."

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Mother tongue and first official language spoken (Method I)

The estimate of the first official language spoken is based on three variables taken from the census: knowledge of official languages, mother tongue and language spoken most often at home. If the method used prioritizes mother tongue over language spoken at home, it does not follow that the numbers for each of the first official languages spoken will be identical to those of the corresponding mother tongue. The differences are significant, except for Francophones living outside Quebec, and it is possible to break them down into several distinct components.

According to the 2006 Census, in Quebec the estimated total number of Anglophones according to first official language spoken is 995,000, which includes half the number from the “English and French” category, and which is much higher than the estimated number according to mother tongue (607,000), after multiple responses are split equally between the reported languages,⁸² for a difference of 388,000 (Table 8.2). The difference is slightly higher for Francophones in Quebec, at 456,000. Shifts from French as mother tongue to English as first official language spoken, on the one hand, and reciprocal shifts, on the other, result in a negligible net effect. In fact, the net shift is 6,000 in favour of French. This is partly the result of people reporting English or French as their mother tongue, but also reporting being unable to conduct a conversation in that language, and partly due to language shifts stemming from the distribution of multiple responses to the question on mother tongue, those responses including English and French. Shifts from non-official languages to French or English are much more common, with 844,000, or the difference between the number of people with a mother tongue other than English or French (912, 000) and the number of respondents in the “neither English nor French” category for the variable “first official language spoken” (68,000).

⁸² See Table 1.2 in Chapter 1.

Table 8.2
Language transfers from mother tongue to first official language spoken
(in thousands), Canada, Quebec and Canada minus Quebec, 2006

Language Transfers	Canada			Quebec			Canada minus Quebec		
	English plus	French plus	Neither English nor French	English plus	French plus	Neither English nor French	English plus	French plus	Neither English nor French
	Number in thousands								
French and English	45.5	-45.5		-6.0	6.0		51.5	-51.5	
Non-official languages	5,261.8	523.7	-5,785.5	393.5	450.4	-844.0	4,868.3	73.2	-4,941.5
Complete	2,586.9	215.3	-2,802.2	179.0	202.4	-381.4	2,407.9	13.0	-2,420.9
Partial	2,398.9	135.6	-2,534.5	104.7	130.7	-235.4	2,294.2	4.9	-2,299.1
Undecided	152.5	152.5	-304.9	101.2	101.2	-202.5	51.2	51.2	-102.5
Residual	123.6	20.2	-143.8	8.5	16.1	-24.7	115.0	4.1	-119.1
Total	5,307.4	478.1	-5,785.5	387.6	456.4	-844.0	4,919.8	21.7	-4,941.5

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Shifts from “other” mother tongues in Quebec mainly result from the adoption of English or French as the language used predominantly at home, for a total of 381,000. These complete shifts favour French (202,000) more than English (179,000). The second most common are shifts from allophones who still use a non-official language at home, but who use either English or French in the public domain because they are unilingual English or French. Of course, this refers to “official” unilingualism, because the vast majority of these people are also able to conduct a conversation in their mother tongue. These partial shifts concern 235,000 persons and also favour French (131,000) over English (105,000). Third are shifts resulting from an equal distribution between English and French of the subpopulation that knows both languages, but that speaks a non-official language most often at home, or 202,000 individuals. These shifts are described as undecided, because they pertain to trilingual individuals who, according to the information provided, have not chosen either of the official languages. Finally, the last aspect refers to so-called residual shifts because they involve language shifts that result from the distribution of multiple responses to the question on mother tongue, responses that include a non-official language. These shifts (25,000) favour French (16,000) over English (9,000). All things considered, 53% of shifts from an “other” mother tongue favour French (450,000) and 47% favour English (394,000). If we exclude undecided shifts among bilingual allophones who speak their mother tongue most often at home, the remaining shifts for “other” mother tongues, called **complete shifts**, are 54% in favour of French (349,000) and 46% in favour of English (292,000), percentages that only differ slightly from the previous ones.⁸³

Outside Quebec, shifts from “other” mother tongues to French (73,000) represent 1.5% of the total. In seven out of ten cases, these are undecided shifts (51,000), which pertain to allophones who know both official languages and whose “other” mother tongue is used predominantly at home. These cases offset the net negative shifts resulting from exchanges between English and French (52,000), with the majority (30,000) pertaining to people whose mother tongue is French but who reported being unable to conduct a conversation in French. All things considered, the estimate of individuals with French as first official language spoken (997,000) exceeds by 22,000 the estimate of those with French as their mother tongue (975,000).

Geographic distribution

The geographic distribution of language groups was discussed in Chapter 1 using statistics on mother tongue. Data on first official language spoken can qualify the overall picture, although it remains basically the same (Table 8.3). English as first official language spoken, including half of the “English and French” category, includes three-quarters of the country’s population (74.8%)

⁸³ The distribution between English and French for complete shifts still differs slightly more from equal distribution than all shifts, because complete shifts exclude undecided shifts that are equally distributed ex-officio.

and represents at least 90% of the population in all the provinces and territories, except Quebec (13.4%) and New Brunswick (67.2%). On the other hand, French accounts for almost one-quarter of Canada's population (23.6%). The proportion of Francophones only exceeds the national average in New Brunswick (32.7%) and, especially, in Quebec (85.7%), where they are the majority. Elsewhere in Canada, Francophones comprise less than 5% of the population. Before taking a closer look at the geographic distribution of the two official languages, we will provide a brief overview of the two residual categories of the variable "first official language spoken."

The "neither English nor French" category comprises 1.6% of Canada's population and is over-represented in Ontario (2.2%), British Columbia (3.0%) and Nunavut (7.8%), which means that there it represents a proportion higher than the national average or that it is more concentrated there than in the population as a whole. Given that this category is composed exclusively of allophones, it is not surprising that Ontario and British Columbia are over represented, because these provinces have the highest proportion of allophones, or 27% in both cases.⁸⁴ As for Nunavut, the over representation derives from the fact that the majority of the population is composed of people whose mother tongue is Inuktitut and a good many of them know neither English nor French. Elsewhere in Canada, it is in Quebec where we find the largest number of people in the "neither English nor French" category with 68,000, or 13% of the total for Canada.

⁸⁴ See Table 1.2 in Chapter 1.

Table 8.3
Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	First official language spoken						
	Total	English	French	English and French	Neither English nor French	English plus French plus	
							Number in thousands
Newfoundland and Labrador	500.6	497.8	1.8	0.2	0.8	497.9	1.9
Prince Edward Island	134.2	129.0	5.1	0.1	0.0	129.0	5.1
Nova Scotia	903.1	868.9	31.5	1.4	1.3	869.6	32.2
New Brunswick	719.7	482.9	234.2	1.9	0.7	483.8	235.1
Quebec	7,435.9	885.4	6,264.0	218.6	68.0	994.7	6,373.2
Ontario	12,028.9	11,189.9	497.2	80.9	260.9	11,230.4	537.6
Manitoba	1,133.5	1,079.2	42.1	2.0	10.2	1,080.2	43.1
Saskatchewan	953.8	935.5	14.5	0.7	3.1	935.9	14.8
Alberta	3,256.4	3,150.2	58.6	8.4	39.2	3,154.4	62.8
British Columbia	4,074.4	3,883.2	53.1	17.4	120.8	3,891.9	61.7
Yukon Territory	30.2	28.8	1.1	0.1	0.1	28.9	1.2
Northwest Territories	41.1	39.7	1.0	0.1	0.3	39.7	1.0
Nunavut	29.3	26.6	0.4	0.1	2.3	26.6	0.4
Canada minus Quebec	23,805.1	22,311.6	940.4	113.4	439.7	22,368.3	997.1
Canada	31,241.0	23,197.1	7,204.4	331.9	507.7	23,363.0	7,370.3

Table 8.3 (cont'd)
Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	First official language spoken						
	Total	English	French	English and French	Neither English nor French	English plus	French plus
	Distribution in %						
Newfoundland and Labrador	1.6	2.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	2.1	0.0
Prince Edward Island	0.4	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.1
Nova Scotia	2.9	3.7	0.4	0.4	0.3	3.7	0.4
New Brunswick	2.3	2.1	3.3	0.6	0.1	2.1	3.2
Quebec	23.8	3.8	86.9	65.8	13.4	4.3	86.5
Ontario	38.5	48.2	6.9	24.4	51.4	48.1	7.3
Manitoba	3.6	4.7	0.6	0.6	2.0	4.6	0.6
Saskatchewan	3.1	4.0	0.2	0.2	0.6	4.0	0.2
Alberta	10.4	13.6	0.8	2.5	7.7	13.5	0.9
British Columbia	13.0	16.7	0.7	5.2	23.8	16.7	0.8
Yukon Territory	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0
Northwest Territories	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0
Nunavut	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.0
Canada minus Quebec	76.2	96.2	13.1	34.2	86.6	95.7	13.5
Canada	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 8.3 (cont'd)
Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, provinces and territories, 2006

Region	First official language spoken						
	Total	English	French	English and French	Neither English nor French	English plus	French plus
	Composition in %						
Newfoundland and Labrador	100.0	99.4	0.4	0.0	0.2	99.5	0.4
Prince Edward Island	100.0	96.1	3.8	0.1	0.0	96.1	3.8
Nova Scotia	100.0	96.2	3.5	0.2	0.1	96.3	3.6
New Brunswick	100.0	67.1	32.5	0.3	0.1	67.2	32.7
Quebec	100.0	11.9	84.2	2.9	0.9	13.4	85.7
Ontario	100.0	93.0	4.1	0.7	2.2	93.4	4.5
Manitoba	100.0	95.2	3.7	0.2	0.9	95.3	3.8
Saskatchewan	100.0	98.1	1.5	0.1	0.3	98.1	1.6
Alberta	100.0	96.7	1.8	0.3	1.2	96.9	1.9
British Columbia	100.0	95.3	1.3	0.4	3.0	95.5	1.5
Yukon Territory	100.0	95.4	3.7	0.4	0.4	95.6	3.9
Northwest Territories	99.9	96.5	2.3	0.3	0.8	96.7	2.4
Nunavut	100.1	90.7	1.3	0.3	7.8	90.8	1.4
Canada minus Quebec	100.0	93.7	4.0	0.5	1.8	94.0	4.2
Canada	100.0	74.3	23.1	1.1	1.6	74.8	23.6

Note: The category "English plus" includes the category "English" and half the category "English and French"; the same applies to the category "French plus", replacing "English" with "French."

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

The “English and French” category is 90% composed of people with an “other” mother tongue and is highly concentrated in Quebec, the only province where its proportion is higher (2.9%) than the national average (1.1%). Trilingualism is more widespread there because a significant proportion of allophones there have learned, in addition to their mother tongue, both French, the majority language in Quebec, and English, the international *lingua franca*, the dominant language in North America and the language of a high-status minority. They may have learned English or French before or after arriving in Quebec. The ratio of the number of people in the “English and French” category to the number in the “French” category, however, is lower in Quebec (0.03) than in several other provinces, particularly Ontario (0.16) and British Columbia (0.33), due to the high proportion of allophones in those two provinces.

Regardless of the language variable used, Anglophones in Quebec represent a small proportion of the Anglophone population in the country as a whole. What is surprising at first glance is that their proportion is higher for the estimate according to first official language spoken, exclusively (3.8%) or when combined with half the “English and French” category (4.3%), than for the estimate according to mother tongue (3.4%). The ratio of the number of “English plus” as first official language spoken (994,700) to that of English as mother tongue (607,200) is 1.64, compared to 1.28 elsewhere in Canada. Even if the entire population had “English plus” as first official language spoken outside Quebec, this ratio could not exceed 1.36. The very high value in Quebec is due only in part to the internal attraction of English. Although they represent a small proportion of the population in Quebec, Anglophones there benefit, in many ways and means, from the strong attraction of their language elsewhere in the world and, in particular, in North America.

The geographic distribution of Francophones depends little on the variable used to define them. Quebec still has a high proportion of Francophones: 85.8% if they are defined by mother tongue, slightly more if they are defined by first official language spoken, using Method I (86.5%), and even more using Method II (90.5%). Elsewhere in Canada, half of them live in Ontario, one-quarter in New Brunswick and the last quarter in all of the other provinces and territories combined.

In Ontario and New Brunswick, as seen in Chapter 1 on mother tongue, census divisions (CD) with a high density of Francophones are found in areas close to Quebec and, conversely, a higher proportion of Anglophones in Quebec are found among populations in areas bordering those provinces and the United States. All of these regions form a “bilingual belt” around a territorial population in the heart of Quebec that contains the CDs where Francophones defined by first official language spoken represent over 85%⁸⁵ of the population; Madawaska, a CD in New Brunswick that adjoins Quebec, is part of it, because it consists 94% of Francophones. In total, 4.2 million people live in this territorial population,⁸⁶ or

⁸⁵ More accurately 85.7%, the percentage of Francophones (French plus) in all of Quebec.

⁸⁶ This is slightly more than the population of British Columbia.

13.5% of Canada's population. The approximately 4.1 million Francophones who live there make up the vast majority (97%) and represent 55% of the Francophones in Canada.

To identify the geographic distribution of the official-language groups, we can also use urban entities, in this case, census metropolitan areas (CMA) and census agglomerations (CA).⁸⁷ To avoid overburdening Table 8.4, we have only used those where the official-language minority represented at least 5% of the population or comprised at least 5,000 inhabitants.

Table 8.4
Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, selected
Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2006

Region	First official language spoken				
	Total	English plus		French plus	
	Number in thousands	Number in thousands	%	Number in thousands	%
Canada	31,241.0	23,363.1	74.8	7,370.4	23.6
Summerside	15.9	15.0	94.0	0.9	5.9
Halifax	369.5	358.4	97.0	10.2	2.8
Moncton	124.1	80.2	64.6	43.8	35.3
Saint John	120.9	115.4	95.4	5.3	4.4
Fredericton	85.1	78.9	92.8	6.0	7.0
Bathurst	30.9	9.9	31.9	21.0	68.0
Miramichi	24.5	22.4	91.7	2.0	8.2
Campbellton (NB part)	14.4	5.6	38.8	8.8	61.1
Edmundston	21.1	1.0	4.8	20.0	95.0
Campbellton (Que part)	3.0	1.6	51.2	1.5	48.1
Quebec	704.2	13.1	1.9	689.8	98.0
Sherbrooke	183.6	10.7	5.8	172.4	93.9
Cowansville	12.1	2.0	16.7	10.1	83.3
Montreal	3,588.5	800.6	22.3	2,731.2	76.1
Lachute	11.5	1.3	11.4	10.2	88.5
Hawkesbury (Que part)	1.4	0.1	10.4	1.3	89.6
Ottawa - Gatineau (Que part)	281.7	45.8	16.2	234.8	83.4
Cornwall	57.3	43.1	75.3	14.0	24.4
Hawkesbury (Ont part)	10.5	2.1	20.4	8.3	79.2

⁸⁷ A CMA has a population of at least 100,000 inhabitants and a CA, at least 10,000 and less than 100,000 inhabitants (see box in Chapter 1).

Table 8.4 (cont'd)

Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, selected
Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2006

Region	First official language spoken				
	Total	English plus		French plus	
	Number in thousands	Number in thousands	%	Number in thousands	%
Ottawa - Gatineau (Ont part)	835.5	670.3	80.2	155.2	18.6
Pembroke	22.7	21.0	92.5	1.7	7.5
Petawawa	14.7	13.5	92.0	1.2	8.0
Oshawa	328.1	319.7	97.4	7.1	2.2
Toronto	5,072.1	4,775.9	94.2	87.1	1.7
Hamilton	683.5	663.1	97.0	11.2	1.6
St. Catharine's - Niagara	385.0	369.0	95.8	13.7	3.6
Kitchener	446.5	433.1	97.0	7.0	1.6
London	452.6	441.2	97.5	6.7	1.5
Windsor	320.7	304.9	95.1	11.8	3.7
Midland	34.3	32.4	94.3	1.9	5.6
North Bay	62.7	52.5	83.7	10.1	16.2
Greater Sudbury/ Grand Sudbury	156.4	113.1	72.3	43.0	27.5
Elliot Lake	11.4	9.6	83.8	1.8	16.2
Temiskaming Shores	12.7	9.0	70.9	3.7	29.0
Timmins	42.5	26.0	61.2	16.4	38.7
Winnipeg	686.0	651.1	94.9	28.8	4.2
Calgary	1,070.3	1,031.8	96.4	18.3	1.7
Edmonton	1,024.8	988.5	96.5	22.4	2.2
Cold Lake	12.0	11.1	92.4	0.9	7.5
Vancouver	2,098.0	1,960.0	93.4	31.4	1.5
Victoria	325.1	316.9	97.5	6.0	1.8

Note: The total includes the category "Neither English nor French."

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

In New Brunswick, only 46% of Francophones live in the CMAs and CAs concerned, compared to 75% of Francophones in Ontario. In Quebec, 85% of Anglophones live in the Montreal CMA or in the Quebec part of the Ottawa–Gatineau CMA. In the most populous CDs that comprise the Montreal CMA, only Montreal Island (33%) has a proportion of Anglophones higher than that of the entire CMA (22%), the Laval CD (19%) and the Longueuil CD (14%) having smaller proportions. With its 596,000 Anglophones, Montreal Island alone has 60% of the Anglophones in Quebec.

Except for the Montreal CMA and the Quebec part of the Ottawa–Gatineau CMA, the proportion of Anglophones does not exceed 10%, except in a few less populous CAs, notably Cowansville (17%) and Lachute (11%). In New Brunswick, Francophones are the majority in three CAs, namely Edmundston (95%), Bathurst (68%) and the New Brunswick part of Campbellton (61%), and they represent a significant minority in Moncton (35%), the most populous CMA in New Brunswick. In Ontario, Francophones are only the majority in Hawkesbury, a small CA, part of which is in Quebec. Two CMAs have a significant Francophone minority: in the southeastern part of the province, the Ontario part of the Ottawa–Gatineau CMA with 155,000 Francophones, who represent 19% of the population, and, in the northeast, Greater Sudbury with 43,000 Francophones, who account for 27% of the population. While the Toronto CMA has more Francophones (87,000) than Greater Sudbury, they represent less than 2% of the population. Except for Cornwall (24%) in the southeast, CAs with more than 10% Francophones are found in the northeast, that is, North Bay (16%), Elliot Lake (16%), Temiskaming Shores (29%) and Timmins (39%). In Manitoba, two-thirds of the approximately 41,000 Francophones live in the Winnipeg CMA. A similar situation occurs in Alberta, where almost two-thirds of the 63,000 Francophones live in the Edmonton and Calgary CMAs. In British Columbia, six out of ten Francophones live in the Vancouver and Victoria CMAs. In all of the CMAs in Western Canada, the proportion of Francophones is less than 5%.

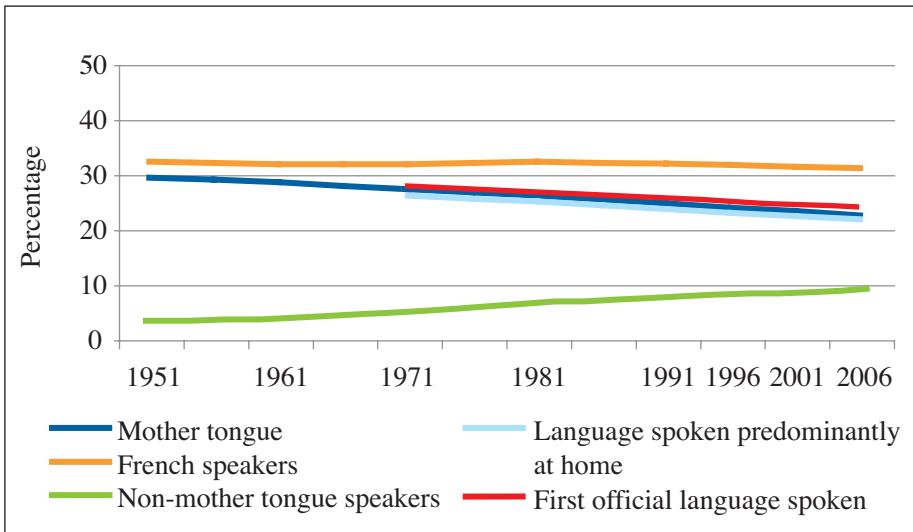
Evolution

The evolution of official-language majorities and minorities depends in part on the language characteristic being considered. The downtrend in the proportion of official-language minorities continues, whether they are defined by mother tongue or by main language (language used predominately at home). What happens when we expand the definition to first official language spoken? In the same way as for official-language majorities defined by mother tongue or language spoken most often at home, is the observed decline in their proportion since the mid 1980s attributable to the surge of immigration and the concomitant rise in non official languages, attenuated or even reversed when defined by first official language spoken? Finally, what about the evolution of the proportion of second language or non-native speakers of each official language?⁸⁸

⁸⁸ This proportion will always be slightly underestimated because it is based on the hypothesis that all individuals whose mother tongue is French can conduct a conversation in that language.

From 1971 to 2006, the proportion of Francophones in Canada dropped from 27% to 22% according to mother tongue, from 26% to 21% according to main language and from 28% to 24% according to first official language spoken (Graph 8.1). Yet the number of Francophones has continued to rise, regardless of the definition used, but at a slower rate. Thus, the number of “French plus” as first official language spoken increased at an annual average rate of 0.7% from 1971 to 1996, and by 0.5% from 1996 to 2006. The difference between the proportion of Francophones defined by first official language spoken and the proportion of Francophones defined by mother tongue has grown slightly over the years, which attests to an increased attraction of French over non official languages. Complete shifts from non-official-language mother tongue groups to one of the official languages have soared from 2.4 million in 1971 to 5.5 million in 2006, and the proportion of French rose from 3% to 7%, a level well below the proportion of Francophones in the Canadian population.

Graph 8.1
Evolution in % of Canada's Francophone population: French speakers, mother tongue, language spoken predominantly at home, first official language spoken and non-mother tongue speakers 1951 to 2006



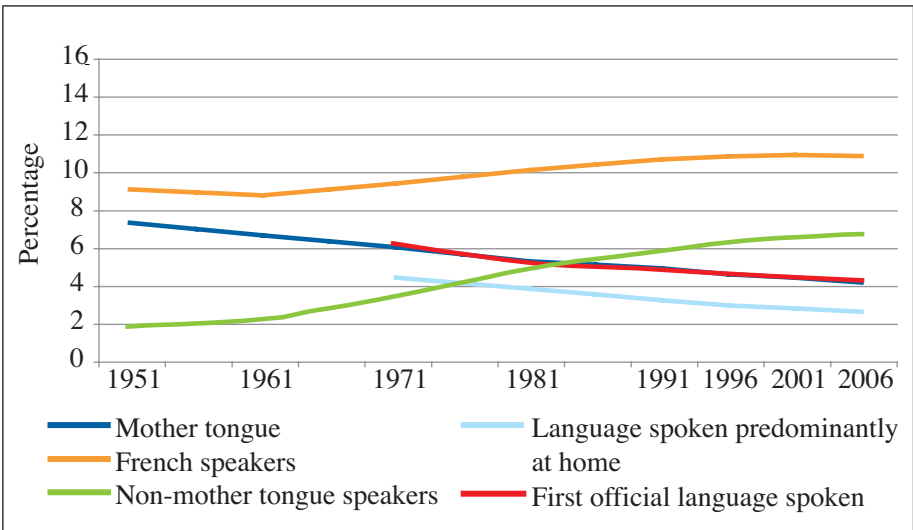
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

Outside Quebec, the proportion of Francophones and its evolution from 1971 to 2006 are almost identical whether defined by mother tongue or by first official language spoken (Graph 8.2), falling from 6% to 4%. The number of Francophones reached a peak in 2006, attaining 997,000 according to the “French plus” category of “first official language spoken,” a number slightly higher than that of Francophones according to mother tongue (975,000), but significantly higher than that of Francophones according to language spoken predominantly at home (605,000), in steep decline since 1971 (676,000). Of the large number of

complete shifts from non-official-language mother tongue groups, French only received approximately 0.5% in 1971 and in 2006. If we add half of the undecided shifts, the proportion of all shifts to French rises to 1.5% in both 1971 and 2006. New Brunswick is a slight exception. The proportion of complete shifts to French there rose from 4% in 1971 to 7% in 2006, and the proportion of all shifts, from 5% to 9%. However, there are very few language shifts there due to the small number of allophones.

Graph 8.2

Evolution in % of the Francophone population outside of Quebec: French speakers, mother tongue, language spoken at home, first official language spoken and non-mother tongue speakers, 1951 to 2006



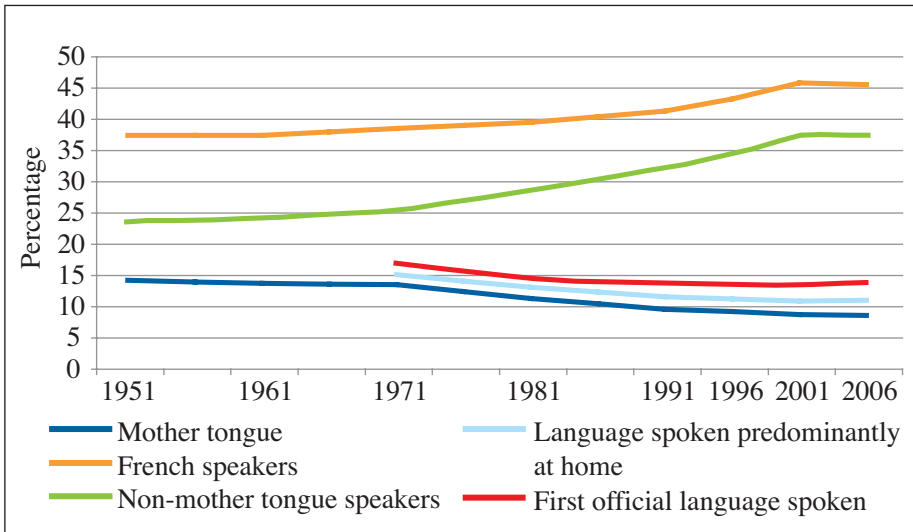
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

In Quebec, the proportion held by Anglophones dropped between 1971 and 2001, prolonging a trend that has continued for over a century. The rate of decline is more rapid for mother tongue than for language spoken most often at home and is slower for first official language spoken (Graph 8.3). Thus, from 1971 to 2001, the proportion of “English plus” as first official language spoken dropped from 16.5% to 12.9%, for a decrease of 3.6 points, compared to a decrease of 4.2 points for English as language spoken most often at home (from 14.7% to 10.5%) and of 4.8 points for English as the mother tongue (from 13.1% to 8.3%). A reversal was observed from 2001 to 2006, largely due to much lower migratory losses than in the past favouring the rest of the country.⁸⁹ For all definitions of the Anglophone population, the numbers increased significantly, while the numbers observed in 2006 are still far from the peak of 1971 for English as mother tongue (607,000 in 2006 compared to 789,000 in 1971) and for English as language spoken most

⁸⁹ See Chapter 6.

often at home (788,000 in 2006 compared to 889,000 in 1971). For “English plus” as first official language spoken, the numbers observed in 2006 (995,000) are slightly higher than in 1971 (992,000). Although the proportion of Anglophones has decreased very slightly according to mother tongue (from 8.3% to 8.2%) from 2001 to 2006, it has increased more according to first official language spoken (from 12.9% to 13.4%) than according to language spoken most often at home (from 10.5% to 10.6%). This increasing difference between the number and proportion of “English plus” as first official language spoken, on the one hand, and the number and proportion of English mother tongue, on the other, results from the surge of “other” mother tongues and the increase in their language shifts. From 1971 to 2006, the total number of shifts rose from 309,000 to 844,000, and the number of complete shifts, from 241,000 to 641,000. Although the proportion of shifts to English decreased from 1971 to 2006, from 66% to 47% for all shifts and from 70% to 46% for complete shifts, their number in relation to the number of individuals with an English mother tongue was much higher in 2006 than in 1971. The result is a strong increase in the ratio of the number of “English plus” as first official language spoken to the number of the English mother tongue population, or from 1.26 in 1971 to 1.64 in 2006.

Graph 8.3
Evolution in % of Quebec's Anglophone population: English speakers, mother tongue, language spoken predominantly at home, first official language spoken and non-mother tongue speakers, 1951 to 2006

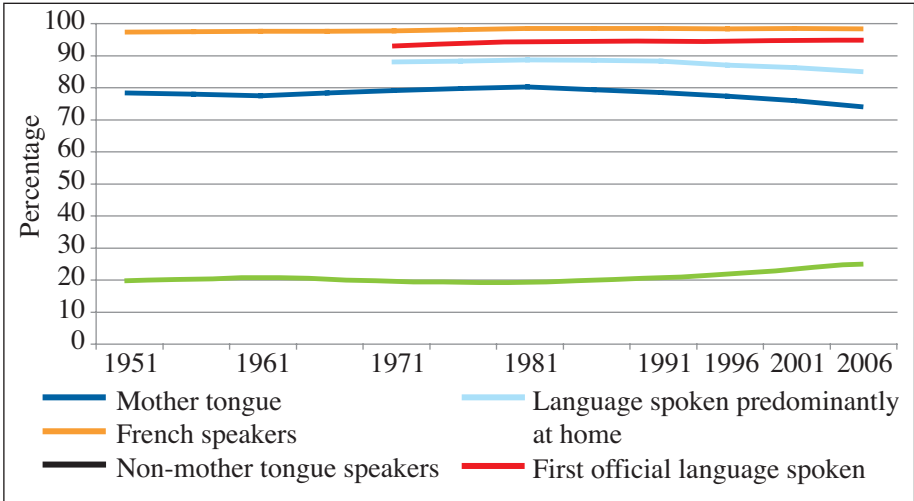


Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

The Anglophone majority living in Canada outside Quebec experienced a decrease in its proportion of the population in the past 20 years due to the surge of immigration and, consequently, the increase in “other” mother tongues (Graph 8.4). From 1991 to 2006, the proportion of Anglophones defined by mother tongue declined quickly, from 77.7% to 73.3% and it was the same for the

proportion of Anglophones defined by language predominantly spoken at home, from 87.6% to 84.2%. Due to shifts from non-official languages to English, the proportion of “English plus” as first official language spoken remained at a very high level and even increased slightly, from 93.7% in 1991 to 94.0% in 2006.

Graph 8.4
Evolution in % of the Anglophone population outside of Quebec:
English speakers, mother tongue language spoken
at home, first official language spoken and
non-mother tongue speakers, 1951 to 2006



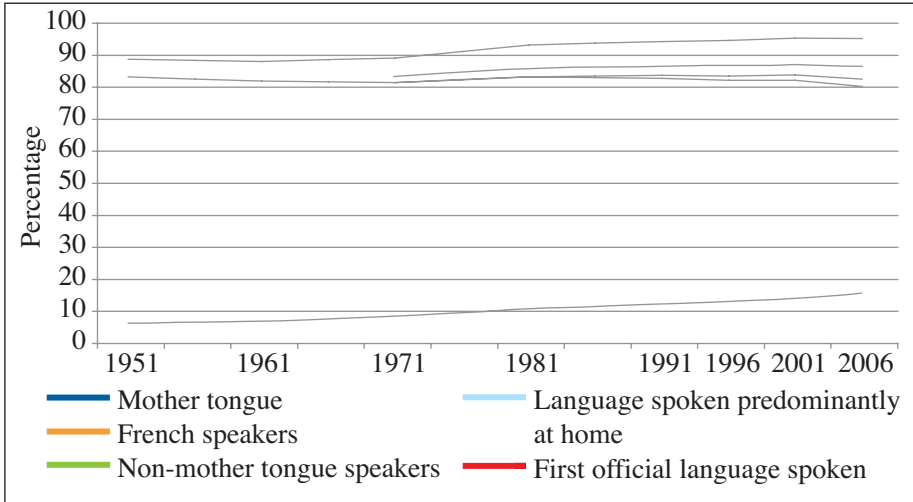
Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

In Quebec, in the past 20 years, increased immigration has also affected the evolution of the proportion of Francophones defined by mother tongue, which went from 80.7% in 1971 to 82.5% in 1981 and to 81.4% in 2001; it then dropped to 79.6, for a loss of 1.5 points in five years (Graph 8.5). Except during the past five-year period, the decline in the proportion of Francophones was mitigated by the decline in the proportion of Anglophones. Changes in the proportion of Francophones defined by language spoken most often at home are similar to those that we have just described. The proportion was the same in 1971, with 80.8%, then increased until 1991 to 83.0%, fluctuated slightly, and then finally dropped from 83.1% in 2001 to 81.8% in 2006, for a loss of 1.3 points in five years. Changes in the proportion of Francophones defined by first official language spoken (French plus) are more regular, rising from 82.5% in 1971 to 86.3% in 2001, then dropping to 85.7% in 2001, for a 0.6 point loss, smaller than for the other two variables. The increase for English was 0.5 point (from 12.9% in 2001 to 13.4% in 2006). As a result of shifts from “other” mother tongues to French, the difference between the proportion held by “French plus” as first official language spoken and the proportion of French as mother tongue increased from 1.8 points in 1971 to 3.8 points in 1991 and to 6.1 points in 2006, compared to, for English, a difference

of 3.4 points in 1971, 4.1 points in 1991 and 5.2 points in 2006. The proportion of shifts from an “other” mother tongue to French increased from 1971 to 2006, from 34% to 53% for all shifts and from 30% to 54% for complete shifts.

Graph 8.5

Evolution in % of Quebec's Francophone population: French speakers, mother tongue, language spoken predominantly at home first official language spoken and non-mother tongue speakers, 1951 to 2006



Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

In Quebec, as in the rest of the country, for both official-language majorities and official-language minorities, the proportion of second-language or non-native speakers of each official language has increased in the past few decades. Outside Quebec, the proportion of speakers of French as a second language has remained fairly small, although it grew from 2% in 1961 to 3% in 1971 and to 7% in 2006. In Quebec, it has grown more quickly, from 6% in 1961 to 8% in 1971 and to 15% in 2006. These values are not a good representation of the prevalence of French knowledge among the population for whom French is not the mother tongue, because it only represents about 20% of Quebec’s population. Knowledge of French among non-Francophones increased from 33% in 1961, to 40% in 1971, to 64% in 1991 and to 73% in 2006. The proportion of speakers of English as a second language in Quebec increased significantly from 25% in 1971 to 37% in 2001, and then stagnated in 2006.⁹⁰

Age distribution

The evolution of the age distribution of language groups defined by mother tongue was analyzed briefly in Chapter 5. This will be supplemented by a

⁹⁰ Caution must be taken in interpreting this data. See appendix on data quality in this regard.

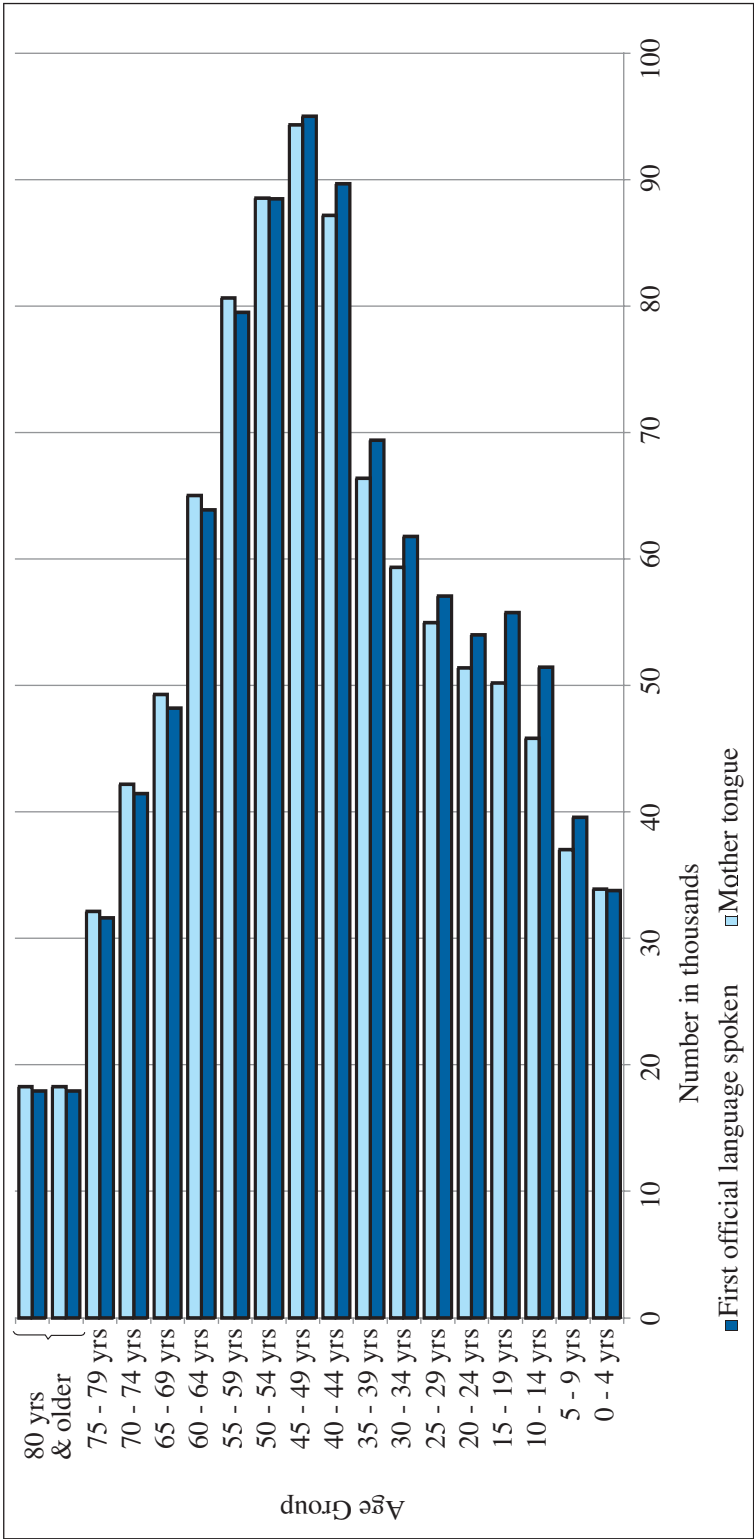
comparative study, using the 2006 Census, of the preceding statistics with the age distribution of language groups defined by first official language spoken.

The number of Francophones living outside Quebec is 997,000 according to first official language spoken and 975,000 according to mother tongue, the first number exceeding the second by 2%. Net gains were recorded for the under-50 age groups, except for 0-4-year-olds, and net losses for the 50 and older groups (Graph 8.6). This means that, at these more advanced ages, the gains made by shifts from an “other” mother tongue to French do not offset the losses caused by shifts to English, which are mainly attributable to people of French mother tongue who can no longer conduct a conversation in that language. Among the youngest, the net gains in percentage by far exceed the grand mean (all ages combined) of 2% among those aged 5-9 (7%) and especially those aged 10-14 (12%) and 15-19 (11%); the percentages decrease beyond these ages, but remain higher than average up to the 40-44 age group. This profile can be found in almost every province: net gains (sometimes negative) in percentage lower than average in the 0-4 age group and in those over 50, percentages higher than average between the 5-9 age group and the 45-49 age group, peaking at school age, between ages 5 and 20, or even 25. While Ontario has more or less the same profile, no net losses are recorded in the over-50 age group, with the overall average net gain being 5%. British Columbia, another province with a high proportion of allophones, also has an overall average of 5%, but with very high net gain percentages between the ages of 5 and 24, but high net loss percentages for those over 50.

The number of Anglophones in Quebec is 995,000, if defined by first official language spoken and 607,000 if defined by mother tongue, the first number exceeding the second by 64%. Net gains are recorded for all ages (Graph 8.7). Their proportions are always above 50%, except in the under-20 age group, where they are still higher than 30%. They peak in middle aged adults aged 25 to 44, with surges over 100% in the 30-34 age group and the 35-39 age group. Of all net shifts to English or French, English receives 46% and French, 54%. The high shift rate to English, considering its relative proportion, results in a very diverse Anglophone population. The proportion of shifts to English is in the 48-to-50% range in the 20-24 to 45-49 age groups, a peak that is only exceeded by those aged 80 and older (53%).

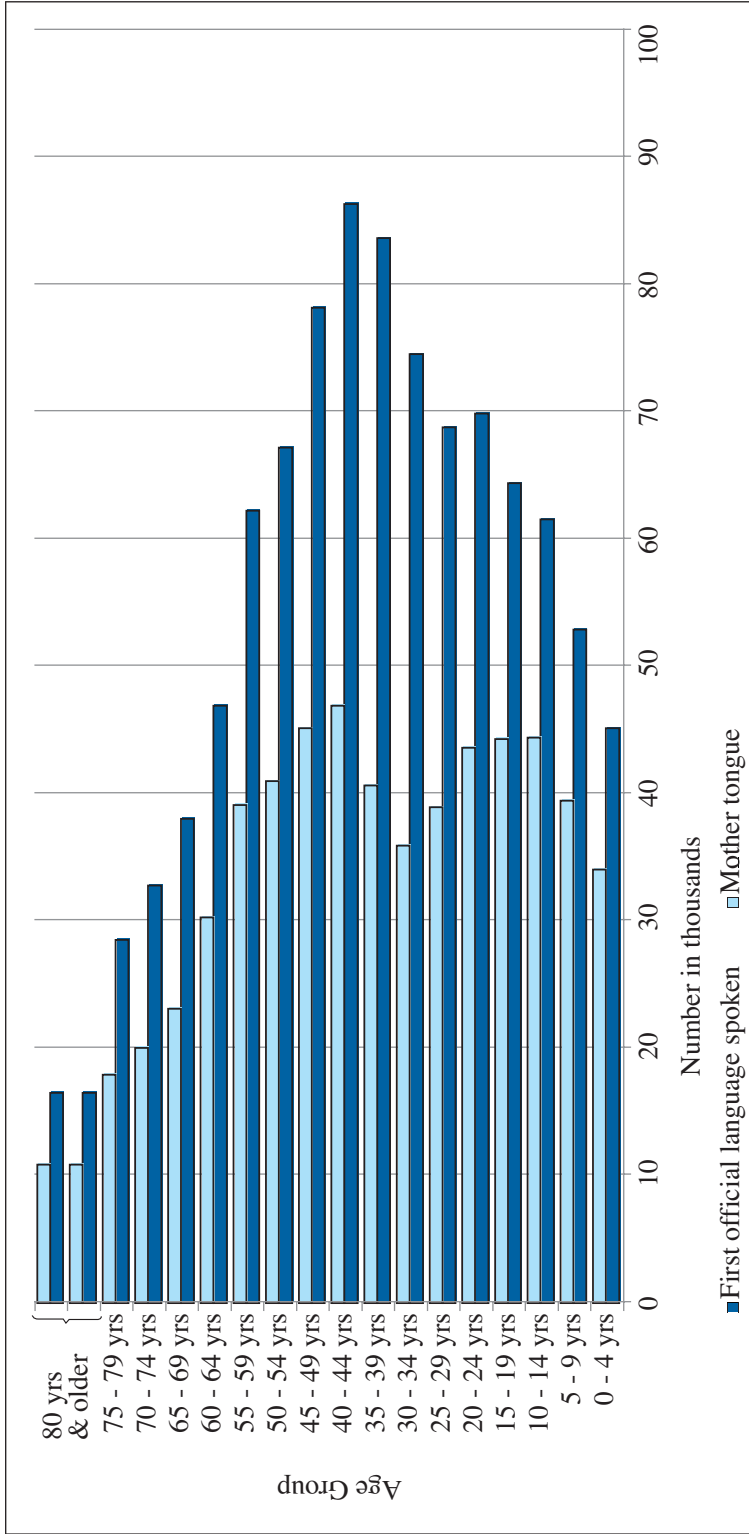
When defined according to first official language spoken, the number of Francophones in Quebec is 6,373,000, compared to 5,917,000 when defined by mother tongue, the first number exceeding the second by 8%. Net gains are recorded for all ages (Graph 8.8). The proportion of net gains is distinctly higher than average between ages 30 and 39 (12%), while the value recorded is well below that of the Anglophone population. Of all the net shifts to English or French, the proportion to French for all ages is equal to or higher than 50%, except among those aged 80 and older (47%). This proportion peaks among those under age 20: 65% in the 0-4 age group, 68% in the 5-9 age group, 64% in the 10-14 age group and 58% in the 15-19 age group. Starting with the following age group (20-24 year-olds), the proportion (51%) is below the overall average (54%).

Graph 8.6
Distribution by age of the Francophone population, Canada outside of Quebec, 2006



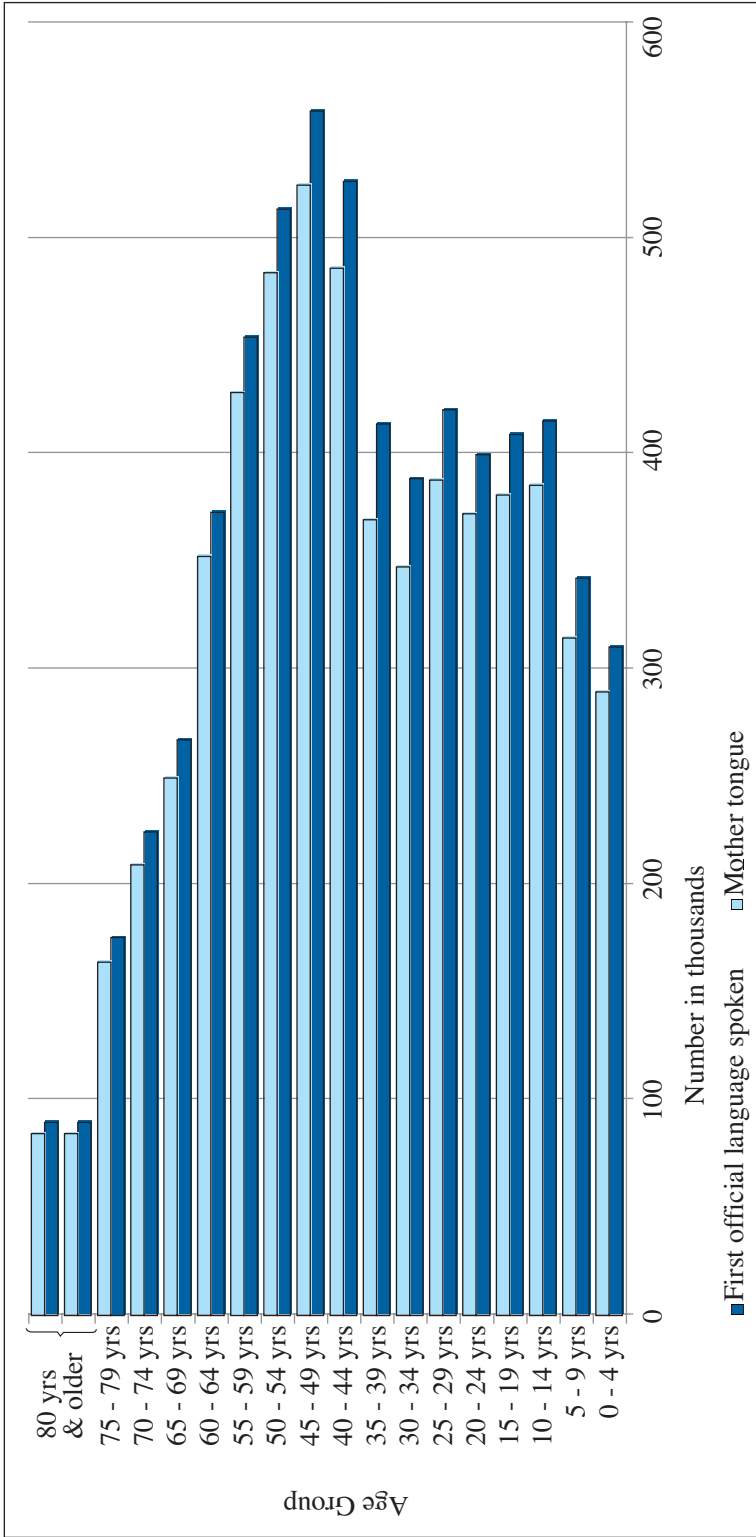
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Graph 8.7
Distribution by age of Anglophone population according to mother tongue and first official language spoken, Quebec, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Graph 8.8
Distribution by age of Quebec's Francophone population, 2006



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Overview

French and English are Canada's two official languages. One or both are generally used in the public domain. Many other languages are used on a daily basis within families or among friends. There has been an increase in these non official languages as a result of strong immigration since the mid-1980s. A new variable, first official language spoken, was created in order to provide an estimate of the official language that allophones (non-native speakers of these non-official languages) are most likely to use or want to use in the public domain, particularly with regard to federal services. First official language spoken combines information provided through responses to three questions contained in the decennial census since 1971 and in the mid-decade census since 1986: one on the ability to speak French and/or English, one on mother tongue and one on language spoken most often at home.

The proportion of Canada's population for whom English is the first official language spoken has been growing steadily since the question appeared, rising from 71% in 1971 to 75% in 2006. Conversely, during the same period, French has dropped from 27% to 24%. This decrease is attributable mainly to an attraction of French over "other" mother tongues that is much lower than its relative proportion among the population, while the proportion of French in all their language shifts rose from 5% in 1971 to 9% in 2006. In addition, the number of Francophones has increased at an average annual rate of 0.6% from 1971 to 2006.

Canada's Francophones are increasingly concentrated in Quebec, where 86% of them lived in 2006, compared to 84% in 1971. The majority of Francophones live in a vast, essentially Francophone area in the heart of Quebec with a slight spillover into New Brunswick. This area had a population of 4.2 million inhabitants in 2006 made up of 97% Francophones, who accounted for 55% of the country's Francophone population.

In Quebec, the proportion of the population whose first official language spoken is French increased from 1971 (82.5%) to 2001 (86.3%), a peak in more than a century, but dropped to 85.7% in 2006. The reverse was true for English, whose relative proportion decreased from 1971 (16.5%) to 2001 (12.9%) and then climbed again to 13.4% in 2006. The recent increase in the proportion of Anglophones has disrupted a downward trend that persisted for over a century. The surge of Anglophones is explained in large part by much smaller migratory losses than in the past to the rest of the country. In addition, the proportion of English in all language shifts from "other" mother tongues has decreased from 66% in 1971 to 47% in 2006, which is, however, much higher than its relative proportion of Quebec's population. It is so attractive in fact that over 50% of young Anglophone adults have an "other" mother tongue.

The number of Francophones living outside Quebec has increased relatively slowly in the past 15 years, from 969,000 in 1991 to 997,000 in 2006, for an average annual growth rate of 0.2%. Their proportion of the population has

decreased steadily from 1971 (6.1%) to 2006 (4.2%). The proportion of French in the increasing number of language shifts among allophones remained around 1.5% from 1971 to 2006. Shifts to French pertain mostly to individuals under age 50 and particularly school-age children. This addition somewhat mitigates the rapid decrease in the number of people of French mother tongue from one age group to the previous one, starting with the 45-49 age group, a decrease as a consequence of the drop in the fertility rate.

CONCLUSION

This document has enabled the reporting of the significant trends in Canada's demolinguistic dynamic over the past few decades. The first part, consisting of four chapters, offered a look at data taken directly from responses to language questions in the census: mother tongue, knowledge of languages, languages spoken at home and languages used at work. The subsequent chapters focused on the primary demographic factors influencing the evolution of the country's major language groups, namely fertility and linguistic mobility, internal migration and international immigration. Finally, the last chapter focused on official language groups, with special emphasis on the comparison of statistics on mother tongue with those on first official language spoken.⁹¹

Three major changes dominated demolinguistic evolution over the past 50 or 60 years. After the Second World War, Canada had a strong fertility rate compared to other developed countries that was higher for Francophones than for other Canadians. The over-fertility of Francophones rapidly declined in the late 1940s and in the 1950s, to disappear in the mid-1960s, giving way to quite marked under-fertility in the following decades. This change in traditional differences in fertility between language groups occurred during a generalized decline in fertility, which, in the entire country for all mother tongues combined, dropped from four children per woman in the late 1950s to two children per woman in the early 1970s. This reduced the growth rate of the population, especially for the Francophone population. The result was a steady decline in the proportion of Francophones in areas where they were a minority, outside Quebec and in Canada as a whole. However, the number of Francophones continues to grow in the country as a whole as well as in provinces that receive a sizeable number of migrants, namely Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

⁹¹ The presentation of the demographic, linguistic, ethnic and socio-economic characteristics of the official-language majorities and minorities defined by first official language spoken was not exhaustive. A more thorough presentation would be possible using the statistical tables taken from the 2006 Census that Statistics Canada has recently distributed on DVD (Statistics Canada, 2009). For an example on how to use this product, see Lachapelle (2009).

This sharp drop in fertility during the 1960s and 1970s triggered a reduction in the birth rate. Outside Quebec, the number of young children with a French mother tongue has steadily declined from one five-year period to the next since 1956-1961, a situation magnified by mothers not transmitting their French mother tongue to their children in 30% of cases. Children born between 1956 and 1961 were in the 45-49 age group in 2006. There were almost 95,000 Francophones in this age group, while the number of young children with a French mother tongue under the age of 5 was slightly less than 35,000, or about one-third. This decrease is also seen in Quebec, but is attenuated by a smaller reduction in fertility and favourable transmission of the mothers' French mother tongue to their children. In the decades to come, French mother tongue populations will age more quickly and the decline in the population is in danger of expanding and affecting more regions.

The second significant change occurred in Quebec. This was the escalation of Anglophone departures to other parts of the country from 1966-1971, with a strong surge in 1976-1981. The net losses from Quebec's Anglophone population were considerably mitigated during the last five-year period, that is, from 2001 to 2006. While the proportion of Anglophones has declined steadily since the middle of the 19th century, the downtrend took off in the 1970s; from 1976 to 2001, the decrease in the number of Anglophones added to the decrease in their proportion of the population. This decline in the Anglophone population kept the Francophone population above the 80% bar until 2001, despite strong, mostly allophone immigration since the late 1980s.

For the first time since 1976, the number of Anglophones increased between 2001 and 2006, although the number observed was much lower than the peak 30 years earlier. The proportion of Anglophones according to mother tongue stabilized after a decline that had persisted for a century and a half. Towards the middle of the 19th century, individuals who reported being of British ethnic origin represented approximately 25% of Quebec's population; in 2006, individuals with an English mother tongue, more numerous than those of British origin, accounted for 8% of Quebec's population. Anglophones were also affected by a sharp drop in fertility, even though this was mitigated by the strong attraction of English for allophones; a great many mothers with an "other" mother tongue transmitted an English mother tongue to their children. But this was not enough to push the Anglophone population's linguistic reproduction above the replacement level.

The third change affects the entire country, but especially large urban agglomerations: the surge of immigration since the late 1980s. This immigration, composed 70% of people whose mother tongue is neither English nor French, has become the primary source of population growth. It has led to a rapid increase in the number and proportion of people with an "other" mother tongue. This increase also concerns to a lesser extent the proportion of individuals who speak a non-official language most often at home. This has resulted in a sharp decrease in the proportion of Anglophone majorities defined either by mother tongue or by language spoken most often at home. This decrease also affects Quebec's Francophone majority, especially since 2001.

This strong immigration transforms language use in spheres where there is a high degree of intimacy, namely within the family and in friendships. It also affects language use in ethnic specialty businesses and local businesses, especially for language groups with a strong geographic concentration. But language exchanges in the public domain—at school, in the workplace, in public or private services—essentially occur in one or both of the official languages, depending on the region in Canada. Immigration does not much affect the language used in these exchanges, except the accent, because it depends on language practices within the institution and not within the family.

In order to estimate the potential demand for federal services in English or French, the government adopted a variable almost 20 years ago created from the basic questions contained in the census: first official language spoken, which was introduced in Chapter 8. Approximately 2% of the population speaks neither English nor French. All other Canadians have either French (23%) or English (74%) as first official language spoken, with the exception of 1% of the population who can speak English and French, but whose mother tongue and language spoken most often at home is a non-official language. These people are divided equally among English and French to meet certain requirements of the federal government's official languages policy.

According to this definition, the evolution of official-language minorities has not changed much, but the opposite is true for official-language majorities. Outside Quebec, the Anglophone majority has seen its relative proportion increase over the past few decades despite strong international immigration since the late 1980s. The proportion held by the Francophone majority in Quebec also increased until 2001; the decrease observed in 2006 was due to the growth of the Anglophone minority, which was largely attributable to a reduction in their departures to other parts of the country.

If immigration is maintained at a high rate, the proportion of allophones should continue to increase according to recent population projections published by Statistics Canada (Caron-Malenfant, Lebel and Martel, 2010). This will be followed by a drop in the relative proportion of official-language majorities and minorities defined by mother tongue, if not by language spoken predominantly at home. However, it is unlikely that populations defined by first official language spoken would be similarly affected. This is why more advanced studies should be conducted of language shifts among allophones to one or the other of the first official languages spoken in order to learn the whys and wherefores of this practice. Using all the data provided by recent censuses, it would be possible to further explore the subject, more clearly define the process and components of language shifts, identify the factors, in particular, those that motivate a person to choose French or English, and determine the consequences on socio-economic integration. Some Statistics Canada surveys would allow us to further develop certain analyses and examine other facets of the subject, especially the Ethnic Diversity Survey and the Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities, conducted in 2002 and 2006 respectively.

APPENDIX DATA QUALITY

The census is a huge, complex enterprise. It is obviously not error-free, even though considerable effort is made to ensure compliance with high standards during its planning and its collection and processing operations. Errors can occur at almost any step. Some errors occur fairly randomly—called random errors—and tend to cancel each other out when the responses provided are combined to form a sufficiently large subpopulation. This is why we advise users to be cautious when using estimates concerning small groups. Other errors can occur more systematically and introduce a bias—that is, a systematic error—that persists regardless of the size of the subpopulation. For most users, systematic errors cause more serious problems than random errors.

The nature and extent of the errors can also vary from one census to the next and jeopardize the comparability of data. The census universe and the collection method may also undergo fairly significant changes that can affect the comparability of data for all or some of the variables. Thus, we have moved on from the traditional method of collection by census enumerators who went from door to door to gather information on each member of the household, to adopt a method of self-enumeration that is more respectful of privacy with the 1971 Census. The new method involved the census enumerator delivering the form to the house, where members of the household, often a single person, would complete it themselves before mailing it. This change in the collection method had a marked effect on responses to the question on ethnic origin; in fact, it prompted a very significant increase in English origin at the expense mainly of Scottish and Irish origins. A second example: since the 1981 Census, the long form, which comprises about 50 questions and is given to one in five households, is no longer used for institutional residents (in hospitals, nursing homes, prisons, etc.), because it is difficult to obtain reliable answers from the administrators in charge. The short form is always used in these cases; it contains less than ten questions and is given to four in five households. Since then, the total data (100%) provides estimates that are always higher than those taken from sample data (20%), which are obviously weighted. Thus, in the 2006 Census, the sample data base estimated the population

at 31,241,030 while, according to the total data, the population was 31,612,895, including 371,865 institutional residents (since the 2001 Census, this subpopulation includes the staff and their families who live there), or 1.2% of the total.

In 1991, another group was added to those targeted by the census, namely non-permanent residents, that is, people from another country who, at the time of the census, had a work or study permit or who had claimed refugee status, as well as members of their family living with them in Canada. They numbered 223,410 in that census and 265,360 in the 2006 Census, representing 0.8% of the total population. In addition, in the 1991 Census, the format of the long-form questionnaire underwent a major revision: from sequential to matrix-style. Prior to that census, sub-forms were attached to the main form, one for each member of the household. In order to be able to answer each question at the same time for all members of the household, a matrix format was adopted for the form as a whole in 1991: the questions on lines, the different members of the household in columns. Another change was made in the 2001 Census, at the request of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, to ensure the French version of the forms fully complied with the requirements of the official languages policy. In both the questions asked and the possible answers, the order of English and French was reversed: French henceforth preceded English in the French version of the form. The situation did not change in the English version: English continued to precede French. Finally, in the 2006 Census, the collection method underwent several changes. Instead of being delivered by a census enumerator, most of the questionnaires were sent by mail. In addition, respondents were offered the opportunity to respond electronically, a method almost 20% used.

All these changes are likely to somewhat diminish the comparability of data from one census to the next. That is why we advise users to be cautious in interpreting relatively small variations and to consult a Statistics Canada specialist when differences seem surprising. To guide users, two types of significant errors—response errors and coverage errors—will be discussed. Response errors occur when respondents have, for various reasons, misinterpreted a census question and recorded a partially or completely erroneous response. Coverage errors occur when individuals are omitted, wrongly included or counted more than once. Before examining these two types of errors, we will review the language questions included in the latest censuses.

Language questions

Since the 1971 Census, a single demolinguistic question has been included in both the short- and long-form questionnaires: the question on **mother tongue**. It is worded as follows in the 2006 Census:⁹²

“What is the language that this person **first learned** at home **in childhood** and **still understands**?”

⁹² **Bold** characters appear on the questionnaire. This will always be respected subsequently in discussing the census.

If this person no longer understands the first language learned, indicate the second language learned.”

The wording of the question has not changed much since the 1941 Census. There was a stricter condition prior to that census: it was necessary that the first language learned be not still understood, but still spoken. The definition differed slightly from international standards due to the condition that had to be met to report that the first language learned at home in childhood was the mother tongue. The condition “still understood,” however, results in a negligible underestimation of the French mother tongue population, except in areas with a very low Francophone density (Lachapelle 1991; Lepage, to be published).⁹³ In any case, it would be difficult to change the definition of mother tongue in the census because it appears in section 23 (on a person’s minority language educational rights) of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, attached to the Constitution of Canada in 1982.

The question concerning **knowledge of English and French** has changed little since the 1971 Census. In 2006, it was formulated as follows:

“Can this person speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?”

Four possible responses are offered: English only; French only; both English and French; neither English nor French. This is a subjective question, as the response is left to the discretion of the respondent, who in many cases is the person in the household filling out the questionnaire for everyone. The responses would undoubtedly be different for some people if, instead of stating “a conversation,” the question stated either “a short conversation” or “a fairly long conversation on various subjects.” Any significant change in the wording of the question would compromise its chronological comparability and eliminate its subjective nature.

Since the 1991 Census, one question has been included on the **knowledge of non-official languages**. It is worded as follows in the 2006 Census:

“What language(s), **other than English or French**, can this person speak well enough to conduct a conversation?”

Other than the category “None,” two blank spaces are provided for entering two languages, if necessary; previous censuses having shown that very few people report three languages.⁹⁴ This is also a subjective question, and the comments

⁹³ In the population aged 15 and over with French as the mother tongue, the proportion of French as the predominant language at home, in areas with a low Francophone density, is 35%, which implies a 65% anglicization rate. If we take into account the underestimation of Francophones, the order by size of the anglicization rate varies little, even with an underestimation of 10%. In this case, the anglicization rate would rise from 65% to 68% (75/110).

⁹⁴ In the 2001 Census, which had space for three responses, respondents reporting three languages other than English or French accounted for a little under 3% of those who reported speaking at least one.

made in the preceding paragraph also apply to the question on knowledge of non-official languages.

As a result of a suggestion from the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1967), a new language question concerning **the language spoken most often at home** was added in the 1971 Census. In 2006, the question was worded as follows:

“What language does this person speak **most often** at home?”

Similarly to the question concerning mother tongue, three possible responses are offered: French; English; Other – Specify (followed by a blank space). Since the 1970s, information taken from this question has often been cross-referenced with data concerning mother tongue in order to estimate linguistic mobility. Some authors prefer to talk about linguistic assimilation. For example, the proportion of persons of French mother tongue who speak English most often at home is certainly one indicator of language assimilation, but not the only one. Moreover, the predominant use of English at home should not be confused with the abandonment of French as the mother tongue.

In response to requests from numerous institutional and community stakeholders, a complementary question on **other languages spoken on a regular basis at home** was added to the 2001 Census. This immediately follows the question on language spoken most often at home. In 2006, the question was formulated as follows:

“Does this person speak any other languages **on a regular basis** at home?”

The choice of the term “on a regular basis” was the result of numerous qualitative tests aimed at finding a formulation that corresponded to use that was neither very frequent (little difference from that obtained for the preceding question in the participants’ view) nor exceptional (not very informative).

Using the same model as for the questions on languages spoken at home, two new language questions were added concerning **languages of work** in the 2001 Census. They appear in a long section pertaining to work and refer to the last job held. In 2006, question 48 was worded as follows:

“a) In this job, what language did this person use **most often**?”

“b) Did this person use any other language **on a regular basis** in this job?”

Of course, for question 48(a), the possible responses are the same as for the questions on mother tongue and on language spoken most often at home. For question 48(b), as for the question on other languages spoken on a regular basis at home, the following possible responses are provided: No; Yes, English; Yes, French; Yes, other – Specify (followed by a blank space).

Quality of responses

There are several categories of response errors. Most of these result from inattention or misinterpretation of the question. For example, in April 2006, a few weeks prior to the census date, an anonymous email in French was circulated on the Internet. It spread false information and urged bilingual Francophones not to report that they knew both official languages on the Census of Population on May 16, 2006, apparently in order to prevent the federal government from reducing services to Francophones. It was suggested that they report knowing French but not English. This email circulated across the country, despite efforts by Statistics Canada to set the facts straight and ask respondents to provide accurate responses. Therefore, caution must be taken in interpreting data on knowledge of official languages.⁹⁵

The results of the 1981 and 1986 censuses were sometimes completely surprising, especially for the official-language majorities. In Quebec in 1986, of the 73,400 people who reported a French mother tongue and English as the language spoken most often at home, 25,500 reported being unable to conduct a conversation in English. The number of complete language shifts from French to English,⁹⁶ was therefore not 73,000 but 48,000. Almost all shifts from English to French (36,000) were complete (35,000). But this was not the case outside Quebec: shifts from English to French (16,000) were only complete (10,000) in six out of ten cases. A review of the forms revealed that cases of incomplete shift were usually unique in the household, that the language of the questionnaire almost always corresponded to the mother tongue and that the error was almost never on the first sub-form completed. This led us to believe that it was a matter of inattention, which was also suggested by their infrequency and the fact that they were a rare occurrence in official-language majorities.

In addition, in the 1986 Census, there was a significant proportion of multiple responses in the sample data for both the question on mother tongue (3.4%)⁹⁷ and the question on language spoken most often at home (4.6%). Analyses based on responses from the same individuals on two successive censuses revealed that the multiple responses were very unstable (Lachapelle 1991). Attempts would therefore have to be made to reduce the proportion of these unstable responses in later censuses.

In the 1991 Census, the fact that the long-form questionnaire was going to be changed to a matrix format made it possible to group the language questions into one block. In this one, questions on the knowledge of languages precede questions on language spoken most often at home and mother tongue. These changes made

⁹⁵ However, due to the method used to derive the variable "first official language spoken" used in Chapter 8, the fact that individuals with a French mother tongue report being able to speak French and English or only French in no way changes the estimate of the proportion of the population whose first official language spoken is French.

⁹⁶ The form for the persons concerned indicated that they could conduct a conversation in English.

⁹⁷ The proportion was slightly higher in the 100% data (3.8%).

it possible to reduce the proportion of multiple responses, in the sample data, both for mother tongue (from 3.4% in 1986 to 1.2% in 1991) and for language spoken most often at home (from 4.6% in 1986 to 1.8% in 1991). In addition, incomplete language shifts almost disappeared as well. Thus, in Quebec, shifts from French mother tongue to English as language spoken most often at home (58,000) are not much higher than complete shifts (55,000). It should be noted that there was a similar number of complete shifts from French to English in 1986 (48,000) and in 1991 (55,000), with a marked increase from 1986 to 1991, which was wholly or partially attributable to the decrease in multiple responses.

Coverage errors

Because of the complexity of data collection operations in a census, omissions, inaccurate counts and double counts are inevitable. In Canada, the systematic measurement of undercoverage goes back to the 1961 Census, while overcoverage did not appear until the 1991 Census. At first, the purpose of these studies was to identify weaknesses in the most recent census in order to improve data collection in the next census. This is still an important objective of evaluation research. Following the 1991 Census, estimates of net undercoverage were added to the figures published by the census, figures taken from the 100% database to obtain the official population estimates. These estimates are then updated every quarter using administrative files that provide reliable information on the components of demographic growth (births, deaths, immigrants, etc.).

Coverage surveys also provide users with estimates of net undercoverage according to mother tongue. Ordinarily, the rate of net undercoverage is higher for allophones, because recent immigrants and non-permanent residents are more difficult to count. In fact, in the 2006 Census, the net undercoverage rate was 2.7% for the entire population (Statistics Canada, 2010), compared to 6.9% for allophones, 0.5% for Francophones and 2.3% for Anglophones.⁹⁸ These figures usually vary from one census to the next. In the 2001 Census, the net undercoverage rate was slightly higher for the total population (3.0%) as it was for allophones (7.7%), Francophones (1.8%) and Anglophones (2.4%). Because these values were determined using a sample, the differences noted between 2001 and 2006 are not, however, significant to the 5% risk threshold, except for Francophones. In the 2006 Census, however, the differences between the rates of the three language groups are all significant. While it may be beneficial to correct the differential bias data resulting from the differences in net undercoverage rates, there is a price to be paid. The new estimates contain a sampling error that is sometimes far from negligible, even for fairly large subpopulations. It is therefore wise to be cautious and ensure that the differences being considered are significant before drawing conclusions.

⁹⁸ The rates provided exclude multiple responses and, therefore, were calculated on the basis of data on one mother tongue.

Conclusion

Census statistics are obviously not perfect and errors are inevitable, as in any data collection operation. Statistics Canada gives users access to a great deal of information on data quality, especially on net undercoverage and on changes in collection methods.

In order to mitigate the effects of errors on trend analysis, it is advisable to not exclusively use methods based on the hypothesis that the data is perfect. It is preferable to use robust methods that are less error-sensitive. Thus, an analysis based on the evolution of the proportion represented by a language group is, in certain conditions, more robust than an analysis focused on variations in its growth rate.

APPENDIX OF TABLES

Table A.1
Population according to mother tongue, Canada, provinces,
territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Mother tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Languages	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada							
1951	14,009,429	4,068,850	29.0	8,280,809	59.1	1,659,770	11.8
1961	18,238,247	5,123,151	28.1	10,660,534	58.5	2,454,562	13.5
1971	21,568,310	5,792,710	26.9	12,967,445	60.1	2,808,155	13.0
1981	24,083,505	6,177,795	25.7	14,784,810	61.4	3,120,900	13.0
1991	26,994,040	6,562,065	24.3	16,311,210	60.4	4,120,770	15.3
1996	28,528,130	6,711,644	23.5	17,072,432	59.8	4,744,059	16.6
2001	29,639,035	6,782,294	22.9	17,521,897	59.1	5,334,849	18.0
2006	31,241,030	6,892,230	22.1	18,055,685	57.8	6,293,110	20.1
Newfoundland and Labrador							
1951	361,416	2,321	0.6	357,328	98.9	1,767	0.5
1961	457,853	3,150	0.7	451,530	98.6	3,173	0.7
1971	522,105	3,610	0.7	514,415	98.5	4,080	0.8
1981	563,745	2,580	0.5	557,040	98.8	4,125	0.7
1991	563,925	2,855	0.5	555,925	98.6	5,140	0.9
1996	547,160	2,440	0.4	539,048	98.5	5,663	1.0
2001	508,075	2,348	0.5	500,076	98.4	5,656	1.1
2006	500,605	2,055	0.4	488,775	97.6	9,775	2.0
Prince Edward Island							
1951	98,429	8,477	8.6	89,241	90.7	711	0.7
1961	104,629	7,958	7.6	95,564	91.3	1,107	1.1
1971	111,640	7,360	6.6	103,115	92.4	1,165	1.1
1981	121,220	5,835	4.8	114,095	94.1	1,295	1.1
1991	128,100	5,750	4.5	120,770	94.3	1,585	1.2
1996	132,860	5,722	4.3	125,017	94.1	2,137	1.6
2001	133,385	5,885	4.4	125,390	94.0	2,110	1.6
2006	134,205	5,610	4.2	125,565	93.6	3,025	2.3
Nova Scotia							
1951	642,584	38,945	6.1	588,610	91.6	15,029	2.3
1961	737,007	39,568	5.4	680,233	92.3	17,206	2.3
1971	788,960	39,585	5.0	733,195	93.0	16,180	2.1
1981	839,800	35,385	4.2	786,725	93.7	17,695	2.1
1991	890,945	37,525	4.2	831,575	93.3	21,845	2.5
1996	899,970	36,311	4.0	838,283	93.1	25,376	2.8
2001	897,570	35,377	3.9	834,777	93.0	27,412	3.1
2006	903,090	33,705	3.7	833,920	92.3	35,460	3.9

Table A.1 (cont'd)
Population according to mother tongue, Canada, provinces,
territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Mother tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Languages	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
New Brunswick							
1951	515,697	185,110	35.9	325,412	63.1	5,175	1.0
1961	597,936	210,530	35.2	378,633	63.3	8,773	1.5
1971	634,560	214,720	33.8	411,275	64.8	8,565	1.3
1981	689,370	231,970	33.6	448,885	65.1	8,515	1.2
1991	716,500	243,690	34.0	462,875	64.6	9,935	1.4
1996	729,630	242,408	33.2	476,396	65.3	10,826	1.5
2001	719,710	239,357	33.3	468,084	65.0	12,274	1.7
2006	719,650	235,270	32.7	465,710	64.7	18,665	2.6
Quebec							
1951	4,055,681	3,347,030	82.5	558,256	13.8	150,395	3.7
1961	5,259,211	4,269,689	81.2	697,402	13.3	292,120	5.6
1971	6,027,765	4,866,410	80.7	788,830	13.1	372,525	6.2
1981	6,369,055	5,254,195	82.5	693,600	10.9	421,265	6.6
1991	6,810,305	5,585,650	82.0	626,200	9.2	598,455	8.8
1996	7,045,085	5,741,438	81.5	621,858	8.8	681,790	9.7
2001	7,125,575	5,802,022	81.4	591,378	8.3	732,175	10.3
2006	7,435,900	5,916,840	79.6	607,165	8.2	911,895	12.3
Ontario							
1951	4,597,542	341,502	7.4	3,755,442	81.7	500,598	10.9
1961	6,236,092	425,302	6.8	4,834,623	77.5	976,167	15.7
1971	7,703,110	482,350	6.3	5,967,725	77.5	1,253,035	16.3
1981	8,534,260	465,335	5.5	6,611,990	77.5	1,456,940	17.1
1991	9,977,055	503,345	5.0	7,443,540	74.6	2,030,170	20.3
1996	10,642,790	499,689	4.7	7,777,734	73.1	2,365,367	22.2
2001	11,285,550	509,264	4.5	8,041,997	71.3	2,734,289	24.2
2006	12,028,895	510,240	4.2	8,313,880	69.1	3,204,770	26.6
Manitoba							
1951	776,541	54,199	7.0	467,892	60.3	254,450	32.8
1961	921,686	60,899	6.6	584,526	63.4	276,260	30.0
1971	988,245	60,485	6.1	662,130	67.0	265,630	26.8
1981	1,013,700	51,620	5.1	731,500	72.2	230,575	22.7
1991	1,079,390	50,775	4.7	793,325	73.5	235,285	21.8
1996	1,100,295	49,100	4.5	822,258	74.7	228,940	20.8
2001	1,103,695	45,932	4.2	831,819	75.4	225,949	20.5
2006	1,133,510	45,520	4.0	845,595	74.6	242,400	21.4

Table A.1 (cont'd)
Population according to mother tongue, Canada, provinces,
territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Mother tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Languages	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Saskatchewan							
1951	831,728	36,815	4.4	515,873	62.0	279,040	33.5
1961	925,181	36,163	3.9	638,156	69.0	250,862	27.1
1971	926,245	31,795	3.4	685,025	74.0	209,425	22.6
1981	956,445	25,090	2.6	767,110	80.2	164,250	17.2
1991	976,040	21,795	2.2	812,600	83.3	141,645	14.5
1996	976,615	19,901	2.0	823,746	84.3	132,968	13.6
2001	963,150	18,633	1.9	822,636	85.4	121,886	12.7
2006	953,855	16,790	1.8	815,380	85.5	121,675	12.8
Alberta							
1951	939,501	34,196	3.6	648,413	69.0	256,892	27.3
1961	1,331,944	42,276	3.2	962,319	72.2	327,349	24.6
1971	1,627,875	46,750	2.9	1,262,840	77.6	318,285	19.5
1981	2,213,640	60,605	2.7	1,800,870	81.4	352,165	15.9
1991	2,519,185	56,730	2.3	2,045,905	81.2	416,550	16.5
1996	2,669,195	55,290	2.0	2,175,758	81.5	438,148	16.4
2001	2,941,150	62,241	2.1	2,395,773	81.5	483,136	16.4
2006	3,256,360	64,750	2.0	2,593,395	79.6	598,215	18.4
British Columbia							
1951	1,165,210	19,366	1.7	963,920	82.7	181,924	15.6
1961	1,629,082	26,179	1.6	1,318,498	80.9	284,405	17.5
1971	2,184,625	38,035	1.7	1,807,240	82.7	339,350	15.5
1981	2,713,620	43,415	1.6	2,228,185	82.1	442,025	16.3
1991	3,247,495	51,585	1.6	2,562,240	78.9	633,665	19.5
1996	3,689,755	56,755	1.5	2,809,398	76.1	823,603	22.3
2001	3,868,875	58,893	1.5	2,849,181	73.6	960,806	24.8
2006	4,074,385	58,890	1.4	2,900,885	71.2	1,114,605	27.4
Yukon							
1951	9,096	308	3.4	6,618	72.8	2,170	23.9
1961	14,628	443	3.0	10,869	74.3	3,316	22.7
1971	18,390	450	2.4	15,340	83.4	2,600	14.1
1981	23,080	530	2.3	20,185	87.5	2,365	10.2
1991	27,665	905	3.3	24,550	88.7	2,210	8.0
1996	30,650	1,170	3.8	26,613	86.8	2,868	9.4
2001	28,520	933	3.3	24,758	86.8	2,830	9.9
2006	30,190	1,165	3.9	25,775	85.4	3,250	10.8

Table A.1 (cont'd)
Population according to mother tongue, Canada, provinces,
territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Mother tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Languages	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Northwest Territories							
1951	16,004	581	3.6	3,804	23.8	11,619	72.6
1961	22,998	994	4.3	8,181	35.6	13,823	60.1
1971	34,805	1,160	3.3	16,305	46.8	17,340	49.8
1981	45,535	1,225	2.7	24,635	54.1	19,675	43.2
1991	57,435	1,455	2.5	31,705	55.2	24,280	42.3
1996 ¹	64,125	1,421	2.2	36,326	56.6	26,378	41.1
1996 ²	39,465	1,005	2.5	30,248	76.7	8,208	20.8
2001	37,100	1,006	2.7	28,863	77.8	7,246	19.5
2006	41,055	1,000	2.4	31,730	77.3	8,325	20.3
Nunavut							
1996	24,665	414	1.7	6,079	24.6	18,172	73.7
2001	26,665	405	1.5	7,170	26.9	19,090	71.6
2006	29,325	390	1.3	7,905	27.0	21,025	71.7
Canada minus Quebec							
1951	9,953,748	721,820	7.3	7,722,553	77.6	1,509,375	15.2
1961	12,979,036	853,462	6.6	9,963,132	76.8	2,162,442	16.7
1971	15,540,545	926,295	6.0	12,178,610	78.4	2,435,640	15.7
1981	17,714,450	923,605	5.2	14,091,215	79.5	2,699,635	15.2
1991	20,183,735	976,415	4.8	15,685,005	77.7	3,522,315	17.5
1996	21,483,045	970,207	4.5	16,450,574	76.6	4,062,269	18.9
2001	22,513,460	980,272	4.4	16,930,519	75.2	4,602,674	20.4
2006	23,805,125	975,390	4.1	17,448,525	73.3	5,381,210	22.6

¹ Before the creation of Nunavut

² After the creation of Nunavut

Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

Table A.2
Population according to language spoken most often at home, Canada,
provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1971 to 2006

Region	Language spoken most often at home						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Languages	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada							
1971	21,568,310	5,546,025	25.7	14,446,235	67.0	1,576,050	7.3
1981	24,083,495	5,919,855	24.6	16,375,315	68.0	1,788,325	7.4
1991	26,994,045	6,288,430	23.3	18,440,540	68.3	2,265,075	8.4
1996	28,528,120	6,448,603	22.6	19,294,873	67.6	2,784,643	9.8
2001	29,639,035	6,531,375	22.0	20,011,538	67.5	3,096,118	10.4
2006	31,241,030	6,690,130	21.4	20,840,565	66.7	3,710,335	11.9
Newfoundland and Labrador							
1971	522,100	2,295	0.4	517,210	99.1	2,595	0.5
1981	563,750	1,845	0.3	559,390	99.2	2,515	0.4
1991	563,935	1,340	0.2	559,505	99.2	3,095	0.5
1996	547,155	1,018	0.1	542,628	99.2	3,510	0.6
2001	508,075	991	0.2	503,981	99.2	3,098	0.6
2006	500,605	740	0.1	494,695	98.8	5,170	1.0
Prince Edward Island							
1971	111,640	4,405	3.9	106,795	95.7	440	0.4
1981	121,230	3,745	3.1	117,040	96.5	450	0.4
1991	128,105	3,050	2.4	124,620	97.3	440	0.3
1996	132,855	3,045	2.3	129,190	97.2	620	0.5
2001	133,385	2,818	2.1	129,952	97.4	615	0.5
2006	134,205	2,755	2.1	130,270	97.1	1,180	0.9
Nova Scotia							
1971	788,960	27,220	3.5	753,725	95.5	8,015	1.0
1981	839,800	24,435	2.9	806,490	96.0	8,875	1.1
1991	890,945	22,260	2.5	858,130	96.3	10,555	1.2
1996	899,970	20,710	2.3	866,260	96.3	13,000	1.4
2001	897,570	19,789	2.2	863,732	96.2	14,049	1.6
2006	903,090	17,870	2.0	868,410	96.2	16,810	1.9
New Brunswick							
1971	634,560	199,080	31.4	430,720	67.9	4,760	0.8
1981	689,380	216,745	31.4	468,105	67.9	4,530	0.7
1991	716,490	223,265	31.2	488,570	68.2	4,660	0.7
1996	729,625	222,441	30.1	502,526	68.9	4,658	0.6
2001	719,710	217,773	30.3	496,681	69.0	5,256	0.7
2006	719,650	213,885	29.7	496,855	69.0	8,910	1.2

Table A.2 (cont'd)
Population according to language spoken most often at home, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1971 to 2006

Region	Language spoken most often at home						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Languages	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Quebec							
1971	6,027,765	4,870,100	80.8	887,875	14.7	269,790	4.5
1981	6,369,075	5,253,070	82.5	806,785	12.7	309,220	4.9
1991	6,810,300	5,651,795	83.0	761,815	11.2	396,695	5.8
1996	7,045,085	5,830,082	82.8	762,457	10.8	452,547	6.4
2001	7,125,575	5,918,385	83.1	746,890	10.5	460,295	6.5
2006	7,435,900	6,085,155	81.8	787,885	10.6	562,860	7.6
Ontario							
1971	7,703,105	352,465	4.6	6,558,060	85.1	792,580	10.3
1981	8,534,270	333,050	3.9	7,310,060	85.7	891,160	10.4
1991	9,977,055	318,705	3.2	8,499,515	85.2	1,158,830	11.6
1996	10,642,790	306,790	2.9	8,900,845	83.6	1,435,155	13.5
2001	11,285,550	307,297	2.7	9,337,614	82.7	1,640,634	14.5
2006	12,028,895	304,725	2.5	9,789,935	81.4	1,934,235	16.1
Manitoba							
1971	988,245	39,600	4.0	816,560	82.6	132,085	13.4
1981	1,013,705	31,030	3.1	868,295	85.7	114,380	11.3
1991	1,079,395	25,045	2.3	947,090	87.7	107,265	9.9
1996	1,100,295	23,133	2.1	971,608	88.3	105,553	9.6
2001	1,103,695	20,892	1.9	983,268	89.1	99,540	9.0
2006	1,133,510	20,515	1.8	997,595	88.0	115,400	10.2
Saskatchewan							
1971	926,240	15,930	1.7	832,515	89.9	77,795	8.4
1981	956,435	10,295	1.1	884,760	92.5	61,380	6.4
1991	976,030	7,155	0.7	921,085	94.4	47,790	4.9
1996	976,615	5,828	0.6	923,443	94.6	47,343	4.8
2001	963,150	4,805	0.5	916,798	95.2	41,552	4.3
2006	953,855	4,320	0.5	900,230	94.4	49,305	5.2
Alberta							
1971	1,627,870	22,700	1.4	1,477,960	90.8	127,210	7.8
1981	2,213,645	29,690	1.3	2,024,090	91.4	159,860	7.2
1991	2,519,180	20,180	0.8	2,305,200	91.5	193,800	7.7
1996	2,669,195	17,822	0.6	2,432,682	91.1	218,692	8.2
2001	2,941,150	20,672	0.7	2,681,532	91.2	238,950	8.1
2006	3,256,360	21,350	0.7	2,915,865	89.5	319,145	9.8

Table A.2 (cont'd)

Population according to language spoken most often at home, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1971 to 2006

Region	Language spoken most often at home						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Languages	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
British Columbia							
1971	2,184,620	11,505	0.5	2,027,120	92.8	145,995	6.7
1981	2,713,620	15,090	0.6	2,479,555	91.4	218,980	8.1
1991	3,247,495	14,555	0.4	2,909,930	89.6	323,010	9.9
1996	3,689,760	16,586	0.4	3,189,883	86.5	483,291	13.1
2001	3,868,875	16,902	0.4	3,279,344	84.8	572,629	14.8
2006	4,074,385	17,555	0.4	3,380,155	83.0	676,675	16.6
Yukon							
1971	18,395	135	0.7	17,470	95.0	790	4.3
1981	23,075	240	1.0	22,075	95.7	760	3.3
1991	27,645	390	1.4	26,735	96.7	520	1.9
1996	30,655	543	1.8	29,240	95.4	873	2.9
2001	28,520	433	1.5	27,312	95.8	780	2.7
2006	30,190	575	1.9	28,625	94.8	990	3.3
Northwest Territories							
1971	34,800	585	1.7	20,225	58.1	13,990	40.2
1981	45,535	630	1.4	28,670	63.0	16,235	35.7
1991	57,435	680	1.2	38,355	66.8	18,400	32.0
1996 ¹	64,120	607	0.9	44,112	68.8	19,402	30.3
1996 ²	39,480	387	1.0	34,979	88.6	4,114	10.4
2001	37,100	396	1.1	33,376	90.0	3,353	9.0
2006	41,055	460	1.1	36,920	89.9	3,675	9.0
Nunavut							
1996	24,670	235	1.0	9,135	37.0	15,300	62.0
2001	26,665	225	0.8	11,060	41.5	15,380	57.7
2006	29,325	225	0.8	13,120	44.7	15,980	54.5
Canada minus Quebec							
1971	15,540,545	675,925	4.3	13,558,360	87.2	1,306,260	8.4
1981	17,714,420	666,785	3.8	15,568,530	87.9	1,479,105	8.3
1991	20,183,745	636,640	3.2	17,678,730	87.6	1,868,380	9.3
1996	21,483,035	618,522	2.9	18,532,417	86.3	2,332,097	10.9
2001	22,513,460	612,990	2.7	19,264,648	85.6	2,635,822	11.7
2006	23,805,125	604,975	2.5	20,052,680	84.2	3,147,475	13.2

¹ Before the creation of Nunavut

² After the creation of Nunavut

Source: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

Table A.3
Population according to knowledge of official languages, Canada,
provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Knowledge of official languages								
	Total	French only		English only		English and French		Neither English nor French	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada									
1951	14,009,429	2,741,812	19.6	9,387,395	67.0	1,727,447	12.3	152,775	1.1
1961	18,238,247	3,489,866	19.1	12,284,762	67.4	2,231,172	12.2	232,447	1.3
1971	21,568,310	3,879,255	18.0	14,469,540	67.1	2,900,155	13.4	319,360	1.5
1981	24,083,495	3,987,245	16.6	16,122,895	66.9	3,681,960	15.3	291,395	1.2
1991	26,994,035	4,110,300	15.2	18,106,760	67.1	4,398,655	16.3	378,320	1.4
1996	28,528,100	4,079,080	14.3	19,134,245	67.1	4,841,310	17.0	473,465	1.7
2001	29,639,035	3,946,525	13.3	20,014,645	67.5	5,231,575	17.7	446,290	1.5
2006	31,241,030	4,141,851	13.3	21,129,945	67.6	5,448,850	17.4	520,384	1.7
Newfoundland and Labrador									
1951	361,416	153	0.0	356,377	98.6	3,990	1.1	896	0.2
1961	457,853	522	0.1	450,945	98.5	5,299	1.2	1,087	0.2
1971	522,105	510	0.1	511,620	98.0	9,350	1.8	625	0.1
1981	563,750	145	0.0	550,335	97.6	12,840	2.3	430	0.1
1991	563,940	240	0.0	544,425	96.5	18,495	3.3	780	0.1
1996	547,155	155	0.0	525,190	96.0	21,260	3.9	550	0.1
2001	508,075	145	0.0	486,390	95.7	20,895	4.1	655	0.1
2006	500,605	89	0.0	475,987	95.1	23,678	4.7	854	0.2
Prince Edward Island									
1951	98,429	914	0.9	88,743	90.2	8,745	8.9	27	0.0
1961	104,629	1,219	1.2	95,296	91.1	7,938	7.6	176	0.2
1971	111,640	680	0.6	101,820	91.2	9,110	8.2	30	0.0
1981	121,225	205	0.2	111,200	91.7	9,780	8.1	40	0.0
1991	128,095	270	0.2	114,795	89.6	12,950	10.1	80	0.1
1996	132,855	170	0.1	118,080	88.9	14,570	11.0	35	0.0
2001	133,385	95	0.1	117,245	87.9	15,990	12.0	55	0.0
2006	134,205	57	0.0	116,993	87.2	17,100	12.7	55	0.0
Nova Scotia									
1951	642,584	7,462	1.2	595,257	92.6	39,524	6.2	341	0.0
1961	737,007	5,938	0.8	684,805	92.9	44,987	6.1	1,277	0.2
1971	788,955	4,185	0.5	730,700	92.6	53,035	6.7	1,035	0.1
1981	839,795	1,880	0.2	774,760	92.3	62,350	7.4	805	0.1
1991	890,945	1,580	0.2	811,870	91.1	76,465	8.6	1,030	0.1
1996	899,970	1,375	0.2	813,320	90.4	83,980	9.3	1,295	0.1
2001	897,570	790	0.1	805,545	89.7	90,265	10.1	965	0.1
2006	903,090	1,004	0.1	805,690	89.2	95,011	10.5	1,385	0.2

Table A.3 (cont'd)

Population according to knowledge of official languages, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Knowledge of official languages								
	Total	French only		English only		English and French		Neither English nor French	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Saskatchewan									
1951	831,728	4,656	0.6	767,248	92.2	40,789	4.9	19,035	2.3
1961	925,181	3,853	0.4	865,821	93.6	42,074	4.5	13,433	1.5
1971	926,235	1,825	0.2	867,315	93.6	45,985	5.0	11,110	1.2
1981	956,435	705	0.1	904,900	94.6	43,650	4.6	7,180	0.8
1991	976,035	450	0.0	919,070	94.2	50,800	5.2	5,715	0.6
1996	976,615	345	0.0	920,555	94.3	50,770	5.2	4,945	0.5
2001	963,150	355	0.0	910,645	94.5	49,000	5.1	3,150	0.3
2006	953,855	484	0.1	902,652	94.6	47,451	5.0	3,262	0.3
Alberta									
1951	939,501	5,922	0.6	868,696	92.5	40,785	4.3	24,098	2.6
1961	1,331,944	5,534	0.4	1,253,824	94.1	56,920	4.3	15,666	1.2
1971	1,627,875	3,310	0.2	1,525,575	93.7	81,000	5.0	17,990	1.1
1981	2,213,650	3,700	0.2	2,045,060	92.4	142,465	6.4	22,425	1.0
1991	2,519,180	1,940	0.1	2,318,935	92.1	167,155	6.6	31,150	1.2
1996	2,669,195	1,615	0.1	2,455,075	92.0	178,505	6.7	34,000	1.3
2001	2,941,150	1,890	0.1	2,704,895	92.0	202,910	6.9	31,455	1.1
2006	3,256,360	2,199	0.1	2,990,804	91.8	222,886	6.8	40,467	1.2
British Columbia									
1951	1,165,210	727	0.1	1,112,937	95.5	39,433	3.4	12,113	1.0
1961	1,629,082	2,559	0.2	1,552,560	95.3	57,504	3.5	16,459	1.0
1971	2,184,625	1,775	0.1	2,054,690	94.1	101,435	4.6	26,725	1.2
1981	2,713,615	1,445	0.0	2,518,965	92.8	154,170	5.7	39,035	1.4
1991	3,247,510	1,140	0.0	2,976,330	91.6	207,175	6.4	62,865	1.9
1996	3,689,750	1,775	0.0	3,342,345	90.6	248,590	6.7	97,040	2.6
2001	3,868,875	1,815	0.0	3,493,680	90.3	269,365	7.0	104,020	2.7
2006	4,074,385	2,071	0.1	3,653,366	89.7	295,643	7.3	123,303	3.0
Yukon									
1951	9,096	10	0.1	8,337	91.7	519	5.7	230	2.5
1961	14,628	38	0.3	13,679	93.5	825	5.6	86	0.6
1971	18,390	10	0.0	17,130	93.1	1,210	6.6	40	0.2
1981	23,075	10	0.0	21,200	91.9	1,820	7.9	45	0.2
1991	27,655	25	0.1	25,035	90.5	2,570	9.3	25	0.1
1996	30,655	50	0.2	27,340	89.2	3,210	10.5	55	0.2
2001	28,520	45	0.2	25,510	89.4	2,895	10.2	75	0.3
2006	30,190	104	0.3	26,514	87.8	3,444	11.4	130	0.4

Table A.3 (cont'd)

Population according to knowledge of official languages, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Knowledge of official languages								
	Total	French only		English only		English and French		Neither English nor French	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
New Brunswick									
1951	515,697	100,712	19.5	318,560	61.8	96,095	18.6	330	0.1
1961	597,936	112,054	18.7	370,922	62.0	113,495	19.0	1,465	0.2
1971	634,555	100,985	15.9	396,855	62.5	136,115	21.5	600	0.1
1981	689,370	89,340	13.0	417,025	60.5	182,550	26.5	455	0.1
1991	716,495	89,500	12.5	414,955	57.9	211,525	29.5	515	0.1
1996	729,625	73,410	10.1	417,970	57.3	237,765	32.6	480	0.1
2001	719,710	66,415	9.2	406,995	56.5	245,865	34.2	430	0.1
2006	719,650	73,753	10.2	405,045	56.3	240,086	33.4	766	0.1
Quebec									
1951	4,055,681	2,534,242	62.5	462,813	11.4	1,038,130	25.6	20,496	0.5
1961	5,259,211	3,254,850	61.9	608,635	11.6	1,338,878	25.5	56,848	1.1
1971	6,027,765	3,668,015	60.9	632,515	10.5	1,663,790	27.6	63,445	1.1
1981	6,369,065	3,826,605	60.1	426,240	6.7	2,065,105	32.4	51,115	0.8
1991	6,810,300	3,958,930	58.1	373,755	5.5	2,412,985	35.4	64,630	0.9
1996	7,045,075	3,951,710	56.1	358,505	5.1	2,660,590	37.8	74,270	1.1
2001	7,125,575	3,831,350	53.8	327,040	4.6	2,907,700	40.8	59,490	0.8
2006	7,435,900	4,010,881	53.9	336,784	4.5	3,017,863	40.6	70,375	0.9
Ontario									
1951	4,597,542	78,974	1.7	4,115,584	89.5	359,965	7.8	43,019	0.9
1961	6,236,092	95,236	1.5	5,548,766	89.0	493,270	7.9	98,820	1.6
1971	7,703,100	92,845	1.2	6,724,100	87.3	716,065	9.3	170,090	2.2
1981	8,534,265	60,535	0.7	7,401,070	86.7	924,475	10.8	148,185	1.7
1991	9,977,055	54,245	0.5	8,593,635	86.1	1,136,245	11.4	192,930	1.9
1996	10,642,785	46,940	0.4	9,116,165	85.7	1,234,895	11.6	244,785	2.3
2001	11,285,550	42,305	0.4	9,690,745	85.9	1,319,715	11.7	232,780	2.1
2006	12,028,895	49,209	0.4	10,335,702	85.9	1,377,329	11.5	266,656	2.2
Manitoba									
1951	776,541	7,869	1.0	685,914	88.3	58,441	7.5	24,317	3.1
1961	921,686	7,954	0.9	825,955	89.6	68,368	7.4	19,409	2.1
1971	988,255	5,020	0.5	881,715	89.2	80,935	8.2	20,585	2.1
1981	1,013,710	2,620	0.3	915,760	90.3	79,990	7.9	15,340	1.5
1991	1,079,390	1,905	0.2	965,100	89.4	98,800	9.2	13,585	1.3
1996	1,100,295	1,495	0.1	983,820	89.4	103,140	9.4	11,840	1.1
2001	1,103,695	1,245	0.1	990,280	89.7	102,840	9.3	9,330	0.8
2006	1,133,510	1,928	0.2	1,017,564	89.8	103,523	9.1	10,499	0.9

Table A.3 (cont'd)

Population according to knowledge of official languages, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1951 to 2006

Region	Knowledge of official languages									
	Total	French only		English only		English and French		Neither English nor French		
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Northwest Territories										
1951	16,004	171	1.1	6,929	43.3	1,031	6.4	7,873	49.2	
1961	22,998	109	0.5	13,554	58.9	1,614	7.0	7,721	33.6	
1971	34,805	100	0.3	25,000	73.3	2,120	6.1	7,085	20.4	
1981	45,545	60	0.1	36,385	79.9	2,755	6.0	6,435	13.9	
1991	57,435	80	0.1	48,855	85.1	3,495	6.1	5,005	8.7	
1996 ¹	64,125	40	0.6	55,880	87.1	4,035	6.3	4,170	6.5	
1996 ²	39,460	25	0.1	35,875	90.9	3,025	7.7	530	1.3	
2001	37,100	40	0.1	33,550	90.4	3,130	8.4	385	1.0	
2006	41,055	52	0.1	37,011	90.2	3,667	8.9	326	0.8	
Nunavut										
1996	24,665	15	0.1	20,000	81.1	1,015	4.1	3,640	14.8	
2001	26,665	25	0.1	22,125	83.0	1,010	3.8	3,505	13.1	
2006	29,325	20	0.1	25,832	88.1	1,167	4.0	2,306	7.9	
Canada minus Quebec										
1951	9,953,748	207,570	2.1	8,924,582	89.7	689,317	6.9	132,279	1.3	
1961	12,979,036	235,016	1.8	11,676,127	90.0	892,294	6.9	175,599	1.4	
1971	15,540,545	211,240	1.4	13,837,025	89.0	1,236,365	8.0	255,915	1.6	
1981	17,714,430	160,640	0.9	15,696,655	88.6	1,616,855	9.1	240,280	1.4	
1991	20,183,735	151,370	0.7	17,733,005	87.9	1,985,670	9.8	313,690	1.6	
1996	21,483,025	127,370	0.6	18,775,740	87.3	2,180,720	10.2	399,195	1.9	
2001	22,513,460	115,175	0.5	19,687,605	87.4	2,323,875	10.3	386,800	1.7	
2006	23,805,125	130,970	0.6	20,793,160	87.3	2,430,985	10.2	450,010	1.9	

¹ Before the creation of Nunavut

² After the creation of Nunavut

Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

Table A.4

Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1971 to 2006

Region	First official language spoken						
	Total	French	English	English and French	Neither English nor French	Official language minority ³	
		Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
Canada							
1971	21,568,311	5,873,364	15,266,964	108,622	319,361	5,927,675	27.5
1981	24,083,496	6,232,190	17,359,200	213,357	278,749	6,338,869	26.3
1991	26,994,035	6,704,675	19,709,370	217,080	362,910	6,813,220	25.2
1996	28,528,125	6,890,880	20,921,770	254,350	461,125	7,018,050	24.6
2001	29,639,050	6,995,465	21,927,040	283,065	433,480	7,136,998	24.1
2006	31,241,030	7,204,390	23,197,090	331,925	507,620	7,370,350	23.6
Newfoundland and Labrador							
1971	522,104	3,638	517,736	106	624	3,691	0.7
1981	563,747	2,127	560,929	313	378	2,284	0.4
1991	563,940	2,630	560,485	95	725	2,675	0.5
1996	547,160	2,185	544,360	185	435	2,270	0.4
2001	508,090	2,045	505,380	100	565	2,095	0.4
2006	500,610	1,835	497,815	195	760	1,935	0.4
Prince Edward Island							
1971	111,641	7,369	104,234	7	31	7,373	6.6
1981	121,223	5,145	115,878	164	37	5,227	4.3
1991	128,100	5,235	122,720	85	55	5,280	4.1
1996	132,855	5,270	127,425	120	30	5,335	4.0
2001	133,390	5,245	128,025	85	35	5,288	4.0
2006	134,205	5,085	128,985	95	45	5,130	3.8
Nova Scotia							
1971	788,960	39,645	747,969	313	1,033	39,802	5.0
1981	839,801	32,654	804,760	1,629	758	33,469	4.0
1991	890,950	35,470	853,680	835	970	35,885	4.0
1996	899,970	34,090	863,720	1,040	1,115	34,615	3.8
2001	897,585	33,175	862,395	1,175	840	33,763	3.8
2006	903,090	31,510	868,850	1,425	1,300	32,225	3.6
New Brunswick							
1971	634,557	215,013	418,713	231	600	215,129	33.9
1981	689,373	229,607	455,699	3,651	416	231,433	33.6
1991	716,495	241,765	472,550	1,730	455	242,630	33.9
1996	729,630	240,060	487,200	1,965	405	241,040	33.0
2001	719,710	237,615	480,085	1,665	345	238,448	33.1
2006	719,650	234,155	482,870	1,945	680	235,130	32.7

Table A.4 (cont'd)

Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1971 to 2006

Region	First official language spoken						
	Total	French	English	English and French	Neither English nor French	Official language minority ³	
		Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	Number
Quebec							
1971	6,027,764	4,937,834	958,250	68,236	63,444	992,368	16.5
1981	6,369,068	5,364,682	823,746	131,733	48,907	889,612	14.0
1991	6,810,300	5,772,180	832,045	144,505	61,565	904,305	13.3
1996	7,045,085	5,963,675	842,105	167,460	71,845	925,835	13.1
2001	7,125,555	6,059,080	828,720	180,465	57,290	918,953	12.9
2006	7,435,900	6,263,945	885,445	218,555	67,955	994,725	13.4
Ontario							
1971	7,703,106	488,918	7,013,834	30,261	170,093	504,049	6.5
1981	8,534,263	437,862	7,898,249	55,933	142,219	465,829	5.5
1991	9,977,050	483,445	9,255,865	52,410	185,335	509,650	5.1
1996	10,642,790	480,650	9,860,780	62,300	239,060	511,800	4.8
2001	11,285,585	489,920	10,493,685	75,610	226,370	527,725	4.7
2006	12,028,895	497,150	11,189,935	80,890	260,925	537,595	4.5
Manitoba							
1971	988,247	61,104	904,413	2,146	20,584	62,177	6.3
1981	1,013,703	47,459	948,317	3,253	14,675	49,085	4.8
1991	1,079,395	46,665	1,017,500	2,265	12,965	47,800	4.4
1996	1,100,290	45,570	1,041,230	2,010	11,490	46,570	4.2
2001	1,103,710	42,410	1,050,310	1,940	9,050	43,380	3.9
2006	1,133,515	42,130	1,079,235	1,985	10,165	43,120	3.8
Saskatchewan							
1971	926,242	32,134	882,163	833	11,112	32,551	3.5
1981	956,441	21,797	926,419	1,371	6,854	22,483	2.4
1991	976,040	19,315	950,350	975	5,395	19,805	2.0
1996	976,615	17,310	953,775	810	4,720	17,720	1.8
2001	963,115	16,195	943,235	685	3,000	16,538	1.7
2006	953,850	14,475	935,495	745	3,130	14,850	1.6
Alberta							
1971	1,627,874	47,301	1,560,209	2,373	17,991	48,488	3.0
1981	2,213,651	53,253	2,132,396	7,065	20,937	56,785	2.6
1991	2,519,180	50,565	2,433,560	5,430	29,635	53,280	2.1
1996	2,669,195	49,390	2,580,675	6,220	32,910	52,500	2.0
2001	2,941,190	55,645	2,848,810	6,375	30,360	58,833	2.0
2006	3,256,355	58,575	3,150,170	8,420	39,185	62,790	1.9

Table A.4 (cont'd)

Population according to first official language spoken, Canada, provinces, territories and Canada minus Quebec, 1971 to 2006

Region	First official language spoken						
	Total	French	English	English and French	Neither English nor French	Official language minority ³	
		Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	%
British Columbia							
1971	2,184,621	38,769	2,115,130	3,997	26,725	40,768	1.9
1981	2,713,615	36,090	2,632,280	8,006	37,239	40,093	1.5
1991	3,247,505	45,225	3,132,795	8,635	60,850	49,545	1.5
1996	3,689,755	50,285	3,532,485	12,040	94,945	56,310	1.5
2001	3,868,870	51,970	3,700,385	14,790	101,725	59,365	1.5
2006	4,074,385	53,060	3,883,215	17,350	120,760	61,735	1.5
Yukon							
1971	18,388	459	17,873	18	38	468	2.5
1981	23,074	443	22,512	79	40	483	2.1
1991	27,660	835	26,765	30	25	850	3.1
1996	30,655	1,080	29,455	70	45	1,115	3.6
2001	28,515	850	27,545	60	60	880	3.1
2006	30,195	1,120	28,830	120	120	1,185	3.9
Northwest Territories							
1971	34,807	1,180	26,440	101	7,086	1,231	3.5
1981	45,537	1,071	38,017	159	6,290	1,151	2.5
1991	57,435	1,345	51,055	90	4,935	1,390	2.4
1996 ¹	64,120	1,315	58,565	120	4,120	1,375	2.1
1996 ²	39,455	905	37,955	60	515	935	2.4
2001	37,145	885	35,785	90	385	930	2.5
2006	41,055	950	39,670	110	320	1,005	2.4
Nunavut							
1996	24,665	390	20,590	55	3,600	418	1.7
2001	26,665	400	22,730	60	3,475	430	1.6
2006	29,325	385	26,570	80	2,290	425	1.4
Canada minus Quebec							
1971	15,540,547	935,530	14,308,714	40,386	255,917	955,723	6.1
1981	17,714,428	867,509	16,535,455	81,623	229,841	908,320	5.1
1991	20,183,735	932,495	18,877,325	72,575	301,345	968,785	4.8
1996	21,483,040	927,205	20,079,665	86,890	389,280	970,650	4.5
2001	22,513,515	936,380	21,098,305	102,620	376,210	987,690	4.4
2006	23,805,125	940,445	22,311,645	113,370	439,665	997,125	4.2

¹ Before the creation of Nunavut ² After the creation of Nunavut

³ English is the primary official language spoken by Quebec's official language minority, which consists of all individuals with English as the first official language spoken and half of those with English and French. French is the primary official language spoken by the official language minority in the country overall and in every province and territory outside Quebec, which consists of all individuals with French as the first official language spoken and half of those with English and French.

Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1981, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

Table A.5

Interprovincial Migration Between Quebec and Other Provinces and Territories by Mother Tongue, 1966-1971, 1971-1976, 1976-1981, 1981-1986, 1986-1991, 1991-1996, 1996-2001 and 2001-2006

Five-year period	Migrants			
	Mother tongue			
	Total	English	French	Others
From Quebec to other provinces				
1966 - 1971	160,400	99,100	46,900	14,400
1971 - 1976 ¹	145,800	94,100	41,300	10,400
1976 - 1981	203,000	131,500	49,900	21,600
1981 - 1986	130,200	70,600	45,900	13,700
1986 - 1991	107,500	53,800	37,800	16,000
1991 - 1996	106,300	51,100	33,600	21,600
1996 - 2001	119,700	53,300	39,700	26,700
2001 - 2006	85,200	34,100	31,000	20,100
From other provinces to Quebec				
1966 - 1971	84,900	46,900	33,400	4,600
1971 - 1976 ¹	83,800	41,900	37,200	4,700
1976 - 1981	61,300	25,200	31,900	4,200
1981 - 1986	67,000	29,000	33,000	5,000
1986 - 1991	82,000	31,600	43,000	7,400
1991 - 1996	68,900	26,600	34,800	7,500
1996 - 2001	62,400	24,100	30,800	7,600
2001 - 2006	73,600	26,100	36,000	11,400
Net migration (arrivals minus departures)				
1966 - 1971	-75,500	-52,200	-13,500	-9,800
1971 - 1976 ¹	-62,000	-52,200	-4,100	-5,700
1976 - 1981	-141,700	-106,300	-18,000	-17,400
1981 - 1986	-63,200	-41,600	-12,900	-8,700
1986 - 1991	-25,500	-22,200	5,200	-8,600
1991 - 1996	-37,400	-24,500	1,200	-14,100
1996 - 2001	-57,300	-29,200	-8,900	-19,100
2001 - 2006	-11,600	-8,000	5,000	-8,700
Total	-474,200	-336,200	-46,000	-92,100

¹ In the 1976 Census, non-responses were not imputed. In order to compare the statistics to those of subsequent censuses, non-responses to the question on mother tongue have been prorated.

Note: Population aged five year and over at the time of the Census.

Sources: Statistics Canada, censuses of population, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2006.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Caron-Malenfant, Éric, André Lebel and Laurent Martel (2010), *Projections of the Diversity of the Canadian Population, 2006 to 2031*, product no. 91-551-X in the Statistics Canada catalogue, Ottawa, 67 pages.

Chui, Tina, Kelly Tran and Hélène Maheux (2007), *Immigration in Canada: A Portrait of the Foreign-born Population, 2006 Census*, product no. 97-557-XIE in the Statistics Canada catalogue, Ottawa, 37 pages.

Joy, Richard (1967), *Languages in Conflict: The Canadian Experience*, McClelland & Stewart Limited, Toronto.

Lachapelle, Réjean (2009), *The Diversity of the Canadian Francophonie*,

http://www.statcan.gc.ca/about-aperçu/powerpoint/The_Diversity_of_Canadian_Francophonie.ppt

Lachapelle, Réjean (1991), *Utilisation des données de recensement dans la mise en œuvre de la législation linguistique*, Working Paper, Statistics Canada, Ottawa, 54 pages.

Lachapelle, Réjean (1985), “Linguistic Composition: Reality and Perception,” *Cahiers québécois de démographie*, vol. 14 no. 1, April 1985, pages 111 to 118.

Lachapelle, Réjean and Jacques Henripin (1980), *La situation démolinguistique au Canada : évolution passée et prospective*, Montreal, l’Institut de recherches politiques, 391 pages.

Lepage, Jean-François (forthcoming), *L’oubli de la langue maternelle : les données du recensement sous-estiment-elles les transferts linguistiques ?*, 22 pages.

Marmen, Louise and Jean-Pierre Corbeil (2004), *Languages in Canada. 2001 Census*. Ottawa, Canadian Heritage and Statistics Canada, 163 pages.

Statistics Canada (2010), *2006 Census Technical Report: Coverage*, product no. 92-567-X in the Statistics Canada catalogue, Ottawa, 124 pages.

Statistics Canada (2009), *Portrait of Official-Language Communities in Canada, 2006 Census*, product no. 92-592-XVB in the Statistics Canada catalogue, Ottawa.

Statistics Canada (1989), *Population Estimates by First Official Language Spoken*, reference no. 47013, Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division and Language Studies.

BON DE COMMANDE / ORDER FORM

Nom/Name : _____

Adresse/ Address : _____

Téléphone/ Telephone : _____ Télécopieur/Fax : _____

Courriel/E-Mail : _____

Programmes d'appui aux langues officielles

Patrimoine canadien

15, rue Eddy, Gatineau (Québec)
K1A 0M5

Téléphone : (819) 994-2977

Télécopieur : (819) 994-3697

Official-Languages Support Programs

Canadian Heritage

15 Eddy Street, Gatineau (Québec)
K1A 0M5

Telephone: (819) 994-2977

Fax: (819) 994-3697

Internet : <http://www.pch.gc.ca/>

Cochez les cases appropriées selon le titre des textes désirés ainsi que la langue de votre choix.

Please indicate the desired texts and the language in which you wish to receive them.

Français / French

Anglais / English

Les deux / Both

Publications 2011 :

- Déclin et renaissance des communautés anglophones du Québec (2011)
Decline and Revival of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec (2011)
- Lois Linguistiques du Canada annotées (2e édition – revue, corrigée et augmentée) (2011) / Annotated Federal Language Laws of Canada (Second edition – revised, corrected and augmented) (2011)
- École et autonomie culturelle : Enquête pancanadienne en milieu scolaire francophone minoritaire (2011) / Schooling and Cultural Autonomy: A Canada-Wide Study in Francophone Minority Schools (2011)
- Les langues au Canada, Recensement de 2006 (2011) / Languages in Canada, 2006 Census (2011)

Anciennes publications / Older publications :

- Les langues officielles au Canada : transformer le paysage linguistique (1998) / Official Languages in Canada: Changing the Language Landscape (1998)
- Les langues au Canada – Recensement de 1996 (1999) / Languages in Canada – 1996 Census (1999)
- Lois Linguistiques du Canada annotées (français seulement) (1998) / Annotated Languages – Laws of Canada (anglais seulement) (1998)
- Explorer L'Économie Linguistique (français seulement) (1999) / Exploring the Economy of Language (anglais seulement) (1999)
- Minorités francophones : assimilation et vitalité des communautés (2001) / Francophone Minorities: Assimilation Community Vitality (2001)
- Langue et Bilinguisme les Approches Économique (français seulement) (1999) / Economic Approaches to Languages & Bilingualism (anglais seulement) (1999)
- Minorités francophones : Vitalité des communautés, confiance des communautés, Forum de recherche sur les LO/Community Vitality – Community confidence in Official Language Research Forum (2005)
- Appui aux langues officielles – Approche du ministère du Patrimoine canadien (1970-2003) (2006) / The Canadian Heritage Approach to Official Languages Support (1970-2003) (2006)
- Les langues au Canada – Recensement de 2001 (2004)/Languages in Canada – 2001 Census (2004)
- Proposition d'un cadre commun de référence pour les langues pour le Canada Mai 2006 (2006) / Proposal for a Common Framework of Reference for Language for Canada May 2006 (2006)
- Droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité : état de la situation (1996) / Status Report: Minority-Language Education Rights (1996)
- Un profil des fournisseurs de formation en anglais ou en français langue seconde / A Profile of the providers of Training in English or French as a Second language