

NEW CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES

Languages in Canada

1996 Census

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PREFACE

This text is an updated version of a study published under the same title following the 1991 Census.¹ The text, tables and graphics have been adapted to reflect the new data from the 1996 Census. While seeking to remain true to the initial goal of presenting in a straightforward manner the country's basic demographic reality—certain analyses have been expanded.

The 1871 Census, undertaken a few years after the adoption of the country's Constitution, highlighted the ethnic duality of the population—61% of British origin and 31% of French origin. Eighty years later, following the Second World War, those of French origin still represented 31% of the population, while the British segment had declined to 48%. The stability of the proportion with French origin was due to their high fertility; the decline in those of British origin was due to the importance of international immigration in demographic growth in the years before and after the First World War. In 1951, 20% of the population had neither British nor French origins, a considerable increase since 1871 (nearly 8%)—those of aboriginal origin still represented about one percent of the population. The ethnic diversity of the population has been accentuated over the past half century by the high levels of international immigration and the gap between the fertility rates of the aboriginal population and that of other Canadians.

The growing number of inter-ethnic marriages has diminished the relevance of using statistical categories based on ethnic origin, at least for most of those in the population whose settlement goes back two or more generations. In fact, since the 60s, linguistic categories have been an increasing attractive and commonly used

1. Brain Harrison and Louise Marmen, *Languages in Canada*, Focus on Canada Series, Statistics Canada and Prentice Hall Inc., Catalogue No. 96-313E, 1994.

PREFACE

alternative. This is one reason that justifies using demolinguistic statistics to understand the situation of the two major groups in the country. The demolinguistic statistics have also had the advantage of being roughly comparable over the last half-century, which is not so for the statistics on ethnic origin.

Over the years, ethnic duality has given way to the linguistic duality. The two major ethnic groups represented more than 90% of the population in 1871; in 1996, 90% of the population speaks French or English most often in the home. However, this permanence masks the very different evolution experienced by English- and French-speaking communities across the country. It is precisely the objective of this text to examine the various factors and implications of this evolution.

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INTRODUCTION

In Canada, two large official language groups represent about 83 % of the population. There are also numerous other language groups, none of which represents more than three percent of Canadians. Both geography—5,500 km (3,400 miles) from coast to coast—and history play an important role in understanding the language situation.

Because they live in different parts of the country, many Anglophones have little contact with the French-speaking population and many Francophones would seldom encounter an Anglophone. Francophones are located mostly in Quebec and the neighbouring provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario. Only three percent of Francophones live in other provinces and territories. The location of the French mother tongue population reflects the early settlement of the French in New France and their low propensity to migrate to other provinces.

If we look at Canadians as a whole, we find that the language that most (84 %) of them can speak is English, followed by French which about one-third (31 %) of the population can speak. About one in six Canadians (17%) speak both official languages, according to the 1996 Census. Those who live in areas where the two language groups are in close proximity have a far greater tendency to speak both English and French. For example, half of the population in the Montreal metropolitan area and 44 % of the population of Ottawa-Hull can speak the two official languages.

The Canadian population also shows a high level of linguistic diversity—20 % are able to speak a language other than English or French. The fact that almost one in five Canadians can speak a non-official language is largely explained by the high proportion of immigrants in the country. In Canada, 17% of the population consists

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of immigrants, compared to 8% in the United States. Those able to speak a language other than English or French tend to be concentrated in large urban areas.

How has the language situation evolved in Canada over the last forty-five years? What factors determine the size of language groups in Canada and the tendency of languages to grow or decline? These are two of the principal questions dealt with in this analysis.

Chapter 1 covers the evolution of the English language in Canada between 1951 and 1996, including the size and distribution of the English mother tongue population, the use of English as home language, knowledge of English among the Canadian population as well as the use of English as first official language spoken. While the English mother tongue group grew considerably outside Quebec, the number and percentage of Anglophones in Quebec declined markedly between 1971 and 1996. Fewer than one Quebecer in ten (9%) reported their mother tongue as English at the time of the 1996 Census.

Chapter 2 examines changes in the French language group and the French language. While the number of Francophones increased considerably since 1951, the proportion of Canadians with French mother tongue declined. Outside Quebec, the proportion declined from 7% to 5%, though the number increased by 250,000. Chapter 3 explores the growth and decline of various non-official languages in Canada. Largely influenced by different waves of immigrants coming to the country, the language composition of this population has changed considerably since the 1950s.

Chapter 4 examines the growth in the number and percentage of Canadians who speak both official languages. English Canadians have a greater tendency to speak French than in the past. French Canadians, who have a much greater tendency to speak both languages than their Anglophone counterparts, also experienced growth in bilingualism. Another important topic related to language is also discussed in this chapter: the increase in numbers of Canadians who speak neither English nor French. Chapter 5 analyses the main factors which have contributed to changes in the language situation in Canada. The balance of these factors has changed markedly since 1951, with immigration playing a vital role in the most recent decade.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The 1996 Census showed that 24.0 million Canadians could speak English (84%), 19.3 million spoke English most often at home (68%) and 17.1 million had English mother tongue (60%).

English Mother Tongue

Mother tongue is defined here as the first language a person learned at home in childhood and still understood at the time of the census.

The percentage of the population which had English as its mother tongue (Anglophones) changed very little between 1951 and 1996. Since 1981, the figures have shown a slight decline in the percentage of Anglophones in Canada. Without the heavy immigration to Canada of many people with a language other than English or French as mother tongue, an increase in the proportion of Anglophones would have occurred.

In Quebec, the proportion of Anglophones has declined continuously, dropping from 14% in 1951 to 9% in 1996. This has resulted largely from the English mother tongue population leaving Quebec to live in other provinces, particularly during the 1970s.

While the proportion of Anglophones in Canada has changed very little since 1951, the number grew in each decade, more than doubling from 8.3 million in 1951 to 17.1 million in 1996. However, the pattern was very different in Quebec, where there was an increase of about 230,000 in the first two decades, followed by a decline of about 167,000 since then. As a result of this reversal, the net effect was only a slight increase in the number of Quebec Anglophones between 1951 and 1996.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

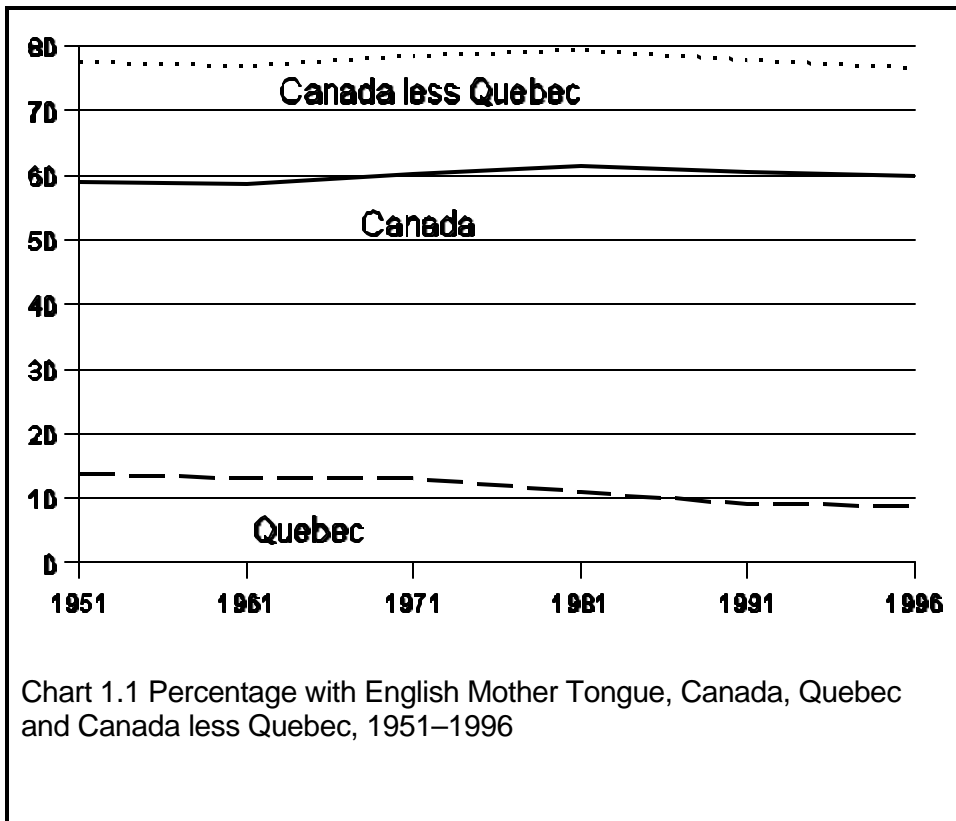


Chart 1.1 Percentage with English Mother Tongue, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1951–1996

Source: Appendix, table A.1.

Table 1.1 Population with English Mother Tongue, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1951–1996

	Canada		Quebec		Canada less Quebec	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
1951	8,280.8	59.1	558.3	13.8	7,722.6	77.6
1961	10,660.5	58.5	697.4	13.3	9,963.1	76.8
1971	12,967.4	60.1	788.8	13.1	12,178.6	78.4
1981	14,784.8	61.4	693.6	10.9	14,091.2	79.5
1991	16,311.2	60.4	626.2	9.2	15,685.0	77.7
1996	17,072.4	59.8	621.9	8.8	16,450.6	76.6

Source: Appendix, table A.1.

Why did the number of Anglophones in Canada more than double between 1951 and 1996? The most rapid growth occurred during the 1950s and 1960s, when women of childbearing age had a much higher level of fertility than those in the two subsequent decades. The English mother tongue group also grew considerably through immigration. Of all the immigrants who settled in Canada between 1991 and 1996 (and who were still in Canada at the time of the 1996 Census), 17% had English as their mother tongue. In addition, the children of immigrants often learn English as mother tongue.

Between provinces, the percentage of Anglophones varies considerably. New Brunswick has a large proportion in each of the two official language groups (65% Anglophone and 33% Francophone), while Quebec is largely Francophone with the Anglophone population representing less than 9%. The three most eastern provinces have very high percentages of people whose mother tongue is English (more than 93%). Ontario and the western provinces, where more immigrants have settled, have larger populations with non-official languages as mother tongue. This accounts for the lower percentages of Anglophones.

Though the number of Anglophones increased in all provinces except Newfoundland and Quebec between 1991 and 1996, the proportion dropped in some provinces. The decline, slight in most cases, was largely attributable to the arrival of immigrants with a mother tongue other than English.

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Table 1.2 Population with English Mother Tongue, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	16,311.2	60.4	17,072.4	59.8
Newfoundland	555.9	98.6	539.0	98.5
Prince Edward Island	120.8	94.3	125.0	94.1
Nova Scotia	831.6	93.3	838.3	93.2
New Brunswick	462.9	64.6	476.4	65.3
Quebec	626.2	9.2	621.9	8.8
Ontario	7,443.5	74.6	7,777.7	73.1
Manitoba	793.3	73.5	822.3	74.7
Saskatchewan	812.6	83.3	823.7	84.4
Alberta	2,045.9	81.2	2,175.8	81.5
British Columbia	2,562.2	78.9	2,809.4	76.1
Yukon	24.6	88.7	26.6	86.8
N.W.T.	31.7	55.2	36.3	56.7
Canada less Quebec	15,685.0	77.7	16,450.6	76.6

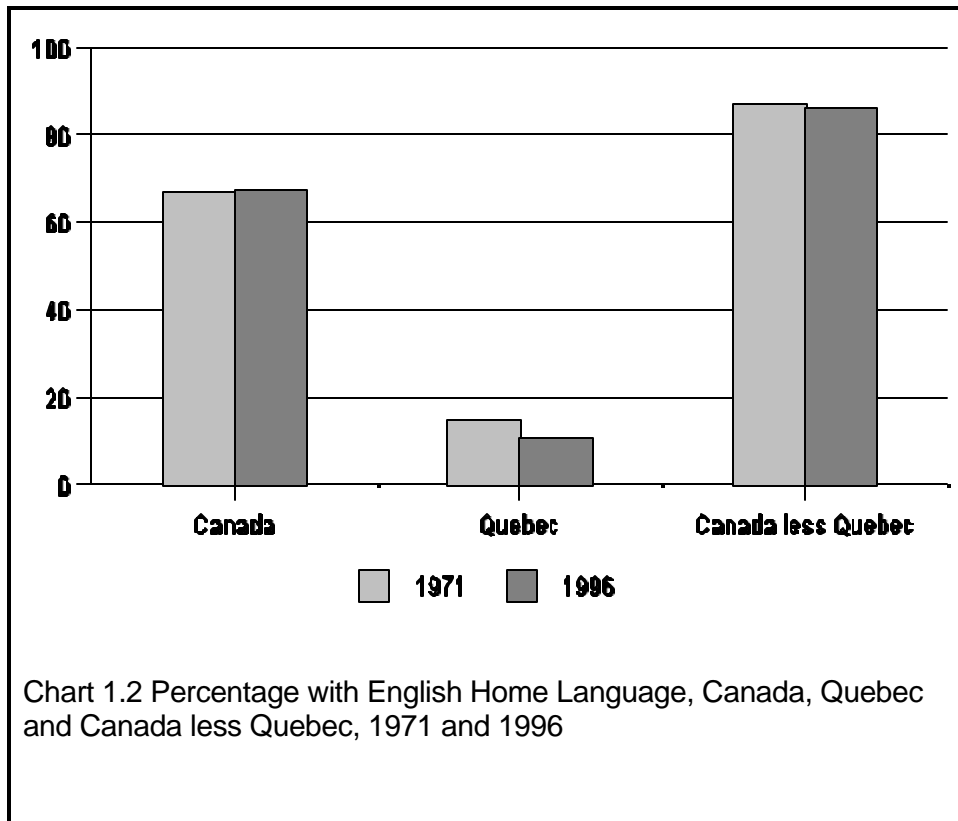
Source: Appendix, table A.1.

Canadians with an English mother tongue make up a very large percentage of the population in all provinces except Quebec and New Brunswick, and in the Northwest Territories. In Quebec, where those with English as their mother tongue comprise 9% of the population, almost three quarters live in the Montreal census metropolitan area (CMA). In New Brunswick, the English mother tongue population is concentrated in the southern part of the province, while in the Northwest Territories, Anglophones are concentrated in Yellowknife. Inuktitut is the mother tongue of about one third of the people living in the Northwest Territories.

English Home Language

Home language here refers to the language **most often** spoken at home at the time of the census.

Since 1971, Statistics Canada has collected data on the home language of Canadians. These data, when combined with the data on mother tongue, provide an indication of the degree to which various languages are growing or declining.



Source: Appendix, table A.2.

Results from the 1996 Census showed that for Canada as a whole, 68% of the population speaks English most often at home, compared to 11% in Quebec. Outside Quebec, almost nine out of ten Canadians speak English most often at home. The percentage of the Canadian population with English as its home language rose slightly, from 67% to 68% between 1971 and 1996. However, in Quebec, the proportion of the population with English as its home language declined from 15% to 11% over the same period. This decline is largely attributable to Anglophones leaving Quebec in the 1970s and 1980s.

In every province, there are more people with English as their home language than with English as their mother tongue, reflecting a shift toward English by people from other language groups.

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The comparison of 1991 and 1996 data shows that the number of people with English as their home language rose in every province except Newfoundland. The percentage that speak English most often at home increased in New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories, while it decreased slightly or remained stable in the other provinces and the Yukon. In Ontario and British Columbia, the more significant decreases in the percentage were a result of immigration by people who speak non-official languages. This affects the proportion speaking English, since it increases the proportion that converses in other languages.

Table 1.3 Population with English Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	18 440.5	68.3	19 294.9	67.6
Newfoundland	559.5	99.2	542.6	99.2
Prince Edward Island	124.6	97.3	129.2	97.2
Nova Scotia	858.1	96.3	866.3	96.3
New Brunswick	488.6	68.2	502.5	68.9
Quebec	761.8	11.2	762.5	10.8
Ontario	8 499.5	85.2	8 900.8	83.6
Manitoba	947.1	87.7	971.6	88.3
Saskatchewan	921.1	94.4	923.4	94.6
Alberta	2 305.2	91.5	2 432.7	91.1
British Columbia	2 909.9	89.6	3 189.9	86.5
Yukon	26.7	96.7	29.2	95.4
N.W.T.	38.4	66.8	44.1	68.8
Canada less Quebec	17 678.7	87.6	18 532.4	86.3

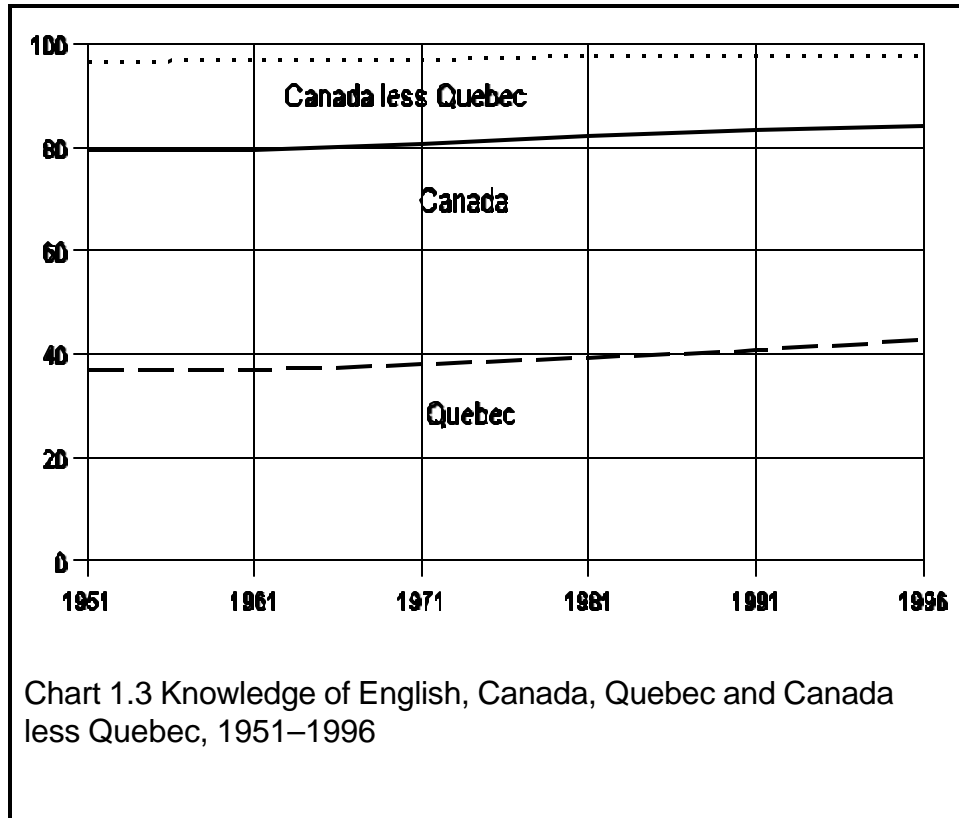
Source: Appendix, table A.2.

Knowledge of English

In the census, knowledge of English and/or French was determined by a question about the ability to conduct a conversation in one or both languages. It should be noted that this question measured language knowledge rather than actual use of language.

While about 17% of the population of Canada speaks both English and French, most Canadians speak only one or the other. Some, mostly immigrants, speak neither of the official languages. The percentage of the population able to speak English grew

between 1951 and 1996 both inside and outside Quebec. In 1996, 98% of people living outside Quebec and 43% of Quebecers were able to conduct a conversation in English.



Source: Appendix, table A.3.

Both the number and the percentage of Canadians able to speak English rose between 1991 and 1996. During this five-year period, numbers of English speakers increased in all provinces except Newfoundland (where there was a 3% decrease in the size of the provincial population), and the percentages able to conduct a conversation in English increased in Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories. Declines in percentages of English speakers in the populations of Ontario and British Columbia were largely due to the arrival of new immigrants who were unable to speak English. Despite this decline, the number of English speakers in each of the provinces actually increased. The most significant increase was in Ontario, home of

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43% of Canada’s English-speaking population—where 621,000 English speakers joined the population in the five-year period.

Table 1.4 Population Able to Speak English, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	22,505.4	83.4	23,975.6	84.0
Newfoundland	562.9	99.8	546.4	99.9
Prince Edward Island	127.7	99.7	132.7	99.9
Nova Scotia	888.3	99.7	897.3	99.7
New Brunswick	626.5	87.4	655.7	89.9
Quebec	2,786.7	40.9	3,019.1	42.9
Ontario	9,729.9	97.5	10,351.1	97.3
Manitoba	1,063.9	98.6	1,087.0	98.8
Saskatchewan	969.9	99.4	971.3	99.5
Alberta	2,486.1	98.7	2,633.6	98.7
British Columbia	3,183.5	98.0	3,590.9	97.3
Yukon	27.6	99.8	30.6	99.7
N.W.T.	52.4	91.2	59.9	93.4
Canada less Quebec	19,718.7	97.7	20,956.5	97.6

Source: Calculated from Appendix, table A.3.

English first official language spoken

The first official language spoken represents the official language actually spoken which, in most cases, was acquired first. The data on first official language spoken are derived from the responses to the question on the knowledge of official languages, mother tongue and the language spoken in the home. In this way the Canadian population is sub-divided into four categories, English, French, English and French, and neither English nor French.

In 1996, 21.0 million Canadians had English as their first official language spoken. Approximately 91% of them could conduct a conversation in English but not in French. Nearly all of the rest of sub-population was made up of English-French bilinguals for whom English took precedence over French according to the information provided by the responses to the questions on mother tongue and language spoken in the home.

Persons having English as their first official language spoken represented 74% of the Canadian population. Outside Quebec, they represented more than 90% of the population in every province and territory except New Brunswick where they represented two-thirds of the population. In Quebec, English was the first official language spoken of 13% of the population.

In every province and territory the number of persons with English as their first official language spoken was greater than the number having this language as their mother tongue. Even in Quebec, where English is the minority official language, the same trend existed given the attraction of English among Allophones.

The number of persons with English as their first official language exceed the number which used this language most often in the home except in the Maritime provinces. In these three provinces, where there are few Allophones, Francophones accounted for most transfers towards English (language spoken most often in the home). These people have by definition French as their first official language since in deriving this variable mother tongue takes precedence over the language spoken most often in the home.

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Table 1.5 Population with English as First Official Language Spoken, Mother Tongue or Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1996

	English					
	First Official Language Spoken ¹		Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	('000)	%	('000)	%	('000)	%
Canada	21,048.9	73.8	17,072.4	59.8	19,294.9	67.6
Newfoundland	544.4	99.5	53,9.1	98.5	542.6	99.2
P.E.I.	127.5	96.0	125.0	94.1	129.2	97.2
Nova Scotia	864.2	96.0	838.3	93.1	866.3	96.3
New Brunswick	488.2	66.9	476.4	65.3	502.5	68.9
Quebec	925.8	13.1	621.9	8.8	762.5	10.8
Ontario	9,891.9	92.9	7,777.7	73.1	8,900.8	83.6
Manitoba	1,042.2	94.7	822.3	74.7	971.6	88.3
Saskatchewan	954.2	97.7	823.7	84.3	923.4	94.6
Alberta	2,583.8	96.8	2,175.8	81.5	2,432.7	91.1
B.C.	3,538.5	95.9	2,809.4	76.1	3,189.9	86.5
Yukon	29.5	96.2	26.6	86.8	29.2	95.4
N.W.T.	58.6	91.4	36.3	56.6	44.1	68.8
Canada less Quebec	20,123.1	93.7	16,450.6	76.6	18,532.4	86.3

Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

1. Those in the English/French category have been allocated equally to the English category and the French category in order to improve the comparability of the data relating to mother tongue and home language.

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The 1996 Census showed that 8.9 million Canadians could conduct a conversation in French (31%), 6.4 million spoke French most often at home (23%) and 6.7 million had French as their mother tongue (24%).

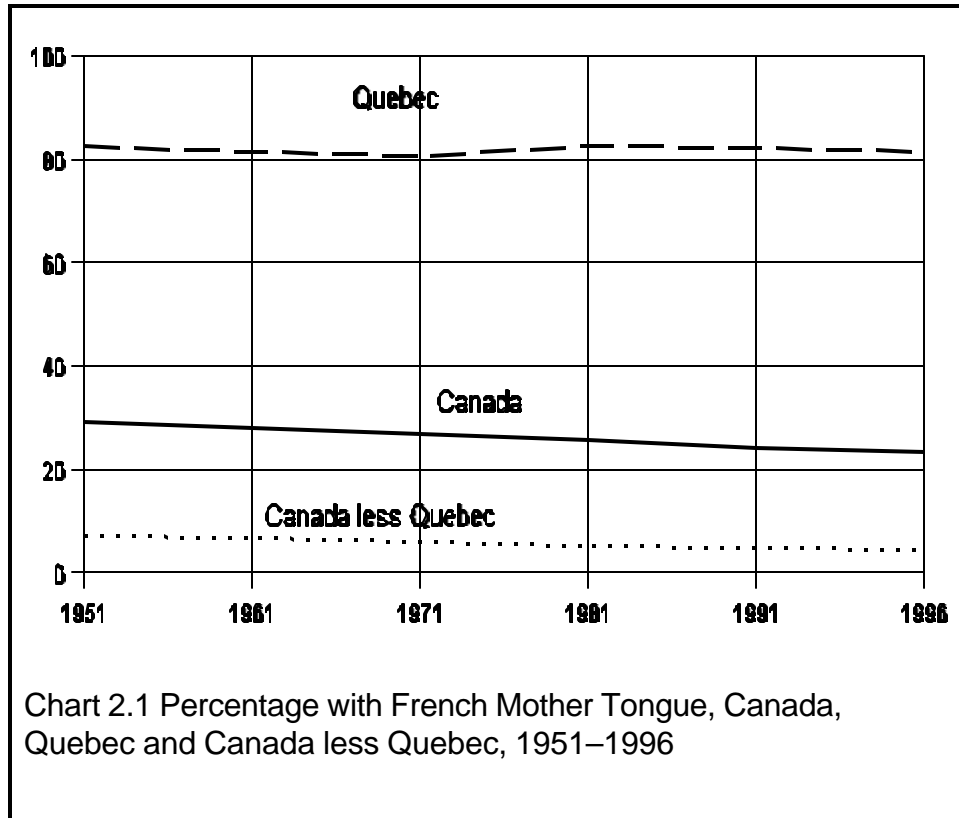
French Mother Tongue

Although the number of people with French as their mother tongue (Francophones) has continued to increase in Canada, their proportion has declined over the last forty-five years. Between 1951 and 1996, the number of Francophones rose from 4.1 million to 6.7 million, but the proportion of Francophones in the population fell from 29% to 24%.

The proportional decline is largely explained by the heavy immigration of people whose mother tongue was a language other than French. For example, of the 1,039,000 immigrants enumerated in the 1996 Census as having arrived in Canada over the previous five years, only 3% had French as a mother tongue.

In the past, the high fertility rate of Francophone women in Canada offset the impact of immigration from other countries on the distribution of language groups. With a fertility higher than that of Anglophones, Francophones made up a steady 30% or so of the Canadian population for many years. Since the 1960s, though, the fertility rate of Francophone Canadian women has declined, so much so that their fertility level has become lower than that of Anglophone Canadian women since the seventies.

Outside Quebec, children of parents with a French mother tongue sometimes learn English rather than French in early childhood. The transmission of French mother tongue is not assured, particularly when one of the parents has English as a mother tongue. The size and proportion of the Francophone population are affected by this phenomenon.



Source: Appendix, table A.1.

Quebec is the only province in which the majority of the population has French as its mother tongue. In 1996, 86% of Francophones in Canada lived in Quebec. They accounted for 82% of the Quebec population. Although their number rose from 3.3 million in 1951 to 5.7 million in 1996, their proportion changed very little during that time. After decreasing between 1951 and 1971 due to both the decrease in the fertility of Francophone women and heavy immigration, the proportion of Francophones has reverted to the 1951 level since the 1980s. The proportion of Francophones rose as Anglophones left Quebec and moved to other provinces.

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Outside Quebec, the Francophone population grew by 250,000 between 1951 and 1996, but the proportion of Francophones continuously declined.

Table 2.1 Population with French Mother Tongue, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1951–1996

	Canada		Quebec		Canada less Quebec	
	Numbers (‘000)	%	Numbers (‘000)	%	Numbers (‘000)	%
1951	4,068.8	29.0	3,347.0	82.5	721.8	7.3
1961	5,123.2	28.1	4,269.7	81.2	853.5	6.6
1971	5,792.7	26.9	4,866.4	80.7	926.3	6.0
1981	6,177.8	25.7	5,254.2	82.5	923.6	5.2
1991	6,562.1	24.3	5,585.6	82.0	976.4	4.8
1996	6,711.6	23.5	5,741.4	81.5	970.2	4.5

Source: Appendix, table A.1.

The situation of Francophones varies widely from province to province. Quebec is the province with the highest proportion of persons whose mother tongue is French, followed by New Brunswick. It is in the latter province and in Ontario that more than three quarters (76%) of Francophones living outside Quebec are found. Since its entry into Confederation in 1949, Newfoundland’s provincial population has always had the smallest proportion and lowest number of Francophones.

Between 1991 and 1996, the population with French as its mother tongue and the proportion of the Canadian population made up by that group has fallen in all provinces, except Quebec and British Columbia. In these two provinces, the number of Francophones has grown while their proportion has decreased. Only in the Yukon has both the number and the proportion of Francophones in the population increased.

Table 2.2 Population with French Mother Tongue, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

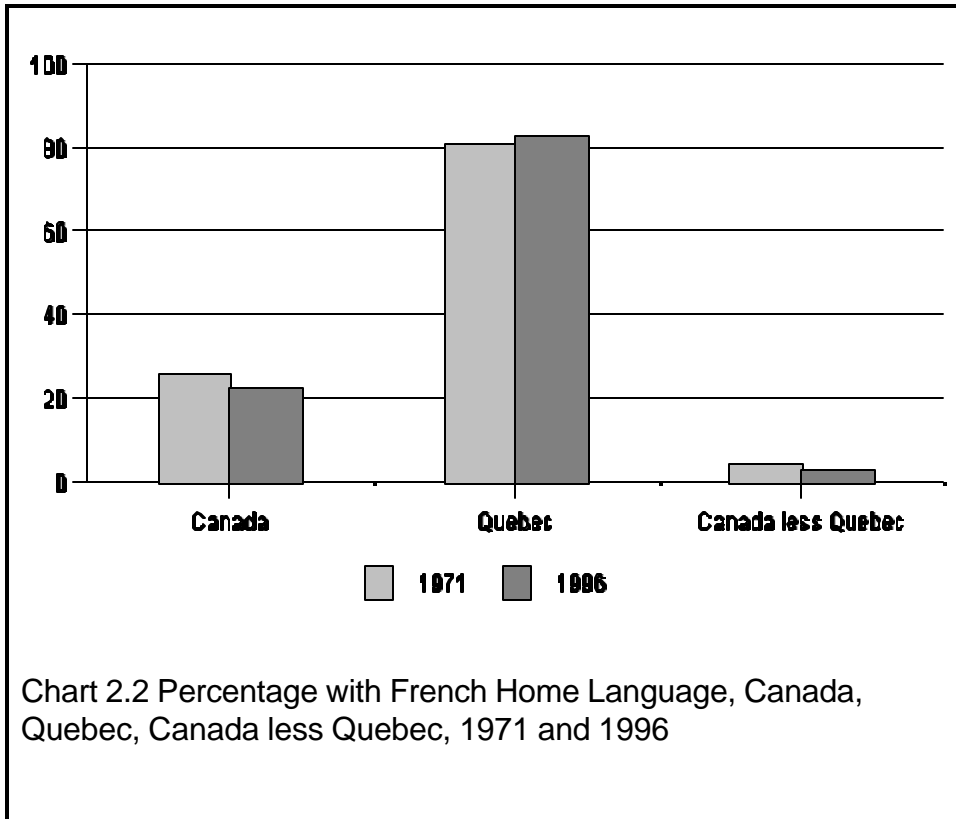
	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	6,562.1	24.3	6,711.6	23.5
Newfoundland	2.9	0.5	2.4	0.4
Prince Edward Island	5.7	4.5	5.7	4.3
Nova Scotia	37.5	4.2	36.3	4.0
New Brunswick	243.7	34.0	242.4	33.2
Quebec	5,585.6	82.0	5,741.4	81.5
Ontario	503.3	5.0	499.7	4.7
Manitoba	50.8	4.7	49.1	4.5
Saskatchewan	21.8	2.2	19.9	2.0
Alberta	56.7	2.3	55.3	2.0
British Columbia	51.6	1.6	56.8	1.5
Yukon	0.9	3.3	1.2	3.8
N.W.T.	1.5	2.5	1.4	2.2
Canada less Quebec	976.4	4.8	970.2	4.5

Source: Appendix, table A.1.

French Home Language

The number of Canadians who speak French most often at home is growing: there were 6.4 million in 1996, compared with 5.5 million in 1971. However, the relative importance of French home language in the country as a whole has decreased, falling from 26% in 1971 to 23% in 1996. In Quebec, the number and proportion of persons with French as a home language increased between 1971 and 1996, while the situation was the reverse in the rest of Canada.

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Source: Appendix, table A.2.

In all provinces and territories except Quebec, the number of persons with French as a mother tongue was greater than the number of persons with French as a home language. Thus, in the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, more than three times as many people reported having French as a mother tongue than reported French as a home language in 1996. In Newfoundland, Manitoba, and the territories, less than half of the Francophones spoke French most often at home. In the other provinces, the fraction speaking French most often at home was higher. It is really only in New Brunswick that the vast majority of Francophones seem to retain their mother tongue as their home language. In 1996, 33% of the population of New Brunswick had French as a mother tongue and 30% had French as a home language. These persons lived mainly in the northern and eastern parts of the province.

In Quebec, French, the mother tongue of the majority, is likely to be spoken most often at home by Francophones, but also by certain persons in other language groups. Thus, in 1996 the proportion of Quebecers who spoke French most often at home (83%) was larger than that of Quebecers who reported French as mother tongue (82%).

Comparing the situation for French as a home language in 1991 and 1996 reveals a decrease in the number and proportion of people with French as a home language in almost all provinces and territories. Only the Yukon showed an increase in both; Quebec and British Columbia registered an increase in the number only.

Table 2.3 Population with French Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

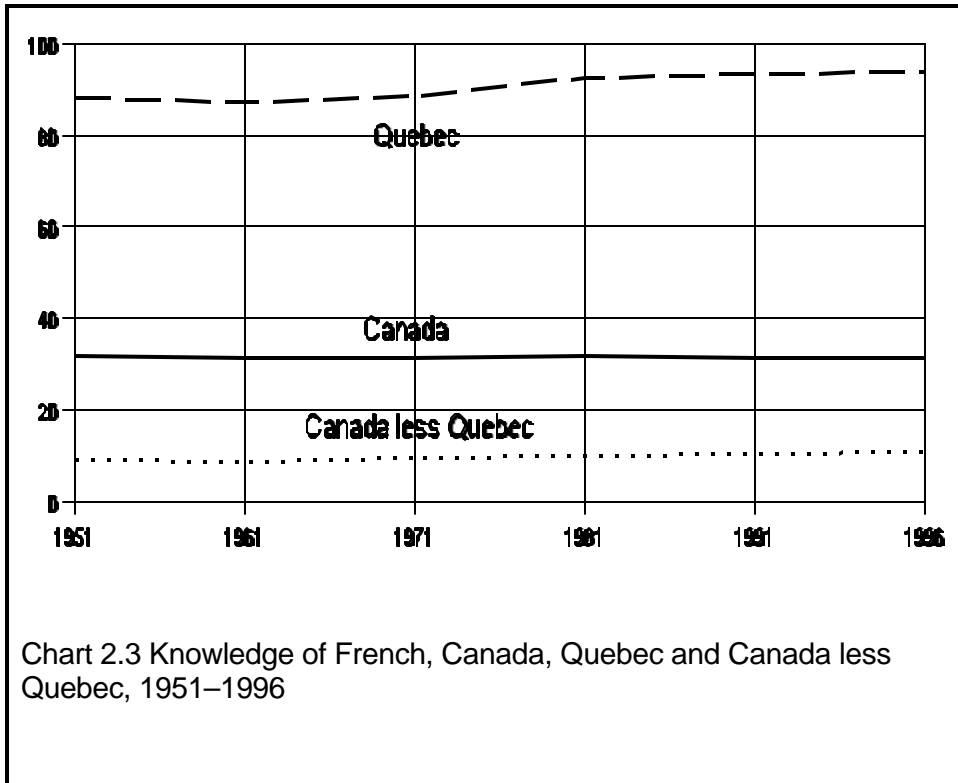
	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	6,288.4	23.3	6,448.6	22.6
Newfoundland	1.3	0.2	1.0	0.2
Prince Edward Island	3.0	2.4	3.0	2.3
Nova Scotia	22.3	2.5	20.7	2.3
New Brunswick	223.3	31.2	222.4	30.5
Quebec	5,651.8	83.0	5,830.1	82.8
Ontario	318.7	3.2	306.8	2.9
Manitoba	25.0	2.3	23.1	2.1
Saskatchewan	7.2	0.7	5.8	0.6
Alberta	20.2	0.8	17.8	0.7
British Columbia	14.6	0.4	16.6	0.4
Yukon	0.4	1.4	0.5	1.8
N.W.T.	0.7	1.2	0.6	1.0
Canada less Quebec	636.6	3.2	618.5	2.9

Source: Appendix, table A.2.

Knowledge of French

Despite the decline in the proportion of persons with French as a mother tongue or home language, the proportion of French speakers remained fairly stable (around 32%) between 1951 and 1996. The number of persons able to conduct a conversation in French nearly doubled during this period, rising from 4.5 million to 8.9 million. In Quebec, as well as in the other provinces and territories, except Saskatchewan, the proportion and number of persons in the population who know French has grown continuously since 1961.

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Source: Appendix, table A.3.

Persons who know French are concentrated in Quebec. In 1996, some 75% of them lived in that province. However, since 1961 the concentration has declined. The decline is attributed to the increase in bilingualism among non-Francophones and has occurred despite the marked increase in the number of French speakers in the Quebec population. Over twenty-five years - that is, between 1971 and 1996 - the proportion of the population outside Quebec able to speak French among people with a mother tongue other than French rose from 4% to 7%. The popularity of second-language programmes (immersion or regular courses) in English-language schools has contributed to this increase.

In all provinces, except Saskatchewan, an increase was observed in the number and proportion of persons able to conduct a conversation in French between 1991 and 1996.

Table 2.4 Population Able to Speak French, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	8,509.0	31.5	8,920.4	31.3
Newfoundland	18.7	3.3	21.4	3.9
Prince Edward Island	13.2	10.3	14.7	11.1
Nova Scotia	78.0	8.8	85.4	9.5
New Brunswick	301.0	42.0	311.2	42.6
Quebec	6,371.9	93.6	6,612.3	93.9
Ontario	1,190.5	11.9	1,281.8	12.0
Manitoba	100.7	9.3	104.6	9.5
Saskatchewan	51.2	5.3	51.1	5.2
Alberta	169.1	6.7	180.1	6.8
British Columbia	208.3	6.4	250.4	6.8
Yukon	2.6	9.4	3.3	10.6
N.W.T.	3.6	6.2	4.1	6.4
Canada less Quebec	2,137.0	10.6	2,308.1	10.7

Source: Calculated from Appendix, table A.3.

French First Official Language Spoken

In 1996, 7.0 million Canadians had French as their first official language spoken. Approximately 58% could conduct a conversation in French, but not in English. Nearly all of the rest of this sub-population was made up of English-French bilinguals for whom French took precedence over English according to the information provided by the responses to the questions on mother tongue and language spoken in the home.

Persons with French as their first official language represented 25% of the Canadian population. In Quebec, where French is the mother tongue of the majority, it represented 86% of the population. In the other provinces and territories less than 5% of the population had French as their first official language, except in New Brunswick where the proportion reached 33%.

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When French is spoken as a minority language the number of those with French as a first official language spoken is much closer to that of mother tongue than home language, which is always weaker. Furthermore, the number of persons with French as a mother tongue is generally slightly higher than the number with French as first official language spoken, since it excludes persons with French as a mother tongue but who are unable to conduct a conversation in their first language learned. This phenomenon is however counterbalanced in Ontario by Allophones with French as their first official language. The observed difference which favours first official language spoken is also explained by the decision to allocate half of the French and English category, which is made up principally of English-French bilinguals who have a non-official language as mother tongue and home language.

In Quebec, the number of persons with French as first official language spoken is much greater than those with French as mother tongue or those with French as home language. This is due to the large number of mother tongue and home language Allophones who are able to conduct a conversation in French but not in English.

Table 2.5 Population with French as First Official Language Spoken, Mother Tongue or Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1996

	French					
	First Official Language Spoken ¹		Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	('000)	%	('000)	%	('000)	%
Canada	7,018,055	24.6	6,711,645	23.5	6,448,605	22.6
Newfoundland	2,278	0.4	2,440	0.4	1,020	0.1
P.E.I.	5,330	4.0	5,720	4.3	3,045	2.3
Nova Scotia	34,610	3.8	36,310	4.0	20,710	2.3
N.B.	241,043	33.0	242,410	33.2	222,440	30.1
Quebec	6,047,405	85.8	5,741,440	81.5	5,830,080	82.8
Ontario	511,800	4.8	499,690	4.7	306,790	2.9
Manitoba	46,575	4.2	49,100	4.5	23,135	2.1
Saskatchewan	17,715	1.8	19,900	2.0	5,830	0.6
Alberta	52,500	2.0	55,290	2.0	17,820	0.6
B.C.	56,305	1.5	56,755	1.5	16,585	0.4
Yukon	1,115	3.6	1,170	3.8	545	1.8
N.W.T.	1,375	2.1	1,420	2.2	605	0.9
Canada less Quebec	970,650	4.5	970,205	4.5	618,520	2.9

Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

1. Those in the English/French category have been allocated equally to the English category and the French category in order to improve the comparability of the data relating to mother tongue and home language.

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The presence of languages other than English or French in Canada reflects the ethnic and linguistic diversity that characterizes the nation. The 1996 Census showed that 5.8 million people (20%) could speak at least one language other than English or French, some 2.8 million (10%) spoke a non-official language most often at home and 4.7 million (17%) had a non-official language as mother tongue.

Mother Tongues Other than English or French

The percentage of the population with a non-official language as mother tongue rose between 1951 and 1996, largely because of an increase in the number of immigrants during this period, coupled with an increase in the tendency of immigrants to come from countries where languages other than English or French are spoken.

In Canada, the percentage of the population with a non-official language as mother tongue rose from 12% in 1951 to 17% in 1996. Outside Quebec, people with a non-official language as mother tongue represented 19% of the population in 1996, up from 15% in 1951. In Quebec, the presence of non-official languages changed considerably over this period, rising from 4% of the population in 1951 to 10% in 1996.

The number of Allophones (people with a language other than English or French as mother tongue) in Canada rose considerably between 1951 and 1996. From 1.7 million in 1951, the number has grown continually since then. This was most notable during the 1950s when a large number of immigrants from European countries made their way to Canada; over the last fifteen years,

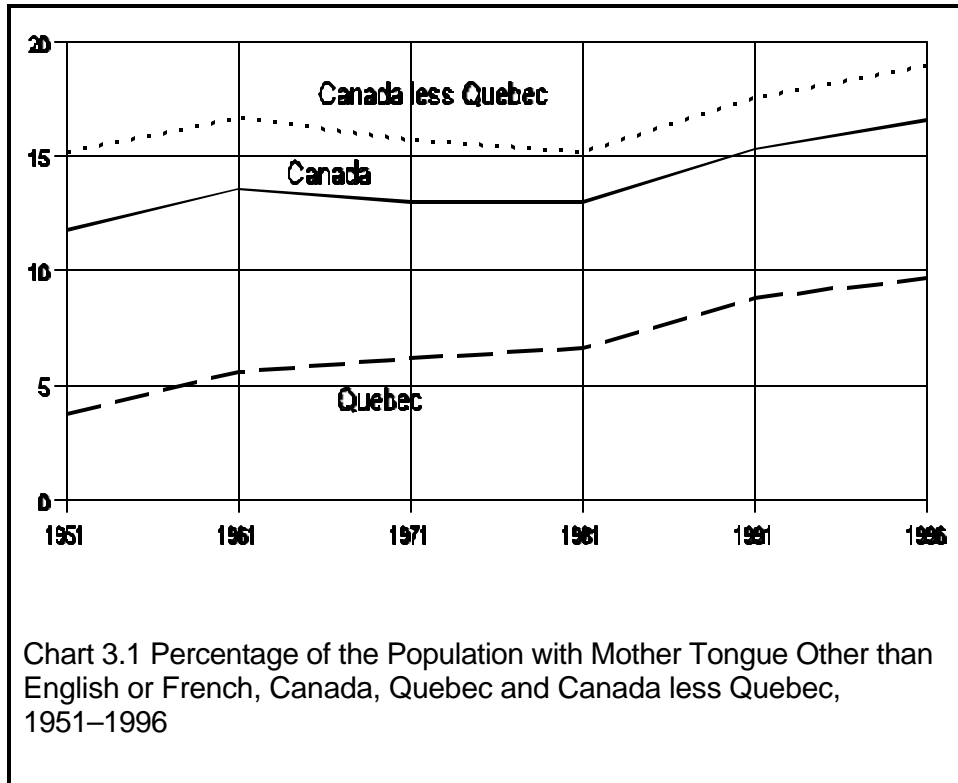


Chart 3.1 Percentage of the Population with Mother Tongue Other than English or French, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1951–1996

Source: Appendix, table A.1.

Table 3.1 Population with Mother Tongue Other than English or French, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1951–1996

	Canada		Quebec		Canada less Quebec	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
1951	1,659.8	11.8	150.4	3.7	1,509.4	15.2
1961	2,454.6	13.5	292.1	5.6	2,162.4	16.7
1971	2,808.2	13.0	372.5	6.2	2,435.6	15.7
1981	3,120.9	13.0	421.3	6.6	2,699.6	15.2
1991	4,120.8	15.3	598.5	8.8	3,522.3	17.5
1996	4,744.1	16.6	681.8	9.7	4,062.3	18.9

Source: Appendix, table A.1.

immigration from Asia and the Caribbean has been a major catalyst for linguistic diversity. In Quebec, the number of people with a non-official language as mother

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tongue rose from 150,000 to 682,000 between 1951 and 1996. Outside Quebec, the number rose from 1.5 million to 4.1 million over the same period.

Between 1991 and 1996, the number of people with a non-official language as mother tongue rose in every province except Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The largest increase was in Ontario, where the number of people with a mother tongue other than English or French rose by 335,000, to represent 22% of the population (2.4 million people). Much of the increase resulted from the arrival of new immigrants in Toronto. In terms of average annual growth, the number of Allophones grew over the last five years by 67,000 compared to 57,000 during the 1981–91 period. However, in British Columbia—particularly Vancouver—the average annual growth was even greater: 38,000 over the last five years compared to 19,000 in the 1981 to 1991 period. Over the last five years the number of persons with a mother tongue other than French or English grew by the same number as it did during the entire 1981–1991 decade(190,000).

The percentage of the population with a non-official language as mother tongue declined in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where German and Ukrainian groups have formed the bulk of non-official language groups in the past. Conversely, the percentage has increased in provinces that have received more recent immigrants, particularly in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia.

Interestingly, those with a non-official language as mother tongue form only a very small percentage of the population in the eastern provinces. In fact, only a small percentage of immigrants to Canada take up residence east of Montreal. The location of people with a non-official language as mother tongue is largely a reflection of regional trends in terms of immigration.

Quebec has only a small percentage of its population (10% in 1996), with a non-official language as mother tongue compared with other large provinces. This reflects the traditional pattern of a disproportionate number of immigrants settling outside Quebec. While almost a quarter of Canada's population is located in Quebec, only 13% of immigrants are living there, according to the 1996 Census.

Table 3.2 Population with Mother Tongue Other than English or French, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	4,120.8	15.3	4,744.1	16.6
Newfoundland	5.1	0.9	5.7	1.0
Prince Edward Island	1.6	1.2	2.1	1.6
Nova Scotia	21.8	2.5	25.4	2.8
New Brunswick	9.9	1.4	10.8	1.5
Quebec	598.5	8.8	681.8	9.7
Ontario	2,030.2	20.3	2,365.4	22.2
Manitoba	235.3	21.8	228.9	20.8
Saskatchewan	141.6	14.5	133.0	13.6
Alberta	416.6	16.5	438.1	16.4
British Columbia	633.7	19.5	823.6	22.3
Yukon	2.2	8.0	2.9	9.4
N.W.T.	24.3	42.3	26.4	41.1
Canada less Quebec	3,522.3	17.5	4,062.3	18.9

Source: Appendix, table A.1.

The percentage of the population with a mother tongue other than English or French varies considerably from one census metropolitan area (CMA) to another; of Canada's 25 CMAs, Toronto had the largest proportion (37%), followed by Vancouver (34%) and Montreal (18%). Almost 60% of the population that reported having a non-official language as mother tongue lived in Toronto, Vancouver or Montreal.

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Table 3.3 Population with Mother Tongue Other than English or French, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1996

Census Metropolitan Areas	1996	
	Number ('000)	Percentage
Calgary	152.0	18.6
Chicoutimi–Jonquière	0.7	0.4
Edmonton	167.2	19.6
Halifax	14.1	4.3
Hamilton	121.8	19.7
Kitchener	76.1	20.1
London	60.6	15.4
Montréal	602.9	18.3
Oshawa	28.0	10.5
Ottawa–Hull	137.6	13.8
Québec	11.7	1.8
Regina	20.9	10.9
Saint John(N.–B.)	2.0	1.6
Saskatoon	28.8	13.3
Sherbrooke	4.2	2.9
St. Catharines–Niagara	54.2	14.7
St. John's (Nfld.)	2.6	1.5
Sudbury	13.7	8.6
Thunder Bay	19.2	15.4
Toronto	1,565.9	37.0
Trois–Rivières	1.3	0.9
Vancouver	607.7	33.5
Victoria	33.5	11.2
Windsor	54.1	19.6
Winnipeg	132.4	20.1

Source: 1996 Census of Canada.

The sizes of language groups other than English or French reflect the most recent immigration trends. The ranking of the non-official languages reported most frequently as mother tongue in Canada have changed considerably over the years. In 1971, German was the most frequently reported non-official mother tongue among Canadians (559,000), with those reporting Italian as a close second (539,000). The German mother tongue group has since declined in numbers to 491,000 people in 1991 and to 471,000 in 1996, now only third in the list of languages. Over the same period, the Ukrainian mother tongue group has recorded the largest decrease in numbers (a 44% decrease), slipping from third in 1971 to eighth twenty-five years

later. In 1996, 47% of people with Ukrainian mother tongue were aged 65 and over, compared to 12% for the overall Canadian population.

The Italian mother tongue group, which recorded a large increase between 1951 and 1971 (from 92,000 to 539,000) due to considerable immigration from Italy, has been declining ever since, to 514,000 in 1996. In contrast, the Chinese mother tongue group has been experiencing rapid growth in the last fifteen years, due to increased immigration during this period. Between 1991 and 1996, the number of people who reported Chinese as mother tongue increased 42% to 736,000, while during the twenty years before that five-year period, their number had grown in a fashion similar to the Italian group between 1951 and 1971. However, if the average annual growth of the two language groups during these twenty year periods was about the same (more than 21,000), there has been a remarkable average annual growth of the Chinese language group over the last five years. While the census metropolitan regions of Toronto and Vancouver accounted for 87% of all mother tongue Chinese persons during this five year period and they both experienced an average annual growth of about 18,000 persons from this group. Proportionately Vancouver experienced a greater increase. The percentage increase in this group was 65%, compared to 43% in Toronto.

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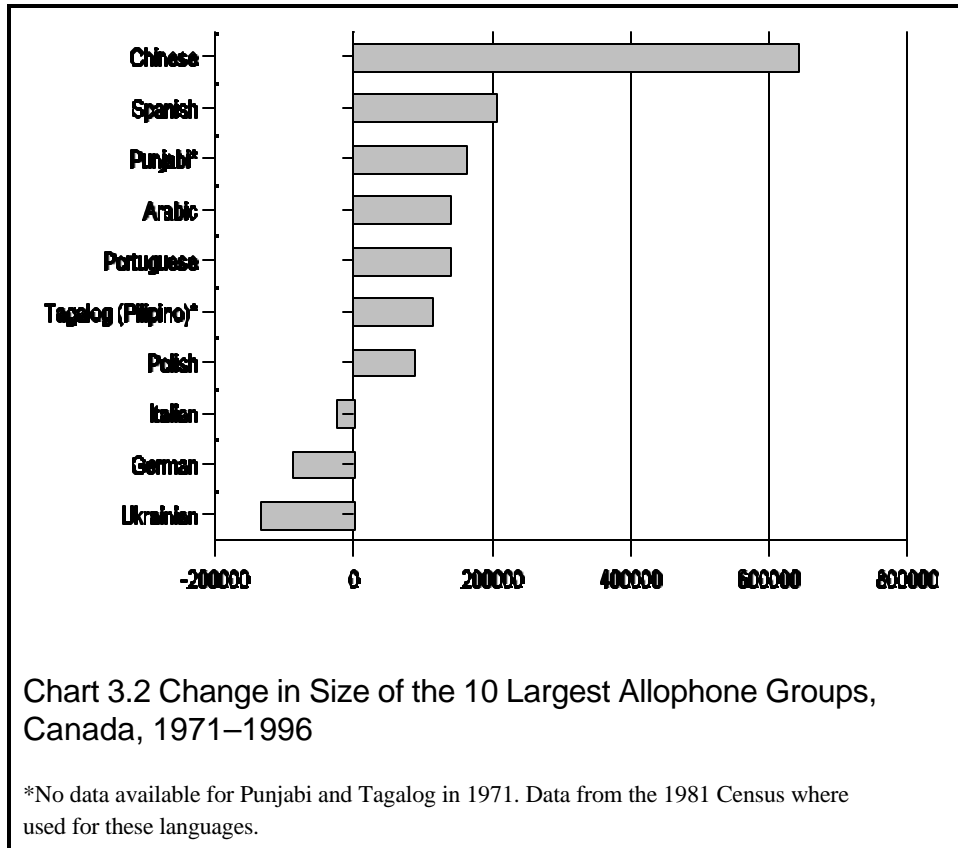
Table 3.4 The Ten Largest Allophone (Mother Tongue) Groups, Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996

Rank	1971	1991	1996
12345	German	6e+35	Italian
67891	Italian		Chinese
0	Ukrainian		German
	Dutch ¹		Portuguese
	Polish		Ukrainian
	Greek		Polish
	Chinese		Spanish
	Hungarian		Punjabi
	Portuguese		Ukrainian
	Croatian, Serbian, etc,		Dutch
			Greek
			Arabic
			Tagalog (Pilipino)

Sources : Census of Canada, 1971,1991 and 1996.

Other language groups that appear on the list of the largest Allophone groups in 1996 have also grown because of immigration. Thus, the Spanish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Arabic and Tagalog groups grew considerably in the twenty-five-year period leading up to 1996. Between 1991 and 1996 alone, the number of people who reported Punjabi, Arabic, Tagalog and Spanish as their mother tongue increased 46%, 39%, 36% and 22% respectively, while those reporting Portuguese increased only 1%. The Polish group, which has also increased its numbers markedly from 1971 to 1991 (a 47% increase), principally due to immigration during the 1980s, recorded a slowdown of its growth over the last five-year period, to 11%.

¹. In 1971, Dutch includes respondents who reported Flemish or Frisian.



Sources : Census of Canada, 1971, 1981, and 1996.

Aboriginal Languages

The aboriginal languages have been spoken in Canada for a long time. Because of the concentration of various aboriginal groups in particular parts of the country, their presence is much more apparent in some provinces than in others. Cree is by far the most frequently reported mother tongue among the aboriginal languages (88,000), followed by Inuktitut (28,000), and Ojibway (26,000)

Except for people with Micmac mother tongue in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, there are few aboriginal languages reported as mother tongue in the Atlantic provinces. Nova Scotia has the highest number, with 4,200 people reporting an aboriginal mother tongue. Those with an aboriginal language as mother tongue account for a sizeable proportion of the non-official languages in both Manitoba (17%) and Saskatchewan (25%). People with Cree as mother tongue are located in all provinces from Quebec to British Columbia, but are heavily concentrated in

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Manitoba and Saskatchewan (58%). The Ojibway mother tongue population is largely found in Ontario and Manitoba (89%), while 97% of those with Inuktitut as mother tongue live in the Northwest Territories or Quebec.

Table 3.5 The Most Frequently Reported Aboriginal Languages as Mother Tongues, Canada, 1996¹

	Number	Principal concentration
Cree	87 550	Manitoba and Saskatchewan (58%)
Inuktitut	27 785	Northwest Territories and Quebec (97 %)
Ojibway	25 885	Ontario and Manitoba (91%)
Montagnais–Naskapi	9 070	Quebec (86 %)
Dene	9 005	Saskatchewan (77%)
Micmac	7 310	Nova Scotia and N.B. (85%)
Oji-Cree	5 395	Ontario (90%)
Dakota/Sioux	4 285	Alberta (70%)
Others	32 340	
Total	208 625	

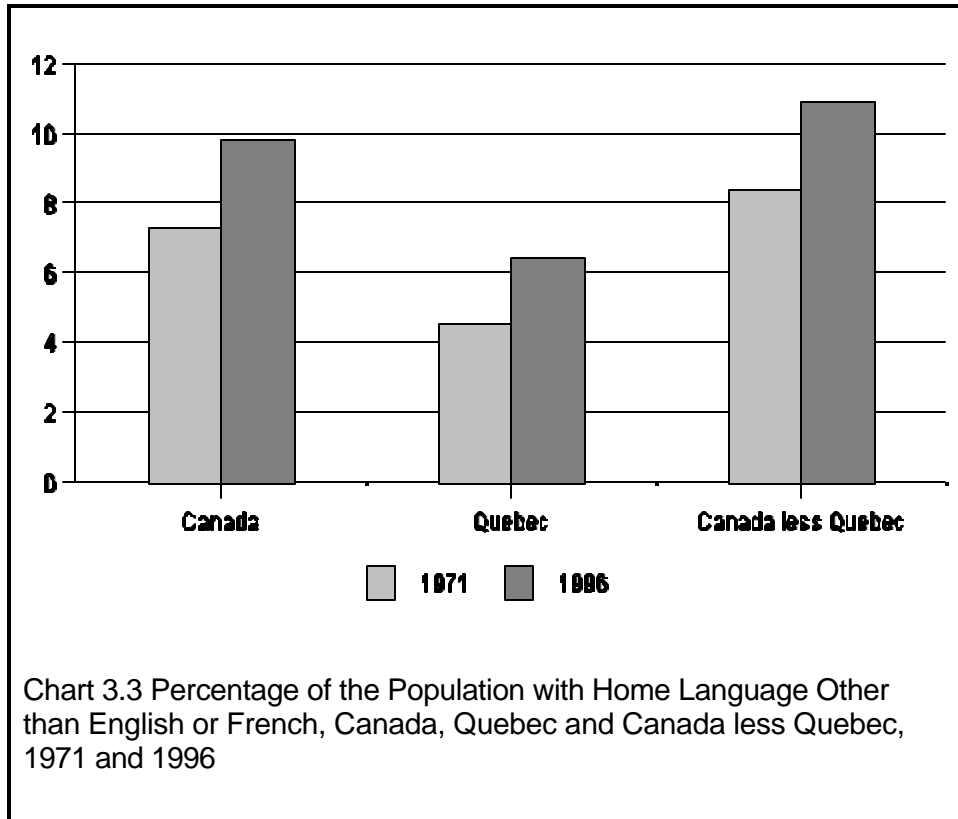
Includes both single and multiple responses.

Source: 1996 Census of Canada.

Home Language Other than English or French

The number of people who speak a non-official language most often at home is growing in Canada, from 1.6 million in 1971 to 2.8 million in 1996. The proportion of the population with a non-official home language has also increased over this period, from 7% to 10%. This holds true for Quebec as well as for the other provinces and territories combined.

1. On some Indian reserves and Indian settlements in the 1996 Census, enumeration was not permitted, or was interrupted before it could be completed. Moreover, some Indian reserves and Indian settlements were enumerated late or the quality of the collected data was considered inadequate. The impact of this under enumeration may be significant for some language groups, particularly those with small numbers.



Source: Appendix Table A.2.

The population that uses a non-official language most often at home (2.8 million people) is considerably smaller than the population that has a non-official language as mother tongue (4.7 million people). Many Canadians with a non-official language as mother tongue use English or French most often at home. Nevertheless, 10% of Canadians reported a non-official language as their home language in 1996, up from 7% in 1971, due to immigration. The majority of those who spoke a non-official language most often at home were living in Ontario (52%), British Columbia (17%), Quebec (16%) or Alberta (8%).

Given the ability of the three largest census metropolitan regions in Canada (Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal) to attract immigrants, it is to be expected that these regions will experience the greatest increase in the proportion of persons speaking a language other than English or French in the home. In 1996, Toronto had the highest proportion of persons speaking a non-official language in the home (25%), followed by Vancouver (22%) and Montreal (12%).

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Table 3.6 Population with Home Language Other than English or French, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991		1996	
	Number ('000)	%	Number ('000)	%
Canada	2,265.1	8.4	2,784.6	9.8
Newfoundland	3.1	0.5	3.5	0.6
Prince Edward Island	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.5
Nova Scotia	10.6	1.2	13.0	1.4
New Brunswick	4.7	0.7	4.7	0.6
Quebec	396.7	5.8	452.5	6.4
Ontario	1,158.8	11.6	1,435.2	13.5
Manitoba	107.3	9.9	105.6	9.6
Saskatchewan	47.8	4.9	47.3	4.8
Alberta	193.8	7.7	218.7	8.2
British Columbia	323.0	9.9	483.3	13.1
Yukon	0.5	1.9	0.9	2.9
N.W.T.	18.4	32.0	19.4	30.3
Canada less Quebec	1,868.4	9.3	2,332.1	10.9

Source: Appendix Table A.2.

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The 1991 Census was the first to ask Canadians whether they could speak a language other than English or French. In 1996, the most common non-official languages spoken were Chinese (791,000), Italian (694,000), German (654,000) and Spanish (506,000). Many Canadians have learned a non-official language as their mother tongue. Others have acquired one or more non-official languages as second languages. Other than English or French, Spanish was the most frequently acquired second language. It was estimated that some 277,000 people could speak Spanish as a second language in 1996. German (183,000 people) and Italian (180,000 people) were the two other non-official languages most often learned as second languages. Of those who reported the ability to conduct a conversation in one or more of these three non-official languages, English or French was the mother tongue of 44% of those able to speak Spanish, 23% of those able to speak German and 23% of those able to speak Italian.

Table 3.7 The Twenty Most Common Non-official Languages, Canada, 1996

Language	Ability to Speak		Mother Tongue		Second language ¹	
	Number	(‘000) %	Number	%	Number	(‘000) %
Chinese	8e+55	2.8	7.37e+52	2.6	6e+42	0.2
Italian		2.4		1.8		0.6
German		2.3		1.6		0.6
Spanish		1.8		0.8		1.0
Portuguese		0.9		0.8		0.1
Polish		0.9		0.8		0.1
Punjabi		0.9		0.8		0.1
Arabic		0.8		0.6		0.2
Ukrainian		0.8		0.6		0.2
Tagalog (Pilipino)		0.7		0.6		0.1
Dutch		0.6		0.5		0.1
Greek		0.6		0.4		0.1
Hindi		0.5		0.2		0.4
Vietnamese		0.5		0.4		0.1
Russian		0.4		0.2		0.2
Cree		0.4		0.3		0.1
Hungarian		0.3		0.3		0.0
Tamil		0.3		0.3		0.0
Urdu		0.3		0.2		0.1
Persian (Farsi)		0.3		0.2		0.0

Sources : 1996 Census of Canada.

At the provincial level, Italian is the most commonly known non-official language in Quebec(193,000), followed by Spanish(191,000) and Arabic(92,000). Italian is also the most commonly know non-official language in Ontario(427,000), followed by Chinese(361,000) and German(250,000). These later two languages were also the most commonly spoken non-official languages in British Columbia: 277,000 spoke Chinese and 123,000 spoke German.

Knowledge of German is quite wide spread in the provinces to the East of Quebec as well as in the Prairie provinces. With the exception of Prince Edward Island and Alberta, a substantial number of speakers of Aboriginal languages are also

1. The estimates for the second language numbers correspond to the difference between the number of people able to speak a given language and the population having that language as mother tongue.

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present—specifically, Montagnais-Naskapi in Newfoundland, Micmac in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Cree in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Aboriginal languages were also wide spread in the Northwest Territories (principally Inuktitut) and the Yukon (the Athapaskan languages).

Table 3.8 Groups of the Three Most Spoken Languages Other than English or French, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1996

Number %

Canada	Chinese	7.9116069e+180	2.8
	Italian		2.4
	German		2.3
Newfoundland	Aboriginal languages		0.4
	German		0.2
	Spanish		0.2
Prince Edward Island	Dutch		0.4
	German		0.4
	Arabic		0.3
Nova Scotia	German		0.7
	Aboriginal languages		0.5
	Arabic		0.4
New Brunswick	Arabic		0.5
	Aboriginal languages		0.4
	German		0.4
Quebec	Spanish		2.7
	Italian		2.7
	Spanish		1.3
Ontario	Arabic		4.0
	Italian		3.4
	Chinese		2.4
Manitoba	German		7.0
	German		4.1
	Aboriginal languages		3.8
Saskatchewan	languages		4.3
	Ukrainian		4.1
	German		3.2
Alberta	Aboriginal languages		3.7
	languages		3.1
	Ukrainian		1.9
British Columbia	German		7.5
	Chinese		3.3
	Ukrainian		3.0
Yukon	Chinese		4.1
	German		3.0
	Punjabi		1.7
Northwest Territories	Aboriginal languages		42.9
	German		0.9
	Spanish		0.6
	Aboriginal languages		
	German		
	Spanish		

Source: 1996 Census of Canada.

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English and French, the two official languages of Canada, are the principal languages that the great majority of Canadians use to communicate. In 1996, 67% of Canada's population was able to conduct a conversation in English only, 14% in French only and 17% in both of these languages. Around 2% of people enumerated reported not knowing either of these two languages.

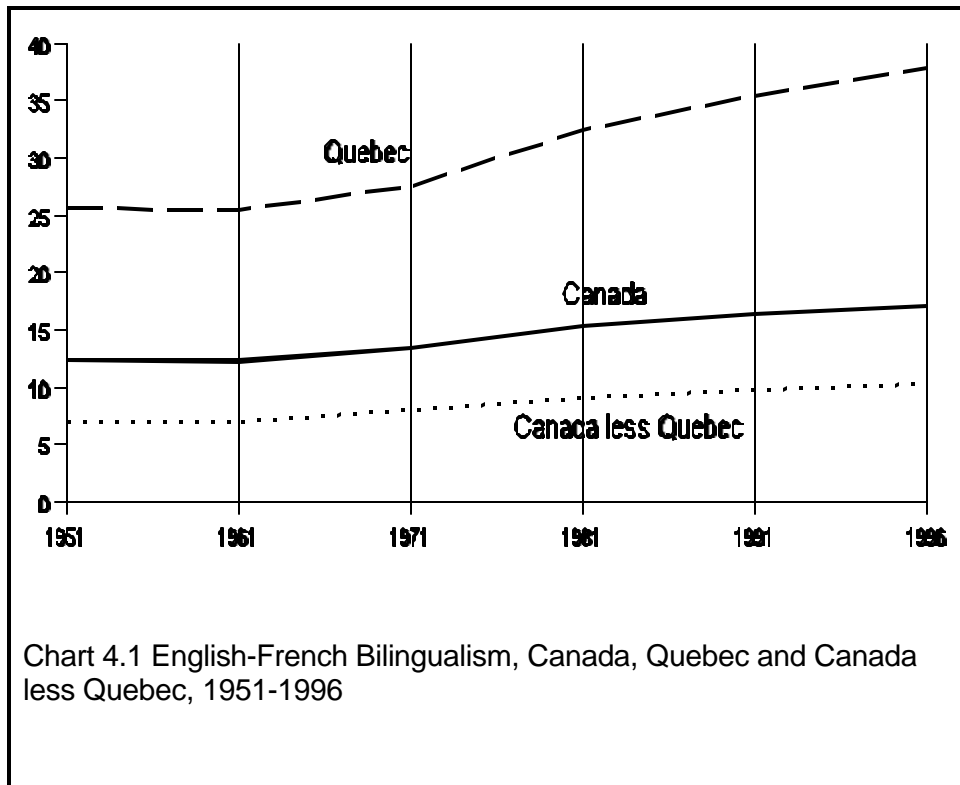
English-French Bilingualism

English-French bilingualism rose markedly in Canada between 1951 and 1996. The number of bilingual Canadians more than doubled during that period, rising from 1.7 million to 4.8 million, while their proportion rose from 12% to 17%.

In 1996, the rate of English-French bilingualism was highest in Quebec (38%) and New Brunswick (33%). In all other provinces and territories, bilingualism was considerably lower than the national rate of 17%.

However, the rate of bilingualism increased nearly everywhere in the country in the five-year period before the last census. Between 1991 and 1996, the proportion of the population that was bilingual grew in all provinces and territories, except Saskatchewan where it remained constant.

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Source: Appendix Table A.3.

The majority of bilingual persons live in Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia and New Brunswick. In 1996, some 90% of all bilingual persons in Canada lived in these four provinces. More than half (55%) were in Quebec, with the largest concentration in the Montreal census metropolitan area. In Ontario and New Brunswick, it is mainly in the municipalities bordering Quebec that one finds large proportions of bilingual persons. The proximity of the two official language groups is a major reason for the high rate of bilingualism in these areas. In British Columbia, more than half of bilingual persons lived in the Vancouver census metropolitan area.

Table 4.1 English-French Bilingualism, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991		1996	
	Numbers ('000)	%	Numbers ('000)	%
Canada	4,398.7	16.3	4,841.3	17.0
Newfoundland	18.5	3.3	21.3	3.9
Prince Edward Island	13.0	10.1	14.6	11.0
Nova Scotia	76.5	8.6	84.0	9.3
New Brunswick	211.5	29.5	237.8	32.6
Quebec	2,413.0	35.4	2,660.6	37.8
Ontario	1,136.2	11.4	1,234.9	11.6
Manitoba	98.8	9.2	103.1	9.4
Saskatchewan	50.8	5.2	50.8	5.2
Alberta	167.2	6.6	178.5	6.7
British Columbia	207.2	6.4	248.6	6.7
Yukon	2.6	9.3	3.2	10.5
N.W.T.	3.5	6.1	4.0	6.3
Canada less Quebec	1,985.7	9.8	2,180.7	10.2

Source: Appendix Table A.3.

The percentage of bilingual persons differs considerably from one CMA to another. Montreal has the highest rate with half of its population being bilingual. It is followed by Ottawa-Hull (44%), where there was a marked difference between the Quebec part (62%) and the Ontario part (38%). In general, the census metropolitan areas in Quebec have a higher percentage of bilingual people. Outside Quebec, Sudbury was the CMA with the highest rate of bilingualism (40%). St. John's (Newfoundland) has the lowest proportion of bilingual people (5%) of any CMA. The rate of bilingualism increased in most census metropolitan areas between 1991 and 1996.

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Table 4.2 Distribution of English-French Bilingual Population, Provinces and Territories, 1996

	Number ('000)	Percentage
Canada	4,841.3	100.0
Newfoundland	21.3	0.4
Prince Edward Island	14.6	0.3
Nova Scotia	84.0	1.8
New Brunswick	237.8	4.9
Quebec	2,660.6	55.0
Ontario	1,234.9	25.5
Manitoba	103.1	2.1
Saskatchewan	50.8	1.0
Alberta	178.5	3.7
British Columbia	248.6	5.1
Yukon	3.2	0.1
Northwest Territories	4.0	0.1

Source: Calculated from Appendix Table A.3.

The rate of bilingualism for language groups varies depending on where they live: minority language groups have a higher bilingualism rate than the majority. Nationally, at 41%, the rate of bilingualism among Francophones was almost five times greater than that among Anglophones (9%). Conversely, in Quebec the English mother tongue minority has the higher rate of bilingualism. Canadians with French as a mother tongue living outside Quebec have a much higher rate of bilingualism than do those with English as a mother tongue.

The rate of bilingualism among persons with a mother tongue other than English and French remained stable in the 1991 to 1996 period. Nearly 47% of Allophones living in Quebec were bilingual, a rate almost nine times higher than that of Allophones living in the other provinces and territories.

Table 4.3 English-French Bilingualism, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1991 and 1996

Census Metropolitan Areas ¹	1991		1996	
	Number ('000)	%	Number ('000)	%
Calgary	52.4	7.0	59.9	7.3
Chicoutimi–Jonquière	24.0	15.1	27.6	17.4
Edmonton	64.0	7.7	63.8	7.5
Halifax	30.5	9.6	35.3	10.7
Hamilton	39.0	6.6	41.7	6.8
Kitchener	23.7	6.7	26.0	6.9
London	24.1	6.4	26.1	6.6
Montréal	1 514.4	47.7	1 634.8	49.7
Oshawa	15.7	6.6	17.8	6.7
Ottawa–Hull	398.9	42.8	440.8	44.0
Ottawa–Hull–Que.	134.7	59.8	152.4	62.1
Ottawa–Hull–Ont.	264.2	37.4	288.4	38.2
Quebec	176.4	27.7	199.3	30.0
Regina	10.6	5.6	10.7	5.6
Saint John(N.B.)	13.1	10.6	15.2	12.2
Saskatoon	13.2	6.3	14.2	6.6
Sherbrooke	50.2	36.4	56.5	39.1
St. Catharines–Niagara	28.9	8.0	30.3	8.2
St. John's(Nfld.)	7.9	4.7	9.3	5.4
Sudbury	60.0	38.5	63.7	40.1
Thunder Bay	8.3	6.8	9.3	7.4
Toronto	309.7	8.0	339.5	8.0
Trois–Rivières	29.1	21.6	33.6	24.4
Vancouver	114.2	7.2	133.5	7.4
Victoria	21.8	7.7	25.9	8.6
Windsor	27.7	10.7	29.0	10.5
Winnipeg	68.3	10.4	71.8	10.9

Sources : Census of Canada, 1991(unpublished tabulations) and 1996.

1. The data for the census metropolitan areas are based on the 1996 geographic boundaries.

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Table 4.4 English-French Bilingualism Among Language Groups, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	1991 Percentage	1996 Percentage
Canada		
Anglophones	8.5	9.0
Francophones	38.9	41.1
Allophones	11.3	11.3
Quebec		
Anglophones	59.4	62.9
Francophones	31.5	34.0
Allophones	46.6	46.8
Canada less Quebec		
Anglophones	6.4	7.0
Francophones	81.1	83.6
Allophones	5.3	5.4

Sources : Census of Canada, 1991 and 1996.

The rate of bilingualism also varies considerably by age group for Anglophones and Francophones. The difference reflects the two populations' differing ways of learning a second language. In the case of Francophones in Quebec, the rate reaches a peak at ages that correspond to high labour force participation. Thus, the rate is highest (48%) for the 20-24 age group, and stays high at subsequent ages.

For Anglophones outside Quebec, the rate of bilingualism is highest at ages corresponding to the school years. It reaches a maximum (16%) for the 15-19 age group, and declines thereafter. The lower rates in older age groups are explained, especially, by the lesser popularity or the non-existence of French immersion programmes during their school years. In the case of most recent cohorts, from kindergarten on, children could register for a French immersion programme or take French courses. Since 1971, a growing number of English schools have been providing French immersion programmes and the number of students who are registered in them has grown continuously over the years. In other words, Anglophones outside Quebec learn French as a second language mainly at school.

Table 4.5 English-French Bilingualism by Age Group Among Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones Outside Quebec, 1996

Age Group	Francophones in Quebec Percentage	Anglophones outside Quebec Percentage
Total	33.7	6.8
0 to 4	3.6	1.0
5 to 9	5.6	5.8
10 to 14	13.6	12.9
15 to 19	35.4	16.3
20 to 24	48.2	12.3
25 to 34	46.0	7.0
35 to 44	40.9	5.6
45 to 54	41.5	5.7
55 to 64	35.6	3.7
65 and plus	30.7	2.4

Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

In Canada, between 1981 and 1996, the number of elementary or secondary students enrolled in French immersion rose from 65,000 to 273,000, and the proportion rose from 2% to 7% of eligible school enrolment. Ontario accounted for more than half (55%) of all students enrolled in French immersion, while New Brunswick had the highest proportion of their students in such programmes.

Table 4.6 Enrolment in French Immersion Programmes in Public Schools, Provinces (excluding Quebec) and Territories, 1980-1981, 1990-1991 and 1995-1996

	Eligible School Enrolment ¹			French Immersion Programmes					
	1980-1981	1990-1991	1995-1996	1980-1981		1990-1991		1995-1996	
	Number	Number	Number	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total ²	3,126,091	3.647e+68	3.900e+68	64,761	2.1	2.495e+54	6.8	2.73e+55	7.0
Newfoundland	148,408			392	0.3		3.4		4.6
P.E.I.	26,296			1,280	4.9		14.1		14.2
Nova Scotia	180,384			590	0.3		3.3		6.8
N.B.	103,487			5,532	5.4		18.9		17.7
Ontario	1,739,327			46,638	2.7		7.3		7.5
Manitoba	197,894			4,286	2.2		10.2		10.0
Saskatchewan	203,652			1,603	0.8		5.4		5.3
Alberta ³	—			—	—		5.6		5.2
B.C.	509,146			4,368	0.9		5.4		4.9
Yukon	4,925			35	0.7		7.1		7.5
N.W.T.	12,572			37	0.3		2.9		2.7

— Figures not available.

Source: Statistics Canada, Minority and Second Language Education, Elementary and Secondary Levels, 1995-96, unpublished tabulations.

1. The eligible school enrolment is the total school enrolment less the number enrolled in minority language programmes. For the 1980-1981 period, the data for Alberta are excluded from the total.
2. Excluding Quebec.
3. In Alberta, data on French immersion programmes are available back to the 1983-1984 school year. The number of students was then 14,523 or 3.2 % of the eligible school enrolment.

In the case of Francophones in Quebec, English immersion programmes are virtually non-existent. In the regular programme, English courses are mandatory from grade four of primary school. Without a doubt, job market requirements play an important role in learning English as a second language. Between 1971 and 1996, participation in the labour force increased considerably for Quebec's population, rising from 53% to 64% as a result of the increased presence of women in the labour force. This change has likely played a role in the advance of bilingualism, since nearly half of the labour force in that province is bilingual. In 1996, some 47% of the female population in the labour force in Quebec was bilingual, compared to 38% in 1971. This increase was greater than that in the male population, where the percentage of bilingual people rose from 46% to 52%.

Population Unable to Speak English or French

During the first half of the 1990s, the number of people in Canada who were unable to speak English or French has continued to increase. According to the 1996 Census, a total of 473,000 residents (2%) spoke neither official language. These included young children who could not speak any language at all, but even excluding children under five years old, there remained 386,000 people who could not speak English or French.

Table 4.7 Population Aged Five Years and Over Unable to Speak English or French, Provinces and Territories, 1996

	Number	%
Ontario	206,550	53.5
British Columbia	81,955	21.2
Quebec	53,245	13.8
Alberta	27,015	7.0
Manitoba	8,885	2.3
Saskatchewan	3,315	0.9
Northwest Territories	2,965	0.8
Nova Scotia	910	0.2
Newfoundland	445	0.1
New Brunswick	420	0.1
Yukon	50	0.0
Prince Edward Island	30	0.0
Canada	385,785	100.0

Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

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Most of the people who are unable to speak English or French live in Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec and Alberta. These provinces have been popular choices of residence for many recent immigrants: a group in which many people speak neither English nor French. Other provinces and territories have far fewer people with this language difficulty, ranging from approximately 9,000 in Manitoba to fewer than 50 each in Prince Edward Island and the Yukon.

In 1996, most of the people who were unable to speak an official language lived in large urban areas. Toronto, a city in which more than 40% of the population was born outside Canada, led the way with 164,000, followed by Vancouver (72,000) and Montreal (47,000). Edmonton and Calgary, the two major metropolitan areas in Alberta, were each home to about 12,000 people unable to speak either English or French.

In the first half of the 1990s, the number of people unable to speak English or French increased considerably in British Columbia and Ontario, and in the largest urban centres. In Toronto, for example, the number of people who spoke neither official language rose from 124,000 in 1991 to 164,000 in 1996, while in Vancouver their number was more than one and a half that of 1991. Calgary also experienced a considerable increase in this population, while smaller but significant increases were observed Montreal. Such increases have considerable implications for social services (for example, language training) which are needed to integrate this population into Canadian society.

Table 4.8 Population Aged Five Years and Over Unable to Speak English or French, Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1991 and 1996

Canada, provinces and territories	1991	1996
Canada	3.08535570758e+51	3.8578545e+51
Newfoundland		
Prince Edward Island		
Nova Scotia		
New Brunswick		
Quebec		
Ontario		
Manitoba		
Saskatchewan		
Alberta		
British Columbia		
Yukon		
Northwest Territories		

Sources : Census of Canada, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

People with Chinese, Italian or Portuguese as their mother tongues together account for more than half (55%) of all those unable to speak English or French in Canada. Chinese, the fastest-growing language group during the five years before the 1996 Census, was the mother tongue of 135,000 of these people, followed by Italian (45,000) and Portuguese (30,000).

In most of the language groups, 60% of those unable to speak an official language were women. The lower labour force participation of women is one reason for the difference in language abilities between the sexes. Men's higher labour force participation exposes them to the official languages at work and may also mean that they have better access to language training programmes in their work environment.

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Table 4.9 Population Aged Five Years and Over Unable to Speak English or French, Census Metropolitan Areas, 1991 and 1996

Census Metropolitan Areas	1991	1996
Calgary	1.04251e+92	1.260030e+92
Chicoutimi–Jonquière		
Edmonton		
Halifax		
Hamilton		
Kitchener		
London		
Montréal		
Oshawa		
Ottawa–Hull		
Quebec		
Regina		
Saint John(N.B.)		
Saskatoon		
Sherbrooke		
St. Catharines–Niagara		
St. John’s (Newfoundland)		
Sudbury		
Thunder Bay		
Toronto		
Trois–Rivières		
Vancouver		
Victoria		
Windsor		
Winnipeg		

Sources : Census of Canada, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

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The evolution of the size of language groups in Canada is principally the result of factors such as fertility, international migration (immigration and emigration) and also, at the provincial level, interprovincial migration. Another factor which influences the size of these groups is the parent to child transmission of the mother tongue. Since this transmission of the language is strongly influenced by whether the couple is endogamous or exogamous (based on whether both members of a couple have the same mother tongue) and by the language that is spoken most often in the home, an analysis of the evolution of the size of language groups must take into account phenomena such as exogamy and language transfers.

The most significant changes that occurred from 1951 to 1996 in the size and proportion of each language group can be summarized as follows:

English Language Group

Canada

- < Considerable average annual growth during the forty-five-year period, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s (2.9 % and 2.2 %, respectively).
- < Smaller, but substantial, average annual increases in the 1970s, 1980s and the first half of the 1990s (1.4 %, 1.0 % and 0.9 %, respectively).
- < A slight increase in the percentage of Anglophones in Canada's population, from 59% in 1951 to 60% in 1996.

Quebec

- < Average annual growth in the Anglophone population during the first two decades of the period considered (2.5 % and 1.3 %, respectively).
- < Average annual declines in the Anglophone population in both of the following decades; 1.2 % during the 1970s and 1.0 % during the 1980s. The average annual decline between 1991 and 1996 (slightly over 1/10 of 1 %) was seven times smaller than between 1981 and 1991.
- < Decline in the percentage of Quebec's Anglophones from 14% in 1951 to 9% in 1996.

Canada less Quebec

- < Substantial average annual growth in the 1950s (2.9 %), the 1960s (2.2 %) and the 1970s (1.6 %), but lower from 1981 to 1991 (1.1 %) and from 1991 to 1996 (1.0 %).
- < Slight decrease in the percentage of Anglophones outside Quebec, from 78% in 1951 to 77% in 1996.

French Language Group

Canada

- < Substantial average annual growth during the 1950s (2.6 %), smaller growth during the 1960s (1.3 %) and much lower growth during the two following decades (0.7 % and 0.6 %, respectively). During the past five-year period, growth was only 0.5 %.
- < Decline in the percentage of Francophones in Canada's population, from 29% in 1951 to 24% in 1996.

Quebec

- < Substantial average annual increases during the 1950s (2.8 %), smaller during the 1960s (1.4 %).
- < Much smaller average annual increases during the following twenty-five years: 0.8 % from 1971 to 1981, 0.6 % from 1981 to 1991 as well as over the next five-year period.
- < Slight decline in the percentage of Francophones among Quebec's population, from 83% in 1951 to 82% in 1996.

Canada less Quebec

- < Small average annual increases during the first two decades of the period considered (1.8 % and 0.9 %, respectively).
- < Little change in the number of Francophones during the 1970s, an average annual increase of 0.6 % during the 1980s, and a slight decrease of 0.1 % during the first half of the 1990s.
- < Decline in the percentage of Francophones outside Quebec, from 7% in 1951 to 4% in 1996.

Non-official Languages

Canada

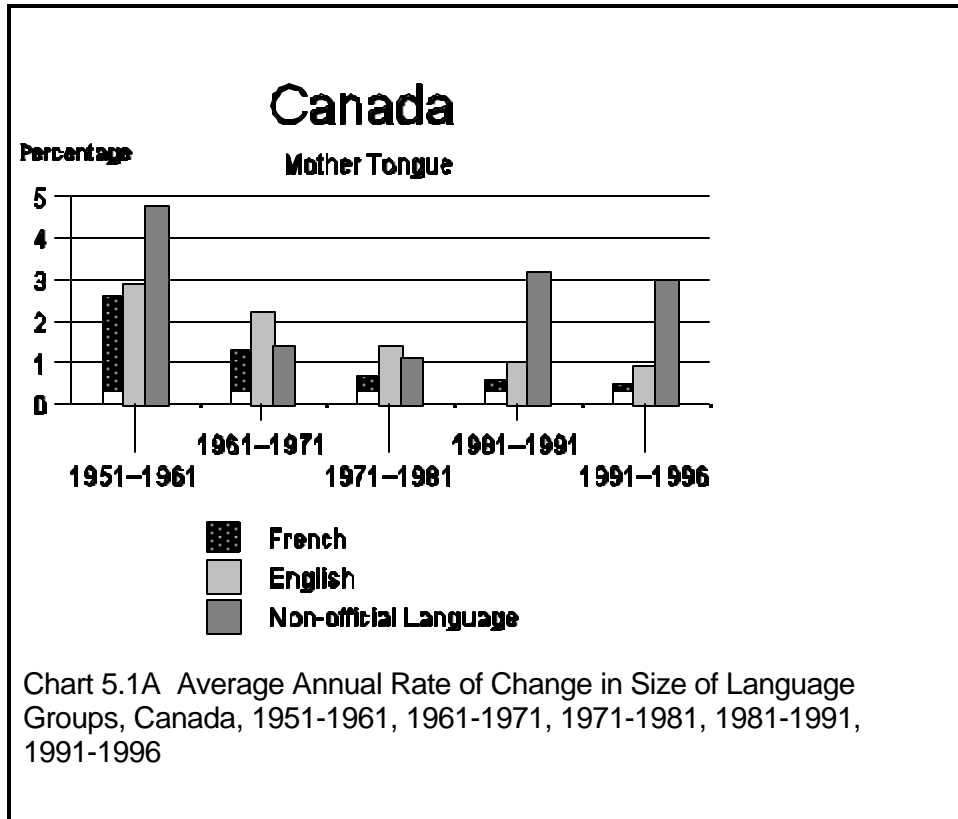
- < Substantial average annual increase during the 1950s (4.8 %), but much smaller during the following two decades (1.4 % and 1.1 %, respectively).
- < Remarkable increase of 1 million from 1981 to 1991 and of 623,000 from 1991 to 1996. The average annual growth was 3.2 % for the 1981-1991 period and 3.0% for the 1991-1996 period.
- < Increase in the percentage of Canadians with a non-official language as their mother tongue from 12% in 1951 to 17% in 1996.

Quebec

- < Considerable average annual increase in the 1950s (9.4 %), followed by much smaller ones in the two following decades (2.8 % and 1.3 %, respectively) and a marked average annual increase of 4.2 % between 1981 and 1991 and of 2.8 % between 1991 and 1996.
- < A rise in the proportion of Quebecers with a non-official language as their mother tongue, from 4% in 1951 to 10% in 1996.

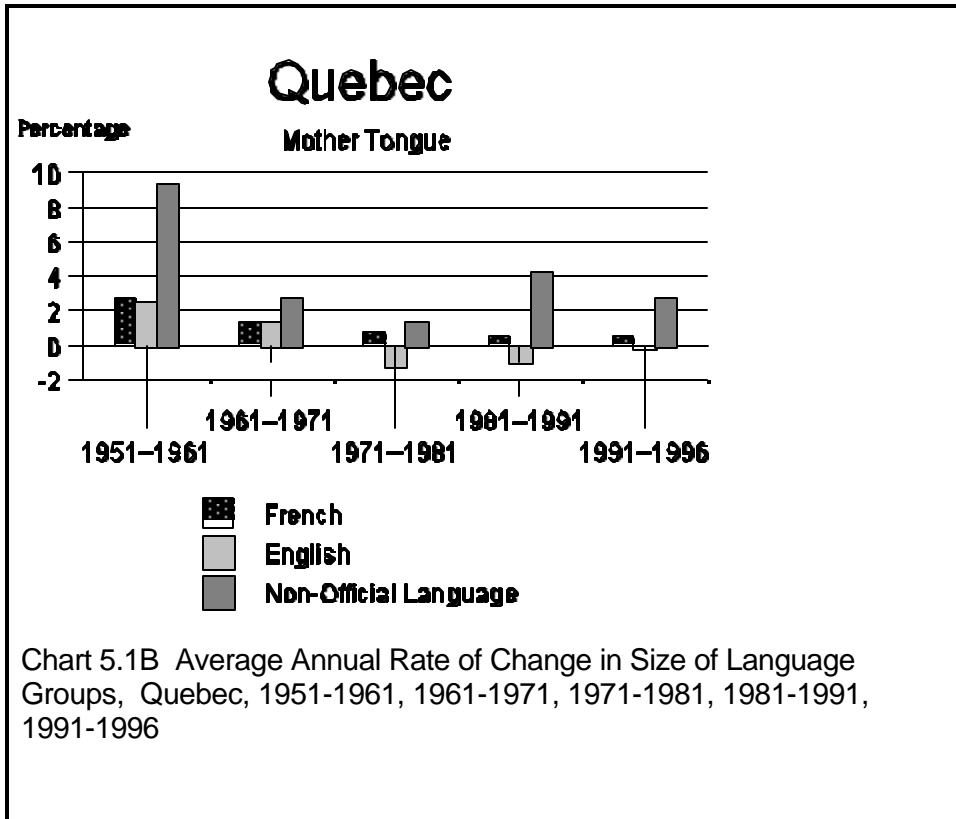
Canada less Quebec

- < A large average annual increase during the 1950s (4.3 %), followed by a much smaller increase in each of the next two decades (1.3 % and 1.1 %, respectively).
- < Very large average annual increases during the next fifteen years: 3.0 % for the 1981-1991 period and 3.1 % for the 1991-1996 period.
- < Increase in the percentage of Allophones outside Quebec from 15% in 1951 to 19% in 1996.

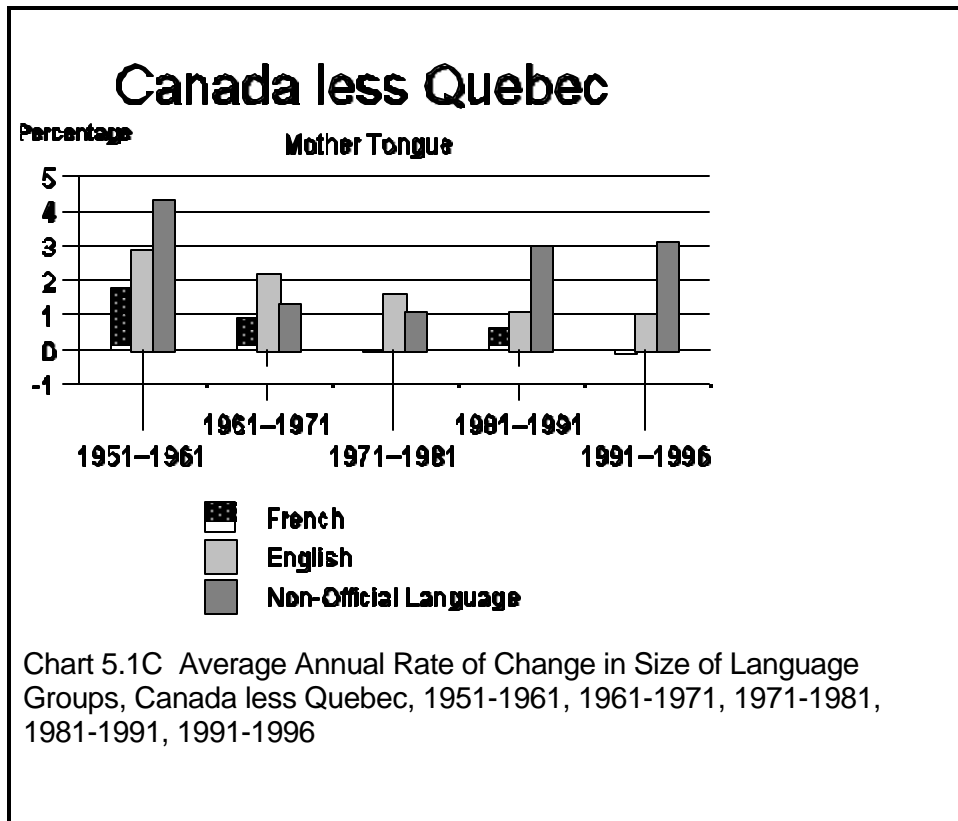


Source: Calculated from Appendix Table A.1.

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Source: Calculated from Appendix Table A.1.



Source: Calculated from Appendix Table A.1.

Fertility

Differences in fertility in different language groups can have the effect of favouring an increase in one group, particularly in times when there is considerable difference in the size of families. This was the case in the 1950s and early 1960s, when Francophone women tended to have more children than their Anglophone counterparts. For example, in the five years between 1956 and 1961, the total fertility rate (births per woman) was 4.3 for women whose mother tongue was French and 3.8 for those whose mother tongue was English. Reproducing at a rate that was considerably higher than that of Anglophones had the effect of maintaining the proportion of Francophones in Canada, despite an immigration pattern that favoured the English mother tongue population. This was a continuation of the higher fertility of French-Canadian women which had existed for the first half of the 20th century. The difference in fertility was largely responsible for maintaining the relative strength of the French population in Canada at about 30% between 1850 and 1950.

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Table 5.1 Total Fertility Rate by Mother Tongue, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1956-1996

Five-year period	Children per Woman			
	All Languages	English	French	Other
Canada				
1956-1961	3.88	3.80	4.31	3.48
1961-1966	3.51	3.48	3.66	3.40
1966-1971	2.49	2.46	2.36	2.85
1971-1976	1.98	1.95	1.85	2.32
1976-1981	1.75	1.68	1.72	2.11
1981-1986	1.66	1.67	1.49	1.94
1986-1991	1.65	1.68	1.51	1.79
1991-1996	1.69	1.67	1.64	1.85
Quebec				
1956-1961	3.99	3.26	4.22	2.79
1961-1966	3.43	3.04	3.54	2.93
1966-1971	2.26	2.09	2.27	2.58
1971-1976	1.82	1.62	1.81	2.26
1976-1981	1.71	1.46	1.71	2.04
1981-1986	1.49	1.46	1.47	1.79
1986-1991	1.51	1.54	1.49	1.78
1991-1996	1.66	1.63	1.64	1.94
Canada less Quebec				
1956-1961	3.84	3.82	4.95	3.57
1961-1966	3.55	3.50	4.34	3.46
1966-1971	2.58	2.48	2.87	2.89
1971-1976	2.04	1.96	2.12	2.33
1976-1981	1.76	1.69	1.76	2.12
1981-1986	1.72	1.68	1.60	1.96
1986-1991	1.69	1.68	1.56	1.79
1991-1996	1.70	1.68	1.57	1.84

Sources : Sources: Lachapelle, R., Evolution of Fertility Differences between Language Groups in Canada, Canadian Social Trends, No. 10, Autumn 1988, Catalogue No. 11-008E, pp. 2-8. Statistics Canada, calculations by the authors.

The fertility of French Canadian women, however, declined in the 1960s, so much so that by the end of the decade they tended to have fewer children than Anglophones. During the early 1980s, fertility among French Canadian women was nearly three times less than that of the 1950s. The historical data show a marked decrease in fertility and the convergence of fertility rates of Anglophones and Francophones in Canada. The total fertility rate for Francophone women in the 1981-1986 period was 1.5, compared to 1.7 for Anglophone women. Whereas the

data for the 1986-1991 period confirmed the lower fertility of Francophone women, those of the 1991-1996 period showed a convergence between fertility rates of the two linguistic groups. This convergence is due to the increased fertility rate of Francophone women. Demographers consider the “replacement level” fertility to correspond to a total fertility rate of 2.1. Consequently, without increases brought on by immigration or shifts from other language groups, both the Francophone and Anglophone populations in Canada would eventually decline in the long term.

The fertility of women who have a non-official language as a mother tongue has been higher than that of either Anglophones or Francophones since the mid-1960s. However, we must be careful in assessing the magnitude of the impact of this higher fertility on the growth of non-official languages in this country, since children of immigrant women who are born in Canada often learn one of the official languages as their mother tongue.

Immigration

Immigration has been the main source of the increase in the number of Canadians whose mother tongue is a non-official language. The 1996 Census showed that 65 % of those born outside Canada (excluding non-permanent residents) had a language other than English or French as their mother tongue. Immigration has also contributed significantly to the increase in the Anglophone population in Canada, but has had far less impact on the growth of the French mother tongue group. Among immigrants counted in the 1996 Census as having arrived in Canada between 1951 and 1996, there were almost nine times as many with English mother tongue (1,4 million) as with French mother tongue (159 000). In addition, all but 14% of those who immigrated to Canada during this forty-year period were living outside Quebec, in provinces and territories where the vast majority of them learn English and where many of their children have English as their mother tongue.

Immigration contributed significantly to population growth in Canada during the 1951 to 1996 period. During this period the number of immigrants in the population went from 2 million persons to nearly 5 million persons. In 1996 the immigrant proportion of the population was 17%, the highest proportion since 1951. The proportion was between 15% and 16% in each of the censuses between 1951 and 1991. While the growth in both the immigrant population (3.8%) and the population born in Canada (2.9%) was remarkable in the 1951 to 1961 period, it is between 1991 and 1996 that the difference in the rate of growth of the two population was the greatest. With an average annual growth rate of 2.9% during the five year period, the growth in the

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population which immigrated to Canada was more than three times the rate of growth of the population born in Canada(0.8%).

Table 5.2 Size and proportion of immigrant population, Canada, 1951 to 1996

	Number ('000)	Percentage
1.95119611971e+23	2.06028443296e+23	14.7
		15.6
		15.3
		16.1
		16.1
		17.4

Sources : Census of Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996.

Table 5.3 Average annual growth rates of the population born in Canada and of the immigrant population, Canada, 1951 to 1996

	Born in Canada	Immigrant
1951–1961	2.9	3.8
1961–1971	1.9	1.6
1971–1981	1.1	1.7
1981–1991	1.2	1.2
1991–1996	0.8	2.9

Sources : Census of Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996.

The knowledge of official languages is the most important factor which influences the linguistic integration into Canadian society. It’s importance is, however, dependent on the period of immigration, the country of origin and the immigrants mother tongue.

In 1996, 75% of the immigrant Allophone population in Canada reported being able to conduct a conversation only in English, 4% only in French and 11% in both languages. An evaluation of the historical data regarding knowledge of official languages in the three largest census metropolitan regions (CMR) shows that, contrary to the case in Toronto and Vancouver where the percentage of the immigrant Allophone population capable of conducting a conversation in English has hardly changed since 1971 (remaining around 80%), knowledge of official languages has evolved considerably in Montreal. In 1971, 37% of the Allophone population knew only English, 25 years later this proportion was around 22%. This situation is

explained by the substantial increase in the proportion of Allophones who spoke only French (14% in 1971 compared to 25% in 1996) and who spoke both English and French (33% in 1971 and 44% in 1996). Thus while the proportion of Allophones reporting being able to conduct a conversation in English (including those reporting a knowledge of both English and French) has remained stable between 1971 (70%) and 1996 (66%), the proportion able to speak French has experienced a remarkable increase, from 48% to 69%.

Table 5.4 Immigrant Allophone population by knowledge of official languages, Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto, 1971 to 1996.

Region and year	French	English	French and English
Montreal			
1971	14.3	36.7	33.4
1981	19.5	27.6	41.8
1991	24.1	22.4	43.3
1996	24.9	21.5	44.0
Toronto			
1971	0.3	76.1	5.6
1981	0.2	80.2	5.8
1991	0.2	83.0	4.9
1996	0.1	82.4	4.6
Vancouver			
1971	0.1	84.0	5.2
1981	0.1	82.6	5.3
1991	0.1	82.6	4.3
1996	0.1	81.3	3.9

Sources: Census of Canada, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996.

The unique situation of Quebec is equally obvious when we look at the evolution of the knowledge of official languages among the Allophone immigrant population in the Montreal CMR. The 1996 Census shows that the longer the period that an immigrant has been in the country, the less likely they are to know only the majority official language (i.e. French) and the greater the proportion who know both official languages. While 18% of those who came to Canada between 1951 to 1960 indicated in the 1996 Census that knew only French, this portion rises to 31% among recent immigrants (those who arrived between 1991 and 1996). Similarly, the proportion of the immigrant population that indicated they knew both official languages went from 47% among those who came to Canada between 1951 and 1960 to 33% among recent immigrants. In fact the proportion of those who spoke

French was as high among recent immigrants as among those who arrived between 1951 and 1960. In the regions of Toronto and Vancouver the situation was very different. The proportion of the immigrant Allophone population who reported in the 1996 Census that they knew only the majority official language (i.e. English) was higher among those who arrived prior to the 1991 to 1996 period. The proportion who spoke both official languages was both small and diminishing. As a result the proportion of English speakers among the immigrant Allophone population was much weaker among recent immigrants than among those who arrived between 1951 and 1960—particularly in Vancouver.

Moreover, if we focus specifically on recent Allophone immigrants to Montreal, the proportion who know French rises with each census. In the 1971 Census, 16% of recent Allophone immigrants reported knowing only French. By the 1981 Census this proportion had doubled (34%) and subsequently fluctuated around 31% in the 1991 and 1996 censuses. If we include those who know English and French, the proportion of French speakers rises from 41% in 1971 to 64% in 1996. We can observe the same trends in Toronto and Vancouver with regard to the knowledge of English among recent Allophone immigrants. However, in Vancouver, the relatively small proportion of recent Allophone immigrants with a knowledge of English in the 1971 to 1981 period is attributable, in part, to the significant rise in the proportion of immigrants of Asian origin. These immigrants, unlike subsequent Asian immigrants, were less likely to know English.

Table 5.5 Allophone immigrant population by knowledge of official languages and period of immigration reported in the 1996 Census, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver.

Region and period of immigration	French	English	French and English
Montreal			
1951–1960	17.5	26.9	47.3
1961–1970	18.6	20.2	50.5
1971–1980	25.0	15.1	51.4
1981–1990	29.3	17.0	44.4
1991–1996	31.0	24.7	32.7
Toronto			
1951–1960	0.1	86.2	4.8
1961–1970	0.1	81.8	5.3
1971–1980	1.5	83.1	5.0
1981–1990	1.3	82.2	5.0
1991–1996	0.2	80.3	3.5
Vancouver			
1951–1960	0.1	89.8	5.6
1961–1970	0.0	86.5	5.5
1971–1980	0.1	84.4	4.1
1981–1990	0.1	79.8	4.6
1991–1996	0.7	77.0	2.4

Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Across the country immigration has had the effect of increasing the population with a non-official language as a mother tongue in the short run. The experience of immigrants to Canada during the early part of this century shows that in the longer term, descendants of immigrants often learn English as mother tongue. Census data show that outside Quebec, 53% of the children of Allophone women who came to the country prior to 1981, learned English as mother tongue, compared with 17% of those of Allophone women who came to Canada since 1981. However, the language transmitted to the child is above all related to the country of birth. As a result, outside Quebec, 57% of children born in Canada to Allophone immigrant women before 1981 had English as their mother tongue, compared to 24% of those born outside Canada. Among the children of women who came to Canada since 1981, 31% of those born in Canada had English as their mother tongue, compared to 8% of those born outside the country. The proportion of Allophone women whose

children have French as their mother tongue remains almost non-existent during the two periods.

In Quebec, the longer term effect of immigration is more ambiguous than for rest of the country: the children of immigrant mothers learn either English or French as mother tongue. Immigrant mothers who came to the country prior to 1981 had children who learned English as mother tongue (18%) a little more often than French (17%). Since that time, the situation has changed and the children of immigrant mothers learn French as mother tongue (14%) more often than English (5%).

Once again we note a significant difference according to the country of birth of the child. Among children born to immigrant women who came to Canada prior to 1981, 20% had English as their mother tongue compared to 7% of those born outside the country. These proportions were 9% and 3% respectively among the children of women who arrived since 1981. In contrast, French was transmitted as a mother tongue to a smaller proportion of children born in Canada to mothers from other countries who arrived before 1981 (18%) than to mothers who arrived since 1981 (23%). Among children born outside the country the proportions were respectively 11% and 8%.

Interprovincial Migration

Language is an important factor when considering the tendency of Canadians to move to another province. It is most vital for Quebec, since moving to that province often means settling in a more Francophone environment and leaving it often means a migration to a more Anglophone environment. The linguistic situation is significant in creating a social and cultural climate that influences the propensity of Quebecers to leave the province and that of the rest of Canadians to move to Quebec.

The 1996 Census showed that the percentage of Quebecers who had recently moved from another province was the lowest of all provinces and territories in Canada - three times less than the national average. Slightly over 1% of Quebecers were living in another province five years prior to the last census, compared with 2% in Ontario and 3% or more in the rest of the provinces and the territories.

While language is an important reason why many Francophones stay in Quebec, it can have the effect of favouring the out-migration of Anglophones from the province and facilitating the integration of the migrants in the rest of the country. In the twenty-five years prior to the 1996 Census, approximately 400,000 Anglophones left Quebec for other provinces. This number is quite high, considering that the size of

the Anglophone population was 622,000 in 1996 compared to 789,000 in 1971. At the same time, Francophone departures amounted to 210,000 (5.7 million Francophones were enumerated in 1996 compared to 4.9 million in 1971).

The most significant migration of Anglophones from Quebec was during the 1976-1981 period: about 130,000 left Quebec for other provinces and only 25,000 came to Quebec from the rest of Canada, for a net loss of more than 100,000 in the Anglophone population. This migration coincided with the introduction of language legislation (Bill 101), which promoted French language status, and with favourable economic conditions in other large provinces. Between 1986 and 1996, Anglophone migration declined, resulting in net losses of 22,000 between 1986 and 1991 and of 24 000 between 1991 and 1996 - far less than in any of the three previous quinquennial periods.

There is relatively little movement of Quebecers with French as a mother tongue to other provinces. Much of it is compensated by the arrival of Francophones from other parts of the country. During the twenty-five years prior to the 1996 Census, Francophone departures reached a peak (about 50,000) in the 1976-1981 period. Subsequently, the number of leavers declined. Since then, the Francophone population has experienced net gains.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE GROUPS

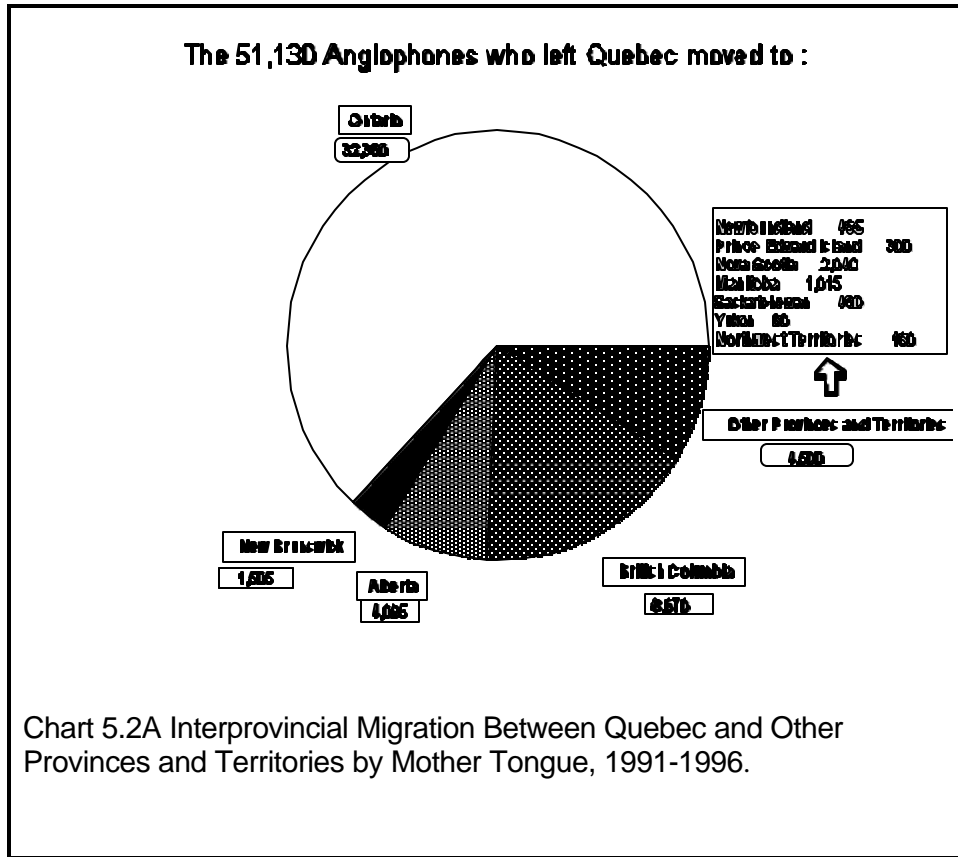
Table 5.6 Interprovincial Migration Between Quebec and Other Provinces and Territories by Mother Tongue, 1971-1976, 1976-1981, 1981-1986, 1986-1991 and 1991-1996

Period	Total	English	French	Other
From Quebec to others provinces				
1971-76	145,800	94,100	41,300	10,400
1976-81	203,000	131,500	49,900	21,600
1981-86	130,200	70,600	45,900	13,700
1986-91	107,500	53,800	37,800	16,000
1991-96	106,300	51,100	33,600	21,600
Total	692,800	401,100	208,500	83,300
From others provinces to Quebec				
1971-76	83,800	41,900	37,200	4,700
1976-81	61,300	25,200	31,900	4,200
1981-86	67,000	29,000	33,000	5,000
1986-91	82,000	31,600	43,000	7,400
1991-96	68,900	26,600	34,800	7,500
Total	363,000	154,300	179,900	28,800
Net migration (arrivals minus departures)				
1971-76	-62,000	-52,200	-4,100	-5,700
1976-81	-141,700	-106,300	-18,000	-17,400
1981-86	-63,200	-41,600	-12,900	-8,700
1986-91	-25,600	-22,200	5,200	-8,600
1991-96	-37,400	-24,500	1,200	-14,100
Total	-329,900	-246,800	-28,600	-54,500

Note: Population 5 years of age or more at the time of the Census.

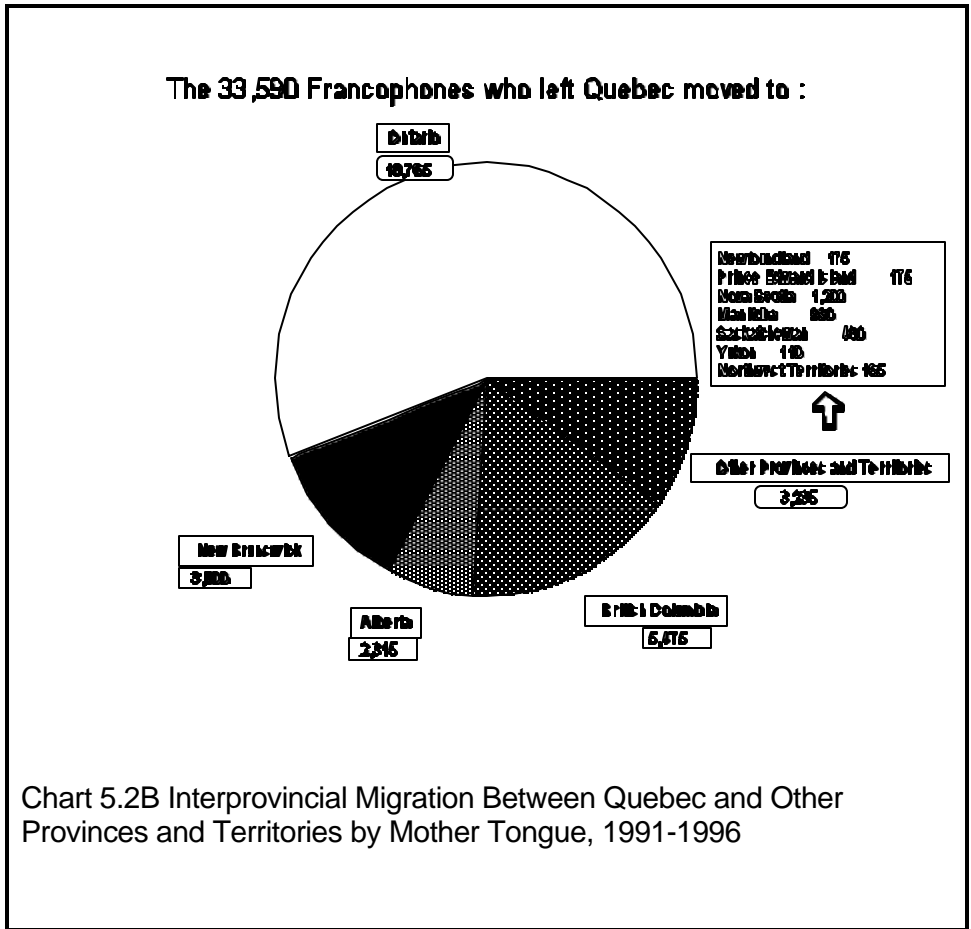
Sources: Census of Canada, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

If we study the destinations of Anglophones and Francophones who left Quebec in the 1991-1996 period, we find that there is very little difference in their patterns of migration. A considerable majority of both Anglophones and Francophones went to Ontario: almost two-thirds in the first case and more than a half in the second. British Columbia was the next most favoured destination for both language groups. New Brunswick, with its large French minority (a third of the population has French as mother tongue) and proximity to Quebec, was the third most favoured destination among Francophones, while Alberta was third for Anglophones leaving Quebec.



Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE GROUPS



Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

If we analyse the source of migrants coming to Quebec between 1991 and 1996, we find similar patterns of migration. The majority of Francophones (64%) and Anglophones (65%) came from Ontario.

Outside Quebec during the 1991–1996 period, Prince Edward Island, Alberta, British Columbia and the territories recorded net inflows of Francophones. The net inflow for British Columbia amounted to 6,200, substantially higher than in the previous five-year period (3,600). In Ontario, the net outflow of Francophones (6,000) was more than three times higher than the one registered during the previous five-year period (1,600). In contrast, the net outflow of Francophones from New Brunswick decelerated substantially between the two census periods, from 1,900 to 500.

Table 5.8 Interprovincial Migration of People With French as Mother Tongue, Provinces and Territories (except Quebec), 1986-1991 and 1991-1996

Provinces and territories	1986 to 1991			1991 to 1996		
	Migration			Migration		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
NFLD.	6.01e+40	7.40e+41	-140	5.6e+41	9e+40	-330
P.E.I.			-595			340
N.S.			-660			-350
N.B.			-1,870			-510
Ontario			-1,650			-6,040
Manitoba			-2,115			-730
Sask.			-1,335			-400
Alberta			-570			370
B.C.			3,625			6,210
Yukon			-45			160
N.W.T.			-40			60

Source: 1996 Census of Canada, unpublished tabulations.

Passing on the Language

The growth and decline of language groups is affected by the tendency of one generation to pass their language on to the next. We can study this phenomenon by looking at the mother tongue of children in relation to the mother tongue of their parents. Generally, when both parents have the same official language as their mother tongue, the children almost always have that mother tongue, be it English or French. However, when parents have a non-official language as mother tongue, the children often learn one of the official languages (usually English) as mother tongue instead.

The tendency to pass on a language to children is influenced by a number of factors. Among the most important is the geographic concentration of the population which makes up a particular language group. For example, parents with a non-official language as their mother tongue are more likely to pass that language to their children if they live in a large ethnic community, than if they are isolated in a large Anglophone or Francophone population.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE GROUPS

In Quebec, in 1996, 10% of children of less than 18 years of age were from husband- wife families in which both parents had a non-official mother tongue. About 10% of these children learned French as a mother tongue and 10% learned English. While English is transmitted as often as French, use of the latter language has expanded over the course of the last 25 years. In 1971, only 3% of children having two parents with a non-official mother tongue learned French as a mother tongue, while 14% learned English. However, Allophone parents in Quebec are more likely to transmit a non-official mother tongue to their children(76%) than those outside Quebec (65%).

In the case of the children of English-French couples, an increasing proportion are learning French as a mother tongue both in Quebec and outside this province. In Quebec, French is now transmitted more often than English as a mother tongue. In 1996, 54% of the children learned French compared to 33% who learned English. In 1971 the situation was reversed, 49% learned French and 51% learned English. Moreover, we have noted an increase in the transmission of both languages as mother tongue. In 1996, 12% of children had English and French as mother tongues compared to 10% in 1991. In the other provinces and territories, the progress of French has been even more considerable over the last 25 years. In 1971, 10% of children from English-French couples learned French as a mother tongue. In 1996 the proportion was 16%. Moreover, the proportion with both mother tongues also increased between 1991 and 1996, from 4% to 5%.

In 1996, in Quebec, children of couples in which both parents were of the Anglophone minority learned English as a mother tongue in 98% of cases, while outside Quebec those from French parents received French in 93% of cases. There have been, nonetheless, improvements in the situation of Francophones outside Quebec over the last 25 years since in 1971, 90% of children learned French as their mother tongue.

Table 5.9 Mother Tongue of Children under 18 Years of Age Living in a Husband-wife Family by Mother Tongue of Parents, Quebec, 1971, 1991 and 1996

Quebec	Mother Tongue of Children									
	English		French		Non-official Language		French and English		Others multiples	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>1971—Mother Tongue of Parents</i>										
Both English	1.64e+28	99.1	1.27e+27	0.8	1.86e+20	0.1	...	...	...	...
Both French		0.4		99.6		0.1	...	...	...	...
Both Non-official		14.1		2.9		83.0	...	...	...	...
One French, one English		50.6		49.1		0.3	...	...	...	...
One French, one Non-official		17.5		74.6		7.9	...	...	...	...
One English, one Non-official		93.4		1.5		5.1	...	...	...	...
<i>1991—Mother Tongue of Parents</i>										
Both English	6.35e+27	98.3	7.25e+27	1.1	1.35e+21	0.2	2.41e+18	0.4	2.02e+17	0.0
Both French		0.2		99.7		0.0		0.1		0.0
Both Non-official		10.5		9.6		76.5		0.2		3.2
One French, one English		36.2		53.3		0.2		10.2		0.1
One French, one Non-official		9.7		75.6		8.3		2.5		3.8
One English, one Non-official		87.3		3.2		7.2		0.7		1.5
<i>1996—Mother Tongue of Parents</i>										
Both English	6.12e+27	97.6	7.95e+27	1.3	2.06e+20	0.3	4.01e+19	0.6	7.53e+17	0.1
Both French		0.2		99.6		0.1		0.1		0.0
Both Non-official		9.7		9.8		76.3		0.4		3.9
One French, one English		33.4		53.9		0.1		12.5		0.1
One French, one Non-official		10.9		73.7		7.0		3.5		5.0
One English, one Non-official		85.0		3.1		8.2		1.0		2.7

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

Table 5.10 Mother Tongue of Children under 18 Years of Age Living in a Husband-wife Family by Mother Tongue of Parents, Canada less Quebec, 1971, 1991 and 1996

Canada less Quebec	Mother Tongue of Children									
	English		French		Non-official Language		French and English		Others multiples	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
<i>1971—Mother Tongue of Parents</i>										
Both English	3.30e+34	99.9	1.73e+24	0.1	2.46e+23	0.1	...	...	...	...
Both French		9.8		90.1		0.1	...	...	...	...
Both Non-official		44.4		0.1		55.5	...	...	...	...
One French, one English		90.5		9.5		0.1	...	...	...	...
One French, one Non-official		76.8		15.1		8.1	...	...	...	...
One English, one Non-official		97.5		0.1		2.4	...	...	...	...
<i>1991—Mother Tongue of Parents</i>										
Both English	2.86e+33	99.9	1.07e+24	0.0	1.31e+20	0.0	1.00e+19	0.0	5.555e+16	0.0
Both French		6.6		92.8		0.0		0.6		0.0
Both Non-official		34.8		0.1		61.2		0.0		3.9
One French, one English		82.4		13.4		0.0		4.2		0.0
One French, one Non-official		71.2		17.6		5.3		3.9		2.0
One English, one Non-official		96.0		0.1		2.9		0.1		1.0
<i>1996—Mother Tongue of Parents</i>										
Both English	2.91e+33	99.8	1.22e+25	0.0	1.94e+22	0.1	1.32e+19	0.0	9.756e+18	0.0
Both French		6.5		92.8		0.1		0.5		0.0
Both Non-official		30.4		0.2		65.1		0.0		4.3
One French, one English		78.9		16.0		0.1		5.0		0.0
One French, one Non-official		68.3		20.9		4.7		3.7		2.4
One English, one Non-official		95.3		0.1		3.0		0.1		1.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

Language Shift and Exogamy

While it does not have a direct bearing on the size and growth of language groups, language shift, the tendency to speak a language at home that differs from the mother tongue, is often an indicator of future change. The language spoken most often at home will often be the one passed to the children as their mother tongue.

Language shift is an indicator of the dominance of a language and does not necessarily imply the abandonment of the mother tongue. It is therefore possible that the mother tongue is used in the home, but less often than the other.

Over the last 25 years we have seen an increase in language shift among the Francophone minority outside Quebec. In 1971, 30% of Francophones used a language other than French most often in the home, compared to 35% in 1991 and 37% in 1996. Only Francophones in British Columbia and the Yukon experienced a decline in the number of persons transferring to another language. Francophones in New Brunswick are the least likely to transfer to another language. From 1971 to 1996, the proportion having reported the use of a language other than French most often in the home has remained quite stable, going from 9% to 10%. The Anglophone minority in Quebec has also experienced an increase in language shifts over the quarter century which preceded the 1996 Census, going from 8% to 10%, however it remained relatively stable between 1991 and 1996.

In the country as a whole, the tendency of Allophones to speak either English or French most often at home declined from 1971 to 1996. In 1971, 47% of Allophones had transferred to either English or French. By 1991 this proportion had declined to 44% and declined to 40% in 1996. This decline is principally attributable to the higher rates of immigration experienced during the 1986–1996 decade. In Quebec, the situation was quite different than that of the rest of the country. A much smaller proportion of Allophones spoke a language other than their mother tongue most often in the home, 32% in 1996 and this proportion has remained constant since 1971. However, French has attracted increasing numbers of Allophones. Among those who have experienced a transfer to either English or French, a growing proportion have adopted French: 39% in 1996, compared to 37% in 1991 and 29% in 1971.

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Table 5.11 Population with Home Language Different from Mother Tongue, Canada, Quebec and Canada less Quebec, 1971, 1991 and 1996

	Mother Tongue.								
	English			French			Non-official		
	1971	1991	1996	1971	1991	1996	1971	1991	1996
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Canada	12	7	7	62	62	62	472	438	397
Newfoundland	1	0	0	435	552	605	421	388	395
Prince Edward Island	3	1	1	432	468	476	698	721	710
Nova Scotia	3	1	1	341	417	434	566	511	476
New Brunswick	8	9	11	88	97	97	513	531	565
Quebec	75	99	102	16	12	11	319	331	323
Ontario	10	5	5	303	372	391	406	417	376
Manitoba	10	3	3	372	503	530	524	529	522
Saskatchewan	7	2	1	524	676	708	650	647	628
Alberta	6	2	3	541	648	680	622	520	483
British Columbia	6	3	3	736	733	722	602	474	396
Yukon	5	1	2	744	538	536	723	751	685
N.W.T.	13	7	9	534	542	601	204	217	256
Canada less Quebec	8	4	4	298	353	367	496	456	409

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

Among those persons living as part of a couple, the mother tongue of the partner can be the reason motivating a language shift. When both members of a couple have the same mother tongue (an endogamous couple), the language spoke most often in the home will be very commonly the mother tongue. However, when members of a couple have different mother tongues (an exogamous couple), one or the other will have to speak a different language most often in the home. Where the other spouse is also able to speak both languages it is possible the other mother tongue will also be used in the home, though less often.

In Quebec, Anglophones living in couples are much more likely than in the past to have a French mother tongue partner: 29% in 1996 compared to 15% in 1971. An increasingly smaller proportion of Anglophones in exogamous couples speak English most often in the home: 52% in 1996 compared to 62% in 1971. Moreover, 85% of

Anglophones with a Francophone partner were English-French bilinguals in 1996, compared to 75% in 1971.

Outside Quebec, Francophones living in couples have increasingly an English mother tongue partner: 36% in 1996 compared to 22% in 1971. However, in this case the frequency of language shifts has always been very high (about 96% in 1971 and 1996), as a result the increase in the number of exogamous couples will not improve the situation of French as a language spoken most often in the home.

In the case of Allophones, given their increasing numbers, the phenomena of exogamy has not evolved as rapidly as Francophone and Anglophones living in a minority context. In 1996, both within and outside Quebec, more than 80% had a partner with a mother tongue other than English or French. In Quebec, more than two-thirds of Allophones in endogamous couples spoke a non-official language most often in the home, compare to 61% outside Quebec. In Quebec, 88% Allophones with an Anglophone partner spoke English most often in the home, while 65% of those with a Francophone partner had French as their home language. This situation was similar to that which existed 1971. In 1996, among Allophones with a Francophone or Anglophone partner about three quarters were English-French bilingual. In 1971, the rate of bilingualism among Allophones in Allophone-Anglophone couples (50%) was much weaker than those in Allophone-Francophone couples (67%).

FACTORS AFFECTING THE EVOLUTION OF LANGUAGE GROUPS

Table 5.12 A) English-French Bilingualism and Use of English as Home Language Among Anglophones Living in Couple Showing Mother Tongue of the Partner, Quebec, 1971, 1991 and 1996

Mother Tongue of the spouse ¹	Anglophones Living in Couples					
	Total	%	Bilingual French-English	%	English used most often in the home	%
1971						
Total	3.2e+65	100.0	1.36391e+61	42.3	2.953e+64	91.6
English		82.2		36.4		96.8
French		14.6		75.0		62.4
Other		3.1		45.8		92.4
1991						
Total		100.0		61.4		84.6
English		65.8		51.5		97.2
French		27.7		83.8		52.7
Other		6.5		65.9		91.8
1996						
Total		100.0		65.0		83.7
English		64.0		55.4		97.0
French		29.1		84.7		52.1
Other		6.9		70.9		92.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

1. Based only on single responses to the mother tongue and home language questions.

Table 5.12 B) English-French Bilingualism and Use of French as Home Language Among Francophones Living in Couple Showing Mother Tongue of the Partner, Canada less Quebec, 1971, 1991 and 1996

Mother Tongue of the Spouse ¹	Francophones Living in Couples					
	Total	%	Bilingual French-English	%	French used most often in the Home	%
1971						
Total	4.0e+67	100.0	3.49101e+67	87.5	2.558e+61	64.1
English		21.7		103.3		9.7
French		73.3		82.1		84.0
Other		5.0		98.3		10.1
1991						
Total		100.0		86.3		55.0
English		35.0		91.3		8.7
French		61.4		83.3		84.5
Other		4.3		88.2		10.7
1996						
Total		100.0		88.2		54.0
English		36.4		92.0		9.5
French		59.2		85.8		84.5
Other		4.4		90.0		12.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

1. Based only on single responses to the mother tongue and home language questions.

Table 5.12 C) English-French Bilingualism and Use of English, French or a Non-official Language as Home Language Among Allophones Living in Couple Showing Mother Tongue of the Partner, Quebec, 1971, 1991 and 1996

Allophones Living in Couples										
Mother Tongue of the Spouse ¹	Total	%	Language used most often in the home							
			Bilingual French-English	%	French Number	%	English Number	%	Non-official Number	%
1971										
Total	1.9e+64	100.0	6.19155e+61	32.6	1.8e+51	9.2	4.4e+55	23.0	1.3e+56	67.8
English		5.3		49.8		2.7		88.2		9.1
French		7.3		66.9		61.6		29.9		8.5
Other		87.4		28.7		5.2		18.5		76.3
1991										
Total		100.0		46.1		12.7		22.1		57.9
English		5.7		70.6		3.5		87.4		4.0
French		11.0		73.4		64.7		21.1		6.9
Other		83.3		40.9		6.4		17.7		68.3
1996										
Total		100.0		47.3		12.3		21.2		58.6
English		5.2		73.4		3.9		88.2		4.8
French		10.4		76.7		64.7		21.9		4.8
Other		84.5		42.1		6.4		17.0		68.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

1. Based only on single responses to the mother tongue and home language questions.

Table 5.12 D) English-French Bilingualism and Use of English, French or a Non-official Language as Home Language Among Allophones Living in Couple Showing Mother Tongue of the Partner, Canada less Quebec, 1971, 1991 and 1996

Allophones Living in Couples										
Mother Tongue of Spouse ¹	Total		Bilingual English- French		Language Spoken Most Often in the Home					
	Number	%	Number	%	French		English		Non- official	
					Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1971										
Total	1,365,740	100.0	4.8045e+56	3.5	2.9e+44	0.2	7.1e+68	51.8	6.550e+59	48.0
English	211,740	15.5		5.1		0.1		96.5		3.4
French	19,630	1.4		19.0		5.8		89.2		5.0
Other	1,134,370	83.1		3.0		0.1		42.8		57.0
1991										
Total	1,945,755	100.0		29.2		0.1		48.8		45.3
English	373,390	19.2		168.6		0.0		95.7		2.8
French	21,760	1.1		25.7		6.2		85.6		4.6
Other	1,550,605	79.7		3.4		0.1		37.0		56.1
1996										
Total	2,199,345	100.0		4.4		0.1		43.5		50.3
English	384,010	17.5		8.1		0.0		96.3		2.1
French	22,360	1.0		27.8		6.7		86.3		3.5
Other	1,792,975	81.5		3.3		0.1		31.6		61.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1971, 1991 and 1996, unpublished tabulations.

1. Based only on single responses to the mother tongue and home language questions.

Overview of the factors

Despite an increasing number of Francophones in Canada, their relative share of the Canadian population declined between 1951 and 1996. The two main factors that contributed to this decline were the reduction in the fertility of Francophone women and the immigration to Canada of many people whose mother tongue is a language other than French. The arrival of these immigrants added considerably to the Anglophone population, and to the population with a non-official language as mother tongue, but augmented the Francophone population only slightly.

In Quebec, the number of Francophones increased considerably, but the percentage has fluctuated between 80 % and 83% in the 1951 to 1996 period. The departure of many Anglophones has enabled the Francophone population to maintain its relative strength despite a decrease in the fertility of Francophone women, and an increase in the Allophone population, particularly in the last fifteen years.

Outside Quebec, the number of Francophones has grown, but the percentage has declined steadily. This decline which, until 1991, resulted mainly from increases in the non-Francophone population which gained considerable numbers through immigration, is now also explained by a decrease in the numbers of Francophones. Besides the decrease of the fertility of Francophone women, the high tendency of children born to English-French couples to learn English as their mother tongue has contributed to this decline.

The size of the Anglophone population in Canada increased considerably between 1951 and 1996, while the percentage (60% in 1996) changed very little. Immigration and the tendency of children of immigrants to learn English as mother tongue contributed substantially to the increase in Anglophones. In Quebec, the English mother tongue group has declined both in number and percentage due to strong migration to other provinces and territories.

The population with a non-official language as mother tongue increased both in number and in proportion among the Canadian population. Immigration is the main source of growth for most language groups other than English or French, the majority of immigrants having a non-official language as mother tongue.

CONCLUSION

The last forty-five years, from 1951 to 1996, were a time of considerable change in the linguistic portrait of our country. During this period the Canadian population more than doubled, from fourteen to twenty-nine million people. Such increases rarely occur without an effect on the composition of the population. This study has presented an overview of important changes, as well as a portrait of the current language situation.

The factors which have led to the present situation of English, French and other language groups - fertility, migration (international and interprovincial) and the transmission of a language to the next generation - will continue to play a vital role in the future evolution of language groups all over the country. It is difficult to imagine a reasonable scenario which would reverse the trend towards a reduction in the proportion of Francophones in the overall population of the country.

The fluctuations in the percentage of Allophones in the Canadian population are due to immigration. In the short run, immigration increases this population, but in the long run the children and grandchildren of immigrants tend to learn one of the official languages as mother tongue. Thus, heavy immigration could maintain or increase the percentage of Canadian Allophones briefly, but if the patterns observed for immigrants continue, a decline in their percentage will eventually take place.

The population whose mother tongue is English has grown as a result of immigration, as people with English mother tongue move to Canada, and as the descendants of immigrants from other language groups move toward using the language of the North American majority. While the short-term impact of heavy immigration is to increase the non-official language groups, use of the English language has experienced considerable long-term growth through immigration.

CONCLUSION

If immigration continues to favour the growth of the Anglophone group and fertility of the two official language groups remains similar to current levels, it is likely that both the number and proportion of Anglophones will increase in the future.

GLOSSARY

GLOSSARY

<i>Mother Tongue</i>	First language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census.
<i>Home Language</i>	Language spoken most often at home by the individual at the time of the census.
<i>Knowledge of Official Languages</i>	Refers to the ability to conduct a conversation in English only, in French only, in both English and French or in neither of the official languages of Canada.
<i>Knowledge of Non-official Languages</i>	Refers to all languages, other than English or French, in which the respondent can conduct a conversation.
<i>First Official Language Spoken</i>	Refers to the official language actually spoken which, in most cases, was first learned by the individual.
<i>Anglophone</i>	Person with English as mother tongue.
<i>Francophone</i>	Person with French as mother tongue.
<i>Allophone</i>	Person with a non-official language as mother tongue.

<i>English Speaker</i>	Person who is able to conduct a conversation in English.
<i>French Speaker</i>	Person who is able to conduct a conversation in French.
<i>Language Group</i>	Population with a common mother tongue.
<i>Language Transfer</i>	Refers to the use of a language most often at home which is different from the mother tongue.
<i>Exogamy</i>	Situation occurring when partners in a couple have different mother tongues.

DATA QUALITY

Statistics used for this study come from the sample data from the 1971 to 1996 Censuses. For the 1971 Census, they are taken from responses obtained from one third of Canadian households that completed the long form questionnaire and, since the 1981 Census, from one fifth. The mother tongue data from this sample, especially for the 1991 and 1996 Censuses, are considered to be more accurate than those collected from the entire population, since there are far fewer multiple responses. Evaluations have shown that the number of people with more than one mother tongue is overestimated for households completing the short form questionnaire. The difference in the proportion of multiple responses obtained from each source is probably due to the fact that, in the short form, the question on mother tongue was the only language question asked while on the long form, other language questions were asked before the question on mother tongue. Respondents would be less likely to indicate two or more mother tongues if they were first able to indicate their language knowledge. However, the direction of most trends is consistent regardless of the data base used.

Since the 1981 Census, data from the 20% sample data base exclude institutional residents. Consequently, the figures for this census and the following ones are lower than they would be with this population included, and are not strictly comparable with previous censuses.

In the trend analysis, multiple responses were evenly divided between the languages reported. For example, if a given number of respondents provided English and French as their mother tongue or home language, half were assigned to the English category and half to the French. The same procedure was followed for multiple responses which included an official language and a non-official language.

The 1991 Census included, for the first time, residents of Canada who were non-permanent residents. These include people who hold student or employment authorizations, Minister's permits or who are refugee claimants, as well as their dependants. Prior to 1991, such people were considered foreign residents and were not enumerated. Since many of these people have non-official languages as mother tongue, their inclusion boosts the percentage of this population slightly for 1991 and 1996.

APPENDIX OF TABLES

Table A.1**Population by Mother Tongue, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996**

	Mother Tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official Language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada							
1951	14009429	4068850	29	8280809	59.1	1659770	11.8
1961	18238247	5123151	28.1	10660534	58.5	2454562	13.5
1971	21568310	5792710	26.9	12967445	60.1	2808155	13
1981	24083505	6177795	25.7	14784810	61.4	3120900	13
1991	26994040	6562065	24.3	16311210	60.4	4120770	15.3
1996	28528130	6711644	23.5	17072432	59.8	4744059	16.6
Newfoundland							
1951	361416	2321	0.6	357328	98.9	1767	0.5
1961	457853	3150	0.7	451530	98.6	3173	0.7
1971	522105	3610	0.7	514415	98.5	4080	0.8
1981	563745	2580	0.5	557040	98.8	4125	0.7
1991	563925	2855	0.5	555925	98.6	5140	0.9
1996	547160	2440	0.4	539048	98.5	5663	1
Prince Edward Island							
1951	98429	8477	8.6	89241	90.7	711	0.7
1961	104629	7958	7.6	95564	91.3	1107	1.1
1971	111640	7360	6.6	103115	92.4	1165	1.1
1981	121220	5835	4.8	114095	94.1	1295	1.1
1991	128100	5750	4.5	120770	94.3	1585	1.2
1996	132860	5722	4.3	125017	94.1	2137	1.6

Table A.1**Population by Mother Tongue, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996**

	Mother Tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Nova Scotia							
1951	642584	38945	6.1	588610	91.6	15029	2.3
1961	737007	39568	5.4	680233	92.3	17206	2.3
1971	788960	39585	5	733195	93	16180	2.1
1981	839800	35385	4.2	786725	93.7	17695	2.1
1991	890945	37525	4.2	831575	93.3	21845	2.5
1996	899970	36311	4	838283	93.1	25376	2.8
New Brunswick							
1951	515697	185110	35.9	325412	63.1	5175	1
1961	597936	210530	35.2	378633	63.3	8773	1.5
1971	634560	214720	33.8	411275	64.8	8565	1.3
1981	689370	231970	33.6	448885	65.1	8515	1.2
1991	716500	243690	34	462875	64.6	9935	1.4
1996	729630	242408	33.2	476396	65.3	10826	1.5
Quebec							
1951	4055681	3347030	82.5	558256	13.8	150395	3.7
1961	5259211	4269689	81.2	697402	13.3	292120	5.6
1971	6027765	4866410	80.7	788830	13.1	372525	6.2
1981	6369055	5254195	82.5	693600	10.9	421265	6.6
1991	6810305	5585650	82	626200	9.2	598455	8.8
1996	7045085	5741438	81.5	621858	8.8	681790	9.7

Table A.1**Population by Mother Tongue, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996**

	Mother Tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Ontario							
1951	4597542	341502	7.4	3755442	81.7	500598	10.9
1961	6236092	425302	6.8	4834623	77.5	976167	15.7
1971	7703110	482350	6.3	5967725	77.5	1253035	16.3
1981	8534260	465335	5.5	6611990	77.5	1456940	17.1
1991	9977055	503345	5	7443540	74.6	2030170	20.3
1996	10642790	499689	4.7	7777734	73.1	2365367	22.2
Manitoba							
1951	776541	54199	7	467892	60.3	254450	32.8
1961	921686	60899	6.6	584526	63.4	276260	30
1971	988245	60485	6.1	662130	67	265630	26.8
1981	1013700	51620	5.1	731500	72.2	230575	22.7
1991	1079390	50775	4.7	793325	73.5	235285	21.8
1996	1100295	49100	4.5	822258	74.7	228940	20.8
Saskatchewan							
1951	831728	36815	4.4	515873	62	279040	33.5
1961	925181	36163	3.9	638156	69	250862	27.1
1971	926245	31795	3.4	685025	74	209425	22.6
1981	956445	25090	2.6	767110	80.2	164250	17.2
1991	976040	21795	2.2	812600	83.3	141645	14.5
1996	976615	19901	2	823746	84.3	132968	13.6

Table A.1

Population by Mother Tongue, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Mother Tongue						
	Total	French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta							
1951	939501	34196	3.6	648413	69	256892	27.3
1961	1331944	42276	3.2	962319	72.2	327349	24.6
1971	1627875	46750	2.9	1262840	77.6	318285	19.5
1981	2213640	60605	2.7	1800870	81.4	352165	15.9
1991	2519185	56730	2.3	2045905	81.2	416550	16.5
1996	2669195	55290	2	2175758	81.5	438148	16.4
British Columbia							
1951	1165210	19366	1.7	963920	82.7	181924	15.6
1961	1,629 082	26179	1.6	1,318 498	80.9	284405	17.5
1971	2184625	38035	1.7	1807240	82.7	339350	15.5
1981	2713620	43415	1.6	2228185	82.1	442025	16.3
1991	3247495	51585	1.6	2562240	78.9	633665	19.5
1996	3689755	56755	1.5	2809398	76.1	823603	22.3
Yukon							
1951	9096	308	3.4	6618	72.8	2170	23.9
1961	14628	443	3	10869	74.3	3316	22.7
1971	18390	450	2.4	15340	83.4	2600	14.1
1981	23080	530	2.3	20185	87.5	2365	10.2
1991	27665	905	3.3	24550	88.7	2210	8
1996	30650	1170	3.8	26613	86.8	2868	9.4

Table A.1							
Population by Mother Tongue, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996							
	Total	Mother Tongue					
		French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Northwest Territories							
1951	16004	581	3.6	3804	23.8	11619	72.6
1961	22998	994	4.3	8181	35.6	13823	60.1
1971	34805	1160	3.3	16305	46.8	17340	49.8
1981	45535	1225	2.7	24635	54.1	19675	43.2
1991	57435	1455	2.5	31705	55.2	24280	42.3
1996	64125	1421	2.2	36326	56.6	26378	41.1
Canada less Quebec							
1951	9953748	721820	7.3	7722553	77.6	1509375	15.2
1961	12979036	853462	6.6	9963132	76.8	2162442	16.7
1971	15540545	926300	6	12178615	78.4	2435630	15.7
1981	17714450	923605	5.2	14091215	79.5	2699635	15.2
1991	20183735	976415	4.8	15685005	77.7	3522315	17.5
1996	21483045	970207	4.5	16450574	76.6	4062269	18.9

Note: Since the 1981 Census, the figures exclude institutional residents, which represent approximately 1% of the population.

Source: Census of Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996.

Table A.2

Population by Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Home Language						
	Total	French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada							
1971	21568310	5546025	25.7	14446235	67	1576050	7.3
1981	24083495	5919855	24.6	16375315	68	1788325	7.4
1991	26994045	6288430	23.3	18440540	68.3	2265075	8.4
1996	28528120	6448603	22.6	19294873	67.6	2784643	9.8
Newfoundland							
1971	522100	2295	0.4	517210	99.1	2595	0.5
1981	563750	1845	0.3	559390	99.2	2515	0.4
1991	563935	1340	0.2	559505	99.2	3095	0.5
1996	547155	1018	0.1	542628	99.2	3510	0.6
Prince Edward Island							
1971	111640	4405	3.9	106795	95.7	440	0.4
1981	121230	3745	3.1	117040	96.5	450	0.4
1991	128105	3050	2.4	124620	97.3	440	0.3
1996	132855	3045	2.3	129190	97.2	620	0.5
Nova Scotia							
1971	788960	27220	3.5	753725	95.5	8015	1
1981	839800	24435	2.9	806490	96	8875	1.1
1991	890945	22260	2.5	858130	96.3	10555	1.2
1996	899970	20710	2.3	866260	96.3	13000	1.4

Table A.2

Population by Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Home Language						
	Total	French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
New Brunswick							
1971	634560	199080	31.4	430720	67.9	4760	0.8
1981	689380	216745	31.4	468105	67.9	4530	0.7
1991	716490	223265	31.2	488570	68.2	4660	0.7
1996	729625	222441	30.1	502526	68.9	4658	0.6
Quebec							
1971	6027765	4870100	80.8	887875	14.7	269790	4.5
1981	6369075	5253070	82.5	806785	12.7	309220	4.9
1991	6810300	5651795	83	761815	11.2	396695	5.8
1996	7045085	5830082	82.8	762457	10.8	452547	6.4
Ontario							
1971	7703105	352465	4.6	6558060	85.1	792580	10.3
1981	8534270	333050	3.9	7310060	85.7	891160	10.4
1991	9977055	318705	3.2	8499515	85.2	1158830	11.6
1996	10642790	306790	2.9	8900845	83.6	1435155	13.5
Manitoba							
1971	988245	39600	4	816560	82.6	132085	13.4
1981	1013705	31030	3.1	868295	85.7	114380	11.3
1991	1079395	25045	2.3	947090	87.7	107265	9.9
1996	1100295	23133	2.1	971608	88.3	105553	9.6

Table A.2

Population by Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Home Language						
	Total	French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Saskatchewan							
1971	926240	15930	1.7	832515	89.9	77795	8.4
1981	956435	10295	1.1	884760	92.5	61380	6.4
1991	976030	7155	0.7	921085	94.4	47790	4.9
1996	976615	5828	0.6	923443	94.6	47343	4.8
Alberta							
1971	1627870	22700	1.4	1477960	90.8	127210	7.8
1981	2213645	29690	1.3	2024090	91.4	159860	7.2
1991	2519180	20180	0.8	2305200	91.5	193800	7.7
1996	2669195	17822	0.6	2432682	91.1	218692	8.2
British Columbia							
1971	2184620	11505	0.5	2027120	92.8	145995	6.7
1981	2713620	15090	0.6	2479555	91.4	218980	8.1
1991	3247495	14555	0.4	2909930	89.6	323010	9.9
1996	3689760	16586	0.4	3189883	86.5	483291	13.1
Yukon							
1971	18395	135	0.7	17470	95	790	4.3
1981	23075	240	1	22075	95.7	760	3.3
1991	27645	390	1.4	26735	96.7	520	1.9
1996	30655	543	1.8	29240	95.4	873	2.9

Table A.2

Population by Home Language, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Home Language						
	Total	French		English		Non-official language	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Northwest Territories							
1971	34800	585	1.7	20225	58.1	13990	40.2
1981	45535	630	1.4	28670	63	16235	35.7
1991	57435	680	1.2	38355	66.8	18400	32
1996	64120	607	0.9	44112	68.8	19402	30.3
Canada less Quebec							
1971	15540545	675925	4.3	13558360	87.2	1306260	8.4
1981	17714420	666785	3.8	15568530	87.9	1479105	8.3
1991	20183745	636640	3.2	17678730	87.6	1868380	9.3
1996	21483035	618522	2.9	18532417	86.3	2332097	10.9

Note: Since the 1981 Census, the figures exclude institutional residents, which represent approximately 1% of the population.

Sources: Census of Canada, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996.

Table A.3

Population by Knowledge of Official Languages, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

		Knowledge of Official Languages							
Total	French Only		English Only		French and English		Neither French, nor English		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Canada									
1951	14009429	2741812	19.6	9387395	67	1727447	12.3	152775	1.1
1961	18238247	3489866	19.1	12284762	67.4	2231172	12.2	232447	1.3
1971	21568310	3879255	18	14469540	67.1	2900155	13.4	319360	1.5
1981	24083495	3987245	16.6	16122895	66.9	3681960	15.3	291395	1.2
1991	26994035	4110300	15.2	18106760	67.1	4398655	16.3	378320	1.4
1996	28528100	4079080	14.3	19134245	67.1	4841310	17	473465	1.7
Newfoundland									
1951	361416	153	0	356377	98.6	3990	1.1	896	0.2
1961	457853	522	0.1	450945	98.5	5299	1.2	1087	0.2
1971	522105	510	0.1	511620	98	9350	1.8	625	0.1
1981	563750	145	0	550335	97.6	12840	2.3	430	0.1
1991	563940	240	0	544425	96.5	18495	3.3	780	0.1
1996	547155	155	0	525190	96	21260	3.9	550	0.1
Prince Edward Island									
1951	98429	914	0.9	88743	90.2	8745	8.9	27	0
1961	104629	1219	1.2	95296	91.1	7938	7.6	176	0.2
1971	111640	680	0.6	101820	91.2	9110	8.2	30	0
1981	121225	205	0.2	111200	91.7	9780	8.1	40	0
1991	128095	270	0.2	114795	89.6	12950	10.1	80	0.1
1996	132855	170	0.1	118080	88.9	14570	11	35	0

Table A.3

Population by Knowledge of Official Languages, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Knowledge of Official Languages								
	Total	French Only		English Only		French and English		Neither French, nor English	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Nova Scotia									
1951	642584	7462	1.2	595257	92.6	39524	6.2	341	0
1961	737007	5938	0.8	684805	92.9	44987	6.1	1277	0.2
1971	788955	4185	0.5	730700	92.6	53035	6.7	1035	0.1
1981	839795	1880	0.2	774760	92.3	62350	7.4	805	0.1
1991	890945	1580	0.2	811870	91.1	76465	8.6	1030	0.1
1996	899970	1375	0.2	813320	90.4	83980	9.3	1295	0.1
New Brunswick									
1951	515697	100712	19.5	318560	61.8	96095	18.6	330	0.1
1961	597936	112054	18.7	370922	62	113495	19	1465	0.2
1971	634555	100985	15.9	396855	62.5	136115	21.5	600	0.1
1981	689370	89340	13	417025	60.5	182550	26.5	455	0.1
1991	716495	89500	12.5	414955	57.9	211525	29.5	515	0.1
1996	729625	73410	10.1	417970	57.3	237765	32.6	480	0.1
Quebec									
1951	4055681	2534242	62.5	462813	11.4	1038130	25.6	20496	0.5
1961	5259211	3254850	61.9	608635	11.6	1338878	25.5	56848	1.1
1971	6027765	3668015	60.9	632515	10.5	1663790	27.6	63445	1.1
1981	6369065	3826605	60.1	426240	6.7	2065105	32.4	51115	0.8
1991	6810300	3958930	58.1	373755	5.5	2412985	35.4	64630	0.9
1996	7045075	3951710	56.1	358505	5.1	2660590	37.8	74270	1.1

Table A.3

Population by Knowledge of Official Languages, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Knowledge of Official Languages								
	Total	French Only		English Only		French and English		Neither French, nor English	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Ontario									
1951	4597542	78974	1.7	4115584	89.5	359965	7.8	43019	0.9
1961	6236092	95236	1.5	5548766	89	493270	7.9	98820	1.6
1971	7703100	92845	1.2	6724100	87.3	716065	9.3	170090	2.2
1981	8534265	60535	0.7	7401070	86.7	924475	10.8	148185	1.7
1991	9977055	54245	0.5	8593635	86.1	1136245	11.4	192930	1.9
1996	10642785	46940	0.4	9116165	85.7	1234895	11.6	244785	2.3
Manitoba									
1951	776541	7869	1	685914	88.3	58441	7.5	24317	3.1
1961	921686	7954	0.9	825955	89.6	68368	7.4	19409	2.1
1971	988255	5020	0.5	881715	89.2	80935	8.2	20585	2.1
1981	1013710	2620	0.3	915760	90.3	79990	7.9	15340	1.5
1991	1079390	1905	0.2	965100	89.4	98800	9.2	13585	1.3
1996	1100295	1495	0.1	983820	89.4	103140	9.4	11840	1.1
Saskatchewan									
1951	831728	4656	0.6	767248	92.2	40789	4.9	19035	2.3
1961	925181	3853	0.4	865821	93.6	42074	4.5	13433	1.5
1971	926235	1825	0.2	867315	93.6	45985	5	11110	1.2
1981	956435	705	0.1	904900	94.6	43650	4.6	7180	0.8
1991	976035	450	0	919070	94.2	50800	5.2	5715	0.6
1996	976615	345	0	920555	94.3	50770	5.2	4945	0.5

Table A.3

Population by Knowledge of Official Languages, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996

	Knowledge of Official Languages								
	Total	French Only		English Only		French and English		Neither French, nor English	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Alberta									
1951	939501	5922	0.6	868696	92.5	40785	4.3	24098	2.6
1961	1331944	5534	0.4	1253824	94.1	56920	4.3	15666	1.2
1971	1627875	3310	0.2	1525575	93.7	81000	5	17990	1.1
1981	2213650	3700	0.2	2045060	92.4	142465	6.4	22425	1
1991	2519180	1940	0.1	2318935	92.1	167155	6.6	31150	1.2
1996	2669195	1615	0.1	2455075	92	178505	6.7	34000	1.3
British Columbia									
1951	1165210	727	0.1	1112937	95.5	39433	3.4	12113	1
1961	1629082	2559	0.2	1552560	95.3	57504	3.5	16459	1
1971	2184625	1775	0.1	2054690	94.1	101435	4.6	26725	1.2
1981	2713615	1445	0	2518965	92.8	154170	5.7	39035	1.4
1991	3247510	1140	0	2976330	91.6	207175	6.4	62865	1.9
1996	3689750	1775	0	3342345	90.6	248590	6.7	97040	2.6
Yukon									
1951	9096	10	0.1	8337	91.7	519	5.7	230	2.5
1961	14628	38	0.3	13679	93.5	825	5.6	86	0.6
1971	18390	10	0	17130	93.1	1210	6.6	40	0.2
1981	23075	10	0	21200	91.9	1820	7.9	45	0.2
1991	27655	25	0.1	25035	90.5	2570	9.3	25	0.1
1996	30655	50	0.2	27340	89.2	3210	10.5	55	0.2

Table A.3**Population by Knowledge of Official Languages, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1951 to 1996**

	Knowledge of Official Languages								
	Total	French Only		English Only		French and English		Neither French, nor English	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Northwest Territories									
1951	16004	171	1.1	6929	43.3	1031	6.4	7873	49.2
1961	22998	109	0.5	13554	58.9	1614	7	7721	33.6
1971	34805	100	0.3	25000	73.3	2120	6.1	7085	20.4
1981	45545	60	0.1	36385	79.9	2755	6	6435	13.9
1991	57435	80	0.1	48855	85.1	3495	6.1	5005	8.7
1996	64125	40	0.6	55880	87.1	4035	6.3	4170	6.5
Canada less Quebec									
1951	9953748	207570	2.1	8924582	89.7	689317	6.9	132279	1.3
1961	12979036	235016	1.8	11676127	90	892294	6.9	175599	1.4
1971	15540545	211240	1.4	13837025	89	1236365	8	255915	1.6
1981	17714430	160640	0.9	15696655	88.6	1616855	9.1	240280	1.4
1991	20183735	151370	0.7	17733005	87.9	1985670	9.8	313690	1.6
1996	21483025	127370	0.6	18775740	87.3	2180720	10.2	399195	1.9

Note: Since the 1981 Census, the figures exclude institutional residents, which represent approximately 1% of the population.

Sources: Census of Canada, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 1996.

Table A.4

Population by First Official Language Spoken, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	First Official Language Spoken						
	Total	French	English	French and English	Neither French, nor English	Official Language Minority(1)	
		Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	%
Canada							
1991	26994035	6704675	19709370	217080	362910	6813220	25.2
1996	28528125	6890880	20921770	254350	461125	7018050	24.6
Newfoundland							
1991	563940	2630	560485	95	725	2675	0.5
1996	547160	2185	544360	185	435	2270	0.4
Prince Edward Island							
1991	128100	5235	122720	85	55	5280	4.1
1996	132855	5270	127425	120	30	5335	4
Nova Scotia							
1991	890950	35470	853680	835	970	35885	4
1996	899970	34090	863720	1040	1115	34615	3.8
New Brunswick							
1991	716495	241765	472550	1730	455	242630	33.9
1996	729630	240060	487200	1965	405	241040	33

Table A.4

Population by First Official Language Spoken, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	First Official Language Spoken						
	Total	French	English	French and English	Neither French, nor English	Official Language Minority(1)	
		Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	%
Quebec							
1991	6810300	5772180	832045	144505	61565	904305	13.3
1996	7045085	5963675	842105	167460	71845	925835	13.1
Ontario							
1991	9977050	483445	9255865	52410	185335	509650	5.1
1996	10642790	480650	9860780	62300	239060	511800	4.8
Manitoba							
1991	1079395	46665	1017500	2265	12965	47800	4.4
1996	1100290	45570	1041230	2010	11490	46570	4.2
Saskatchewan							
1991	976040	19315	950350	975	5395	19805	2
1996	976615	17310	953775	810	4720	17720	1.8
Alberta							
1991	2519180	50565	2433560	5430	29635	53280	2.1
1996	2669195	49390	2580675	6220	32910	52500	2

Table A.4

Population by First Official Language Spoken, Canada, Provinces, Territories and Canada less Quebec, 1991 and 1996

	First Official Language Spoken						
	Total	French	English	French and English	Neither French, nor English	Official Language Minority(1)	
		Number	Number	Number	Number	Number	%
British Columbia							
1991	3247505	45225	3132795	8635	60850	49545	1.5
1996	3689755	50285	3532485	12040	94945	56310	1.5
Yukon							
1991	27660	835	26765	30	25	850	3.1
1996	30655	1080	29455	70	45	1115	3.6
Northwest Territories							
1991	57435	1345	51055	90	4935	1390	2.4
1996	64120	1315	58565	120	4120	1375	2.1
Canada less Quebec							
1991	20183735	932495	18877325	72575	301345	968785	4.8
1996	21483040	927205	20079665	86890	389280	970650	4.5

(1) English is the minority first official language spoken in Quebec, which includes all those with English as a first official language spoken and half of those with both French and English. French is the minority first official language spoken in Canada and in each of the provinces and territories outside Quebec, which includes all those with French as a first official language spoken and half of those with both French and English.

Sources: Census of Canada, 1991 and 1996.

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