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**CANADA**  
**A LINGUISTIC PROFILE**

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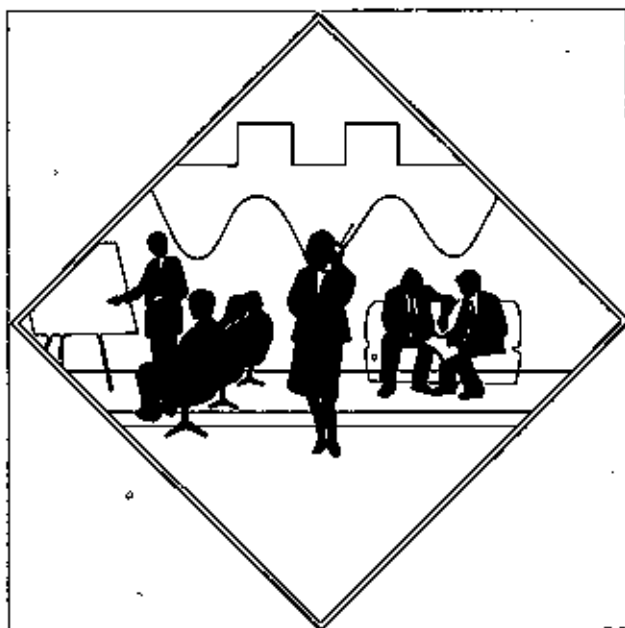
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## CANADA — A LINGUISTIC PROFILE



by Robert Bourbonnau

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## PREFACE

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**T**he 1986 Census of Canada provided, as did all the previous censuses, a rich source of information on individual, family and household characteristics of Canadians. The census data allow individual researchers as well as academic, business, cultural, social and governmental organizations to undertake in-depth enquiries and analyses on those social issues which interest and concern them.

This study is part of the 1986 Focus on Canada Series. The series is a modest effort by Statistics Canada to provide overviews of a wide variety of subjects on which the 1986 Census collected information. The studies have been written by experts, both inside and outside Statistics Canada, in non-technical language supported by simple tables and attractive charts. The topics include demographic characteristics (population, families, farmers, youth, seniors, the disabled), socio-cultural characteristics (ethnicity, language, education), and economic characteristics (women in the labour force, affordability of housing, occupational trends, employment income, family income).

The present study on "Canada — A Linguistic Profile" was authored by Professor Robert Bourbeau of the University of Montréal.

I would like to express my appreciation to the authors, to the reviewers and to the staff of the Bureau involved in managing and producing this series.

We hope that the studies in the Focus on Canada Series will not only provide Canadians with very useful information on various facets of Canadian society, but will also be an inducement for them to undertake further research on the topics.

Ivan P. Fellegi  
Chief Statistician of Canada



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## HIGHLIGHTS

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- Linguistic make-up of Canada in 1986: recent trends are holding. The proportion of Francophones in Quebec and of Anglophones in the rest of Canada continues to increase.
- Canada's linguistic diversity is increasing as a result of changes observed in immigration patterns: groups with mother tongues other than English or French are expanding, most notably in the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal.
- English as a home language continues to exert drawing power, even in regions of the country where it is in a minority position.
- Bilingualism continues to advance, in Canada as a whole and in almost all provinces. In 1986, more than 4 million Canadians reported being bilingual.
- Bilingualism is making greater advances among the young (under 25 years of age) than among older persons (25 years of age and over).
- A total of 86% of bilingual persons are to be found in three provinces — Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick — whereas these provinces account for only 65% of the Canadian population.
- In Canada, bilingualism continues to be a much more common trait among persons whose mother tongue is French than among those whose mother tongue is English.
- Although Quebec was the most bilingual province in 1986, the most bilingual group consisted of persons living outside Quebec whose mother tongue was French: of the latter, four out of five were able to conduct a conversation in both official languages.
- It is in Quebec that Anglophones and Allophones have the highest rates of bilingualism.
- Increasingly, Anglophones in Canada are learning French through immersion programs offered in public schools: more than 5% of the eligible students in English Canada are enrolled in such programs.



## INTRODUCTION

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**T**he linguistic situation in Canada may be examined from different viewpoints, two of which are particularly noteworthy. First, the country has a multicultural character and harbours a diversity of languages. Increasingly, as a result of changes in immigration patterns, Canadian society is becoming a vast cultural mosaic. Second, the processes of linguistic assimilation largely favour the English language, which is indicative of its power to attract. Even French, despite being one of the two official languages, is vulnerable in many regions of the country. These two topics are presented in the first two chapters of the present study.

At the same time, another evolving phenomenon deserves attention in our study: bilingualism in Canada. In the past 15 years, Canadians have become more acutely aware of the country's bilingual nature, and many have applied themselves to learning a second language. We shall analyse this phenomenon in the third chapter of the study.

The objective of this publication, then, is to present the main features of the linguistic profile of Canada that can be drawn from the 1986 Census data. These data confirm various trends observed during the 1970s:

- The proportion of Francophones in Quebec is continuing to increase, as is the proportion of Anglophones in the rest of Canada.
- Linguistic diversity is increasing as a result of changes observed in immigration patterns: groups with mother tongues other than English or French are expanding, most notably in the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal.
- English as a home language continues to exert drawing power, even in regions in which it is in a minority position.
- Bilingualism continues to advance in Canada as a whole and in almost all the provinces. In 1986, more than 4 million Canadians were bilingual.
- Bilingualism is making greater advances among the young (under 25 years of age) than among older persons (25 years and over).

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- A total of 86% of bilingual persons are to be found in three provinces — Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick — whereas these provinces account for only 65% of Canada's population.
  - In Canada, bilingualism continues to be a much more common trait among persons whose mother tongue is French than among those whose mother tongue is English.
  - Increasingly, in many parts of the country Anglophones and Allophones are learning French. It is in Quebec that they have the highest rates of bilingualism.

### **Linguistic Data from the 1986 Census<sup>1</sup>**

In the 1986 Census, individuals were allowed to give more than one response to questions on mother tongue and home language. There was therefore a higher number of multiple responses to these questions than in the preceding census, conducted in 1981. In fact, in 1986, 954,940 persons, or 3.8% of the population, reported having more than one mother tongue, and 1,159,675 persons, or 4.6% of the population, reported more than one language spoken at home. Owing to the nature and more particularly the magnitude of this new reality, analysing the linguistic situation in Canada in 1986 and its evolution over time has become a much more complex and delicate matter.

To try to clarify the analysis presented in our study, we shall use two types of data from the 1986 Census: **original data** (including single responses and multiple responses) and **adjusted data** (derived by distributing multiple responses among single-response classes, according to the same proportions as in 1981). Original data will be used in all tables and charts in which the mother tongue group or the home language group "Other" is broken down into more detailed subgroups. As it is not possible to distribute multiple responses concerning each of the languages other than French or English, we shall present single responses along with multiple responses. This is necessary because the single responses do not represent the true size of each linguistic group, since they constitute a minimum estimate of the group. They nevertheless provide a fairly accurate picture of the linguistic diversity that exists in Canada and its regions.

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<sup>1</sup> The Appendix presents the exact wording of the questions asked in the 1986 Census with regard to linguistic variables, namely mother tongue, language most often spoken at home and knowledge of the official languages.

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The adjusted data are obtained by distributing multiple responses among the single responses. The distribution method chosen is the one that provides for maximum comparability of the 1986 Census data with data from the 1981 Census<sup>2</sup>. However, this operation is possible only with the three major groups constituted on the basis of mother tongue or home language, namely English, French and other. All tables and charts containing only data on these three major groups are thus based on adjusted data.

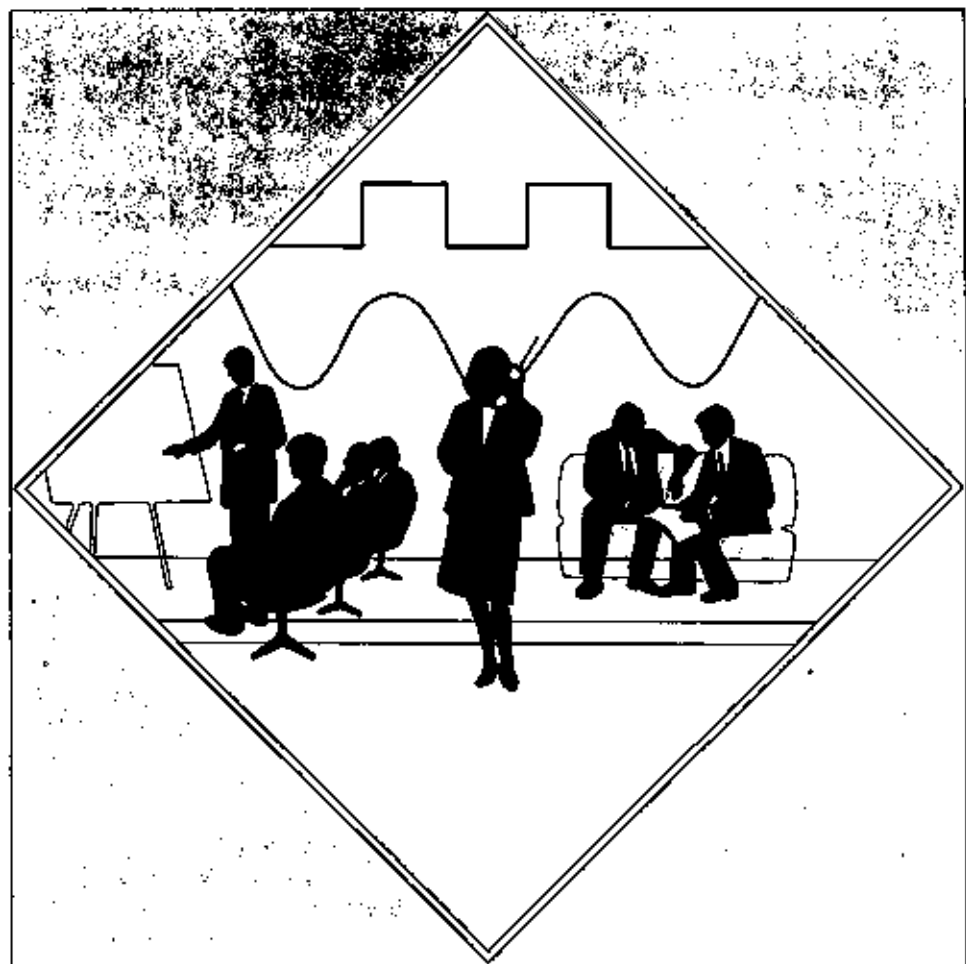
For purposes of analysing bilingualism according to mother tongue, we adjusted the 1986 Census data by distributing multiple responses as to mother tongue uniformly among the reported languages: for example, half of the "English-French" responses go to the English group and the other half to the French group. We tested this method on the 1981 Census data for several provinces, and we obtained a very good approximation of the estimated bilingualism rates for 1981.

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<sup>2</sup> It will be recalled that in the processing of the 1981 data, a single language was retained for tabulation purposes, even if the persons questioned had given a multiple response. To facilitate comparison of the 1981 and 1986 data, the multiple responses given in 1986 were distributed among the various constituent languages in the same proportions as in the 1981 Census.



## A GREAT DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGES







## A GREAT DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGES

Since the colonization of the New World by the French and then the English, the territory that now constitutes Canada has welcomed numerous immigrants to meet its demographic needs. Its vast spaces and more recently (since the end of World War II) its industrialization have served to attract immigrants from a variety of cultural backgrounds. These factors among others have enabled Canada to acquire a linguistic diversity of considerable richness.

From the beginning, the different aboriginal groups that inhabited the country used a number of languages to communicate among themselves. The arrival of French and English settlers, followed by the massive influx of immigrants from the United States and Europe, served to enrich the linguistic profile of the Canadian population. Finally, the changes made

to the immigrant selection system in the 1960s enabled more persons from developing countries to add to Canada's linguistic diversity.

### English Remains the Mother Tongue of Most Canadians

From 1981 to 1986, English as the mother tongue advanced slightly at the expense of French and other languages (Table 1). This marked the continuation of a downward trend noted since 1951 in the case of French. In 1986, English was the mother tongue of 62.1% of the Canadian population, followed by French with 25.1% and non-official languages (languages other than English or French) with 12.8% (Chart 1).

**Table 1. Percentage Distribution of the Population by Mother Tongue, for Canada and Regions, 1981 and 1986 — 100% Data**

Region	Mother Tongue					
	English		French		Other	
	1981	1986	1981	1986	1981	1986
	%		%		%	
<b>Canada</b>	<b>61.3</b>	<b>62.1</b>	<b>25.7</b>	<b>25.1</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>12.8</b>
Newfoundland	98.7	98.8	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.8
Prince Edward Island	93.9	94.1	5.0	4.7	1.1	1.2
Nova Scotia	93.6	93.8	4.3	4.1	2.2	2.1
New Brunswick	65.1	65.3	33.6	33.5	1.3	1.3
Quebec	11.0	10.4	82.4	82.8	6.6	6.8
Ontario	77.4	78.0	5.5	5.3	17.1	16.7
Manitoba	71.7	73.4	5.1	4.9	23.2	21.8
Saskatchewan	79.6	81.9	2.6	2.3	17.8	15.7
Alberta	80.9	82.3	2.8	2.4	16.3	15.3
British Columbia	82.0	82.1	1.7	1.6	16.4	16.3
Yukon	87.4	89.1	2.5	2.6	10.0	8.3
Northwest Territories	54.1	55.3	2.7	2.7	43.2	42.0
Canada excluding Quebec	79.4	80.0	5.3	5.0	15.4	14.9

Note: These data have been adjusted. See section in Introduction concerning linguistic data from the 1986 Census.

Source:

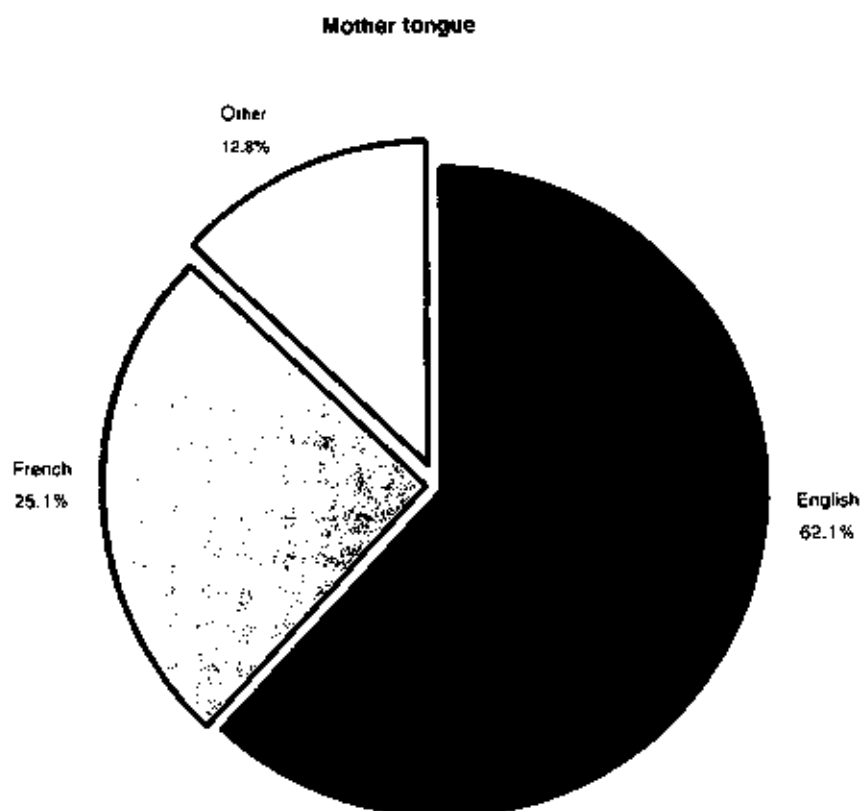
Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Adjusted Linguistic Data, Canada, provinces and territories, April 1988.

## Linguistic Composition Varies Greatly Among Regions

The proportion of the population with non-official mother tongues varies considerably from region to region. Table 1 illustrates this phenomenon. It may be seen that the group "Other" represents as little as 0.8% of the population in Newfoundland and as much as 42.0% in the Northwest Territories (owing mainly to aboriginal languages in the latter case).

It is in Canada's Eastern provinces that non-official mother tongues are of the lowest proportions, reaching at most 2.1% in Nova Scotia. In Quebec, they represent only 6.8% of the population. Their presence is most significant in Ontario and the Western provinces, varying from 15.3% in Alberta to 21.8% in Manitoba.

Chart 1. Principal Mother Tongue Groups as a Percentage of the Population, for Canada, 1986



Note: These data have been adjusted. See section in Introduction concerning linguistic data from the 1986 Census.

Source:

Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada. Adjusted Linguistic Data, Canada, provinces and territories, April 1988.

Quebec is the only province with a French linguistic majority (82.8%). New Brunswick follows with 33.5%. Everywhere else in the country, French as a mother tongue is reported by less than 6% of respondents.

It is Newfoundland that claims the title of the most linguistically homogeneous province: English is the mother tongue of fully 98.8% of the population.

### **Persons With French as Their Mother Tongue Are Increasingly Concentrated in Quebec**

More than 85% of persons with French as their mother tongue resided in Quebec in 1986 (as compared to 84% in 1981). Furthermore, more than 96% of persons with English as their mother tongue resided outside Quebec at the time of the last census (as compared to 95% in 1981). There is thus an ongoing polarization of Canada's official languages between two territories: Quebec and the rest of Canada.

### **Languages of European Origin Remain Important, but Languages from the Third World Are Gaining Ground**

In Table 2, we have chosen to break down the third linguistic group (designated as "Other"), in order to shed light on some of its key elements. In addition to the official languages — English and

French — and the aboriginal languages, we have identified the four languages of European origin and the four languages of Third World origin that are of the greatest numerical importance in Canada.

Among the main languages of European origin, Italian ranks first, followed closely by German. Ukrainian and Portuguese are respectively the third and fourth in order of importance. Counting only single responses, these four languages account for 1.2 million persons, or roughly 5% of the total population of the country.

The four main languages originating in developing countries account for nearly 2% of Canadians or a half million persons (single responses). Chinese has by far the greatest numerical importance, accounting for roughly 1% of the population. Next in rank are the Indo-Iranian languages (Punjabi, Hindi, Urdu and Persian (Farsi)) are the major components of this group, followed by the Malayo-Polynesian languages (mainly Tagalog (Pilipino)) and then Vietnamese.

Worth noting in Table 2 is the high number of multiple responses for each of the languages mentioned. A great number of persons stated that they had learned at least two languages in their childhood and were still able to understand them. Thus the mother tongue figures based on single responses are in a sense a minimum estimate.

The aboriginal languages consist primarily of the Algonquian languages (Cree, Ojibway) (85%), Inuktitut (15%) and the Athapaskan languages (Dene) (10%). In the case of aboriginal peoples, it is worth noting that there are here again a sizable number of multiple responses (more than 37,000).

**Table 2. Number of Persons in Population With Selected Mother Tongues, for Canada, 1986 — 100% Data**

Mother tongue	Single responses		Multiple responses <sup>4</sup>
	No. of persons	%	No. of persons
English	15,334,885	61.8	904,915
French	6,159,740	24.3	415,505
Aboriginal <sup>1</sup>	138,858	0.6	37,485
European			
Italian	455,820	1.8	97,895
German	438,680	1.7	88,675
Ukrainian	208,415	0.8	68,585
Portuguese	153,985	0.6	26,110
Subtotal	1,256,900	5.0	
Third World			
Chinese	266,560	1.0	42,350
Indo-Iranian <sup>2</sup>	138,585	0.6	45,100
Malayo-Polynesian <sup>3</sup>	47,045	0.2	27,375
Vietnamese	41,560	0.2	9,000
Subtotal	493,750	2.0	
Other single responses	971,860	3.8	
Multiple responses	954,940	3.8	
Total population	25,309,335	100.00	

<sup>1</sup> Excludes 1986 Census data for one or more incompletely enumerated Indian reserves or Indian settlements.

<sup>2</sup> Includes Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali, Sinhalese, Persian (Farsi) and other Indo-Iranian languages.

<sup>3</sup> Includes Tagalog (Filipino), Indonesian (Malay) and other Malayo-Polynesian languages.

<sup>4</sup> Represents the number of persons who reported having this mother tongue along with one or more other mother tongues.

Source:

Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Language: Part 1, Table 2, Catalogue No. 93-102, December 1987.

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## Linguistic Regions of Canada

Considering the sizable variations in the linguistic make-up of Canada's different regions, it is interesting to better identify the "linguistic" regions of Canada on the basis of the distribution of the official languages. Chart 2 shows the official language minorities as a percentage of the population in certain regions in which they are numerically the most important — basically Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick. We have thus identified eight linguistic regions:<sup>3</sup> Quebec, divided into two regions (the Montréal census metropolitan area (CMA) and the rest of Quebec), Ontario divided into three regions (the northeast, the southeast and the rest of Ontario),<sup>4</sup> New Brunswick divided into two regions<sup>5</sup> (the north and east, and the south), and the rest of Canada.

This breakdown shows three regions with an English minority and five regions with a French

minority. Quebec has a still-sizable English minority, but one which has been shrinking in absolute numbers since 1976 and which now constitutes only 10% of the population. Seventy-three percent of this English minority is concentrated in the Montréal census metropolitan area (CMA). The region covering North and East New Brunswick also has an English minority, which however is relatively larger (40.7%) than Quebec's.

In the other five regions, French is in a minority position: it is spoken by less than 5% in the "rest of Ontario" (2.2%), in the "rest of Canada" (2.5%), and in south New Brunswick (4.7%). By contrast, northeast Ontario (33.2%) and southeast Ontario (24.2%) have larger French minorities.

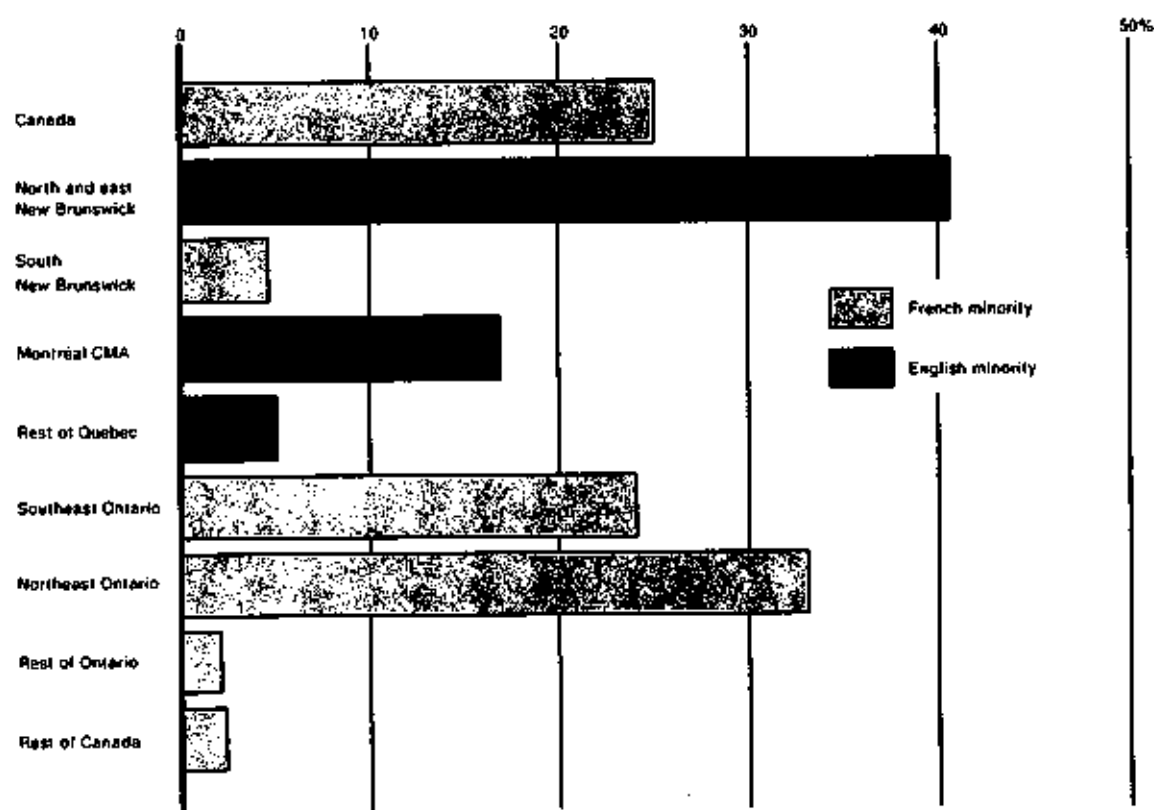
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<sup>3</sup> We used the regional breakdown used by Réjean Lachapelle in a Statistics Canada publication entitled *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada, 1986*, Catalogue No. 91-209, pages 109-134, May 1987.

<sup>4</sup> The northeast includes the following census divisions: Cochrane, Nipissing, Sudbury, Sudbury Regional and Timiskaming (the population of this subregion constitutes 4.3% of the population of Ontario). The southeast consists of Ottawa-Carleton, Prescott and Russell, Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry (the population of this subregion constitutes 6.2% of the population of Ontario). The rest of Ontario includes all other census divisions in the province; its population constitutes 67.5% of the population of Ontario.

<sup>5</sup> The north and east include the following census divisions: Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Northumberland, Restigouche, Victoria and Westmorland (the population of this subregion constitutes 53.7% of the population of New Brunswick). South New Brunswick consists of all other census divisions in the province, and its population constitutes 46.3% of the population of New Brunswick.

**Chart 2. Official Language Minorities as a Percentage of the Population, for Canada and the Regions, 1986**



**Note:** These data have been adjusted. See section in Introduction concerning linguistic data from the 1986 Census.

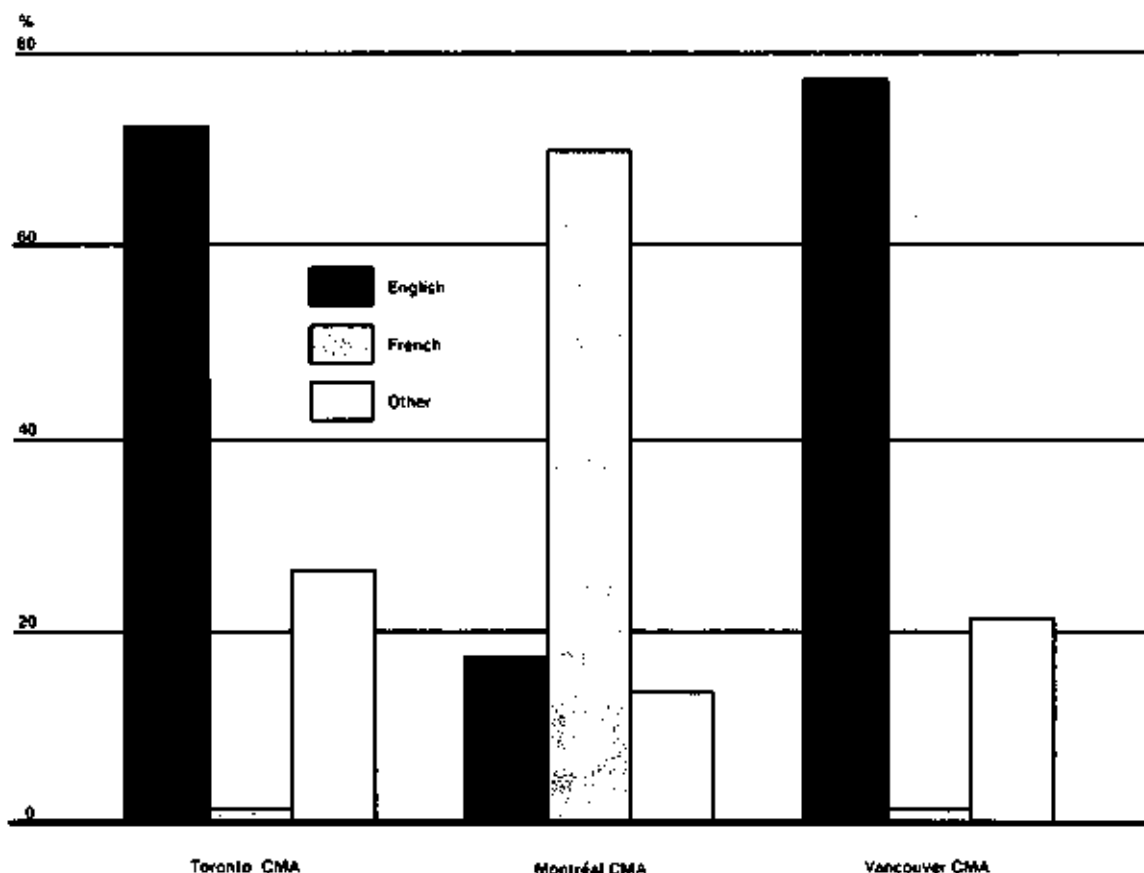
**Source:** Statistics Canada, 1981 and 1986 Censuses, unpublished tables.

### Linguistic Diversity Is Greater in the Major Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs)

It is in the large metropolitan areas that linguistic diversity is greatest. It is a known fact that newcomers tend to gather and concentrate in highly urbanized areas. To illustrate this phenomenon, we examined the situation in three CMAs: Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. Chart 3 clearly shows that linguistic diversity (especially in terms of the proportion of the population represented by the group "Other") is much more developed in metropolitan regions than is the case overall in the corresponding provinces.

There is indeed a concentration of persons whose mother tongue is other than English or French in the CMAs. Thus, in the Montréal CMA, the proportion of this subpopulation (13.4%) is nearly nine times higher than in the rest of Quebec (1.5%). For the Toronto CMA, the proportion is greater (26.3%) in comparison with the rest of Ontario (10.9%), and the same phenomenon exists in the Vancouver CMA, where 21.3% of the population has a mother tongue other than English or French, as compared to only 11.8% in the rest of British Columbia. However, it should

Chart 3. Principal Mother Tongue Groups as a Percentage of the Population, Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver CMAs, 1986



Note: These data have been adjusted. See section in Introduction on linguistic data from the 1986 Census.

Sources:

Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Adjusted linguistic data, selected census metropolitan areas, April 1988.

be noted that the Montréal CMA has the lowest proportion of persons with a mother tongue other than English or French and that the Toronto CMA has the highest.

### CMA's and the Linguistic Diversity in 1986

To give a better idea of the linguistic diversity that exists in the CMA's, we chose the 13 mother tongues most important numerically in 1986 in each of the three CMA's selected, based on single responses (Table 3). In addition to assessing the

relative importance of each group in each CMA, we noted similarities and differences among the three CMA's.

### — The Vancouver CMA is Notable for Its Significant Asian Languages Minority

First we note a certain resemblance between Toronto and Vancouver as regards the official language groups: both have a very large English majority (69.9% in Toronto and 75.5% in Vancouver) and a very small French minority

**Table 3. Number of Respondents and Percentage Distribution of the Population by Selected Mother Tongues for Certain Census Metropolitan Areas, for Canada, 1986 — 100% Data**

Toronto			Montréal			Vancouver		
Mother tongue	No. of respondents	%	Mother tongue	No. of respondents	%	Mother tongue	No. of respondents	%
1. English	2,395,150	69.9	1. French	1,974,120	67.6	1. English	1,043,020	75.5
2. Italian	193,205	5.6	2. English	433,095	14.8	2. Chinese	76,150	5.5
3. Chinese	94,210	2.7	3. Italian	115,895	4.0	3. German	35,715	2.6
4. Portuguese	78,035	2.3	4. Greek	39,545	1.4	4. Indo-Iranian languages <sup>1</sup>	32,720	2.4
5. German	52,785	1.5	5. Spanish	22,460	0.8	5. French	17,710	1.3
6. Greek	45,955	1.3	6. Portuguese	20,815	0.7	6. Italian	17,170	1.2
7. Indo-Iranian languages <sup>1</sup>	44,270	1.3	7. Chinese	15,770	0.5	7. Dutch	10,685	0.8
8. French	43,845	1.3	8. German	14,020	0.5	8. Ukrainian	9,065	0.7
9. Polish	37,965	1.1	9. Polish	12,485	0.4	9. Malayo-Polynesian languages <sup>2</sup>	8,240	0.6
10. Spanish	29,805	0.9	10. Arabic	12,335	0.4	10. Japanese	6,600	0.5
11. Ukrainian	29,130	0.8	11. Vietnamese	10,080	0.3	11. Spanish	5,830	0.4
12. Hungarian	19,575	0.6	12. Armenian	9,060	0.3	12. Portuguese	5,815	0.4
13. Malayo-Polynesian languages <sup>2</sup>	18,565	0.5	13. Yiddish	9,005	0.3	13. Polish	5,640	0.4
Other	170,855	5.0	Other	63,495	2.2	Other	49,945	3.6
Multiple responses	173,815	5.1	Multiple responses	169,175	5.8	Multiple responses	56,425	4.1
<b>Total population</b>	<b>3,427,170</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>2,921,355</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>1,388,730</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: These data are derived solely from single responses.

<sup>1</sup> Includes Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Bengali, Sinhalese, Persian (Farsi) and other Indo-Iranian languages.

<sup>2</sup> Includes Tagalog (Filipino), Indonesian (Malay) and other Malayo-Polynesian languages.

Source:

Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Table MT86A01B and special table.



(1.3% in both CMAs). In addition, with regard to non-official mother tongue groups, among the six most sizable groups, after English, are Italian, Chinese and German. However, it will be noted that the proportion of persons with Asian mother tongues (Chinese, Indo-Iranian languages, Malayo-Polynesian languages, Japanese) is much higher in Vancouver (9.0%) than in Toronto (4.6%) and Montréal (0.9%).

— **In Montréal, the Main Non-official Language Minorities Continue to Be Those of European Stock**

The situation of Montréal is very different since its population contains a large majority (67.6%) of persons whose mother tongue is French and an English minority (14.8%) that is very sizable in relation to the other linguistic minorities. In Montréal the largest non-official language minorities continue to be of European stock (Italian, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese).

**Linguistic Diversity in the CMAs in 1941**

In order to highlight the striking influence of immigration on the linguistic make-up of Canada as a whole and more especially on its large metropolitan areas, we have assembled in Table 4 data similar to those presented in the preceding table. It shows the 13 largest mother tongue groups in 1941, nearly half a century ago.<sup>6</sup>

— **In 1941, the CMAs Were Linguistically More Homogeneous**

It is first worth noting that in 1941 the CMAs were linguistically more homogeneous: English and French accounted for between 86.3% and 89.8% of the population. Also of interest is the much greater presence of mother tongues of Eastern European and Scandinavian

origins (i.e. Judeo-German, Polish, Ukrainian, German, Slovak, Finnish, Norwegian, Magyar, etc.) in 1941 than in 1986 in Toronto and Montréal. Italian, while already present in this earlier period (Toronto, 1.3% and Montréal, 1.8%), does not in either city represent as large a proportion of the population as in the last census, in which it represented at least 5.6% of the population in Toronto and at least 4.0% in Montréal.

— **In 1941, the Vancouver CMA Already Differed from the Toronto and Montréal CMAs**

In 1941, the overall linguistic make-up of the population of Vancouver was quite different from that of the other two metropolitan areas studied. The two largest linguistic groups after the English group were of Asian origin (Japanese, 2.6% and Chinese, 2.2%). It is worth noting that the size of the Japanese linguistic group had fallen considerably by 1986, when it represented only 0.5% of the population (excluding multiple responses).<sup>7</sup> For its part, the Chinese group was to rise from 2.6% in 1941 to 5.8% in 1986, and the latter percentage reflects only single responses.

Finally, a comparison of Tables 3 and 4 shows us that some linguistic groups that were not among the 13 largest in the 1941 Census have since grown and thus appear in Table 3 (1986 Census): Portuguese, Spanish, Indo-Iranian languages, Vietnamese, Armenian and Malayo-Polynesian languages, especially Tagalog.

Thus, an examination of the linguistic make-up of the Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver areas at two different periods shows us that important changes have taken place in this domain. First, there has been a redistribution of the proportional weight of certain groups that were already sizable in 1941, and second, new linguistic groups from Europe and developing countries have emerged.

<sup>6</sup> The 1941 data are not directly comparable with the 1986 data because of various changes (territorial divisions, census questionnaires, multiple responses, etc.), but they give a fairly accurate picture of the differences in the linguistic mix for these two census years.

<sup>7</sup> The decrease in the Japanese linguistic group in Vancouver might be due to the phenomenon of forced relocation of Japanese Canadians during World War II.

**Table 4. Number of Respondents and Percentage Distribution of the Population by Selected Mother Tongues for Certain Metropolitan Areas, for Canada, 1941**

Toronto			Montréal			Vancouver		
Mother tongue	No. of respondents	%	Mother tongue	No. of respondents	%	Mother tongue	No. of respondents	%
1. English	788,174	87.5	1. French	720,963	63.2	1. English	299,626	85.2
2. Judeo-German	40,749	4.5	2. English	303,430	26.6	2. Japanese	9,065	2.6
3. Ukrainian	11,819	1.3	3. Judeo-German	51,023	4.5	3. Chinese	7,770	2.2
4. Polish	11,601	1.3	4. Italian	20,104	1.8	4. French	3,910	1.1
5. Italian	11,420	1.3	5. Polish	7,428	0.7	5. Norwegian	3,518	1.0
6. French	7,189	0.8	6. Ukrainian	7,061	0.6	6. German	3,493	1.0
7. German	3,872	0.4	7. German	3,743	0.3	7. Swedish	3,411	1.0
8. Finnish	3,084	0.3	8. Slovak	3,380	0.3	8. Italian	2,948	0.8
9. Slovak	2,858	0.3	9. Magyar <sup>1</sup>	3,345	0.3	9. Russian	2,082	0.6
10. Greek	2,715	0.3	10. Russian	2,969	0.3	10. Ukrainian	1,872	0.5
11. Chinese	2,414	0.3	11. Lithuanian	2,379	0.2	11. Polish	1,860	0.5
12. Magyar <sup>1</sup>	2,112	0.2	12. Syrian/Arabic	2,249	0.2	12. Gaelic	1,438	0.4
13. Russian	1,957	0.2	13. Greek	1,852	0.2	13. Finnish	1,395	0.4
Other	10,527	1.2	Other	9,995	0.9	Other	9,105	2.6
<b>Total population</b>	<b>900,491</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>1,139,921</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>351,491</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<sup>1</sup> Includes Hungarian.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1941 Census of Canada, Volume II, Population by Local Subdivisions, Table 55, pages 778-779.

## THE PULL OF ENGLISH

**A**s with any population, the continued existence of linguistic groups is a function of three basic demographic phenomena: mortality, fertility and migration. However, in the case of linguistic groups, there is a fourth phenomenon, known as linguistic mobility, which relates to exchanges between the groups involved. Such exchanges may mean, for some persons, that they give up their mother tongue as the language most often spoken at home and use another language. Thus, some language groups may benefit from these exchanges (experiencing net gains) while others lose (net losses).

Language mobility, then, reflects the vitality of a language in a specific cultural context. Of course, it is a complex phenomenon which is associated with other interesting phenomena (bilingualism, heterogamy); here we shall confine ourselves to presenting the overall result, using a relatively simple and well-known yardstick: the *language continuity index*. This represents the relationship between the number of persons speaking language "x" at home and the number of persons for whom the same language "x" is the mother tongue.<sup>8</sup> A continuity index of more than 1 signifies that a language exerts a power of attraction at the expense of other languages, such that it achieves more gains than losses; a continuity index of less than 1 means that a language registers more losses than gains in its exchanges with other languages. We shall focus primarily on the official

languages (English and French), since the 1986 data do not lend themselves to a good assessment of the situation of the non-official language groups.

### English Exerts a Pull Everywhere, Regardless of Whether it Is in a Minority or Majority Position

Table 5 divides Canada into certain regions in which the two official languages are in either a majority or minority position (see Chart 2).

Regardless of whether it is in a majority or minority position in a given region, English always has a continuity index exceeding 1. In 1981, the index varied from 1.03 in South New Brunswick to 1.19 in the Montréal CMA. The situation had changed very little in 1986; indeed, the continuity indices for English were even somewhat higher in Quebec. The situation observed in 1986 thus shows that language transfers are still working to the benefit of the English group.

For the French group, the situation observed in 1986 shows very little change from 1981. French holds its own in Quebec (index of 1.00). Outside Quebec, the overall situation indicates that seven persons out of ten with French as their mother tongue most often speak it at home. Of course there are a few regions in which the loss of French is less drastic: north and east New Brunswick (0.96), southeast Ontario (0.83) and northeast Ontario (0.81).

<sup>8</sup> The language continuity index was defined and used by Réjean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin in *La situation démolinguistique au Canada: Évolution passée et prospective*, Montréal, Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.

The index calculated here was corrected to take into account the differences in the total number of respondents with respect to both mother tongue and language spoken at home.

As to the linguistic group "Other", its language continuity index does not exceed 0.73, observed in Quebec. In Canada as a whole, it is a mere 0.55. Since in Canada it is unlikely that a sizable number of individuals would choose to effect a language

transfer to a language other than French or English, it is clear that a great number of individuals whose mother tongue was a non-official language opted for language transfers to the official languages, especially English, even in Quebec.

**Table 5. Population by Mother Tongue, Language Most Often Spoken at Home and Language Continuity Index, for Canada and Regions, 1981 and 1986**

Region	Mother tongue			Language most often spoken at home			Continuity index		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
1981									
<b>Canada</b>	<b>14,918,465</b>	<b>8,249,100</b>	<b>3,175,625</b>	<b>16,425,905</b>	<b>5,923,010</b>	<b>1,734,585</b>	<b>1.11</b>	<b>0.96</b>	<b>0.55</b>
New Brunswick	453,315	234,030	9,060	468,545	216,585	4,245	1.04	0.94	0.47
North and east New Brunswick	153,295	219,385	3,915	161,850	208,750	1,970	1.07	0.96	0.51
South New Brunswick	300,020	14,665	5,150	306,695	7,835	2,275	1.03	0.54	0.45
Quebec	706,110	5,307,015	425,280	809,145	5,256,830	303,090	1.16	1.00	0.72
Montréal (CMA)	521,585	1,968,750	371,950	615,065	1,952,460	264,205	1.19	1.00	0.72
Rest of Quebec	184,525	3,338,265	53,330	194,080	3,304,370	38,885	1.06	1.00	0.74
Ontario	6,878,785	475,805	1,470,735	7,337,255	332,945	864,065	1.11	0.71	0.59
Southeast Ontario	449,370	171,410	61,025	497,855	143,210	33,490	1.12	0.84	0.55
Northeast Ontario	233,640	137,540	34,090	273,025	111,940	18,640	1.10	0.82	0.49
Rest of Ontario	5,995,755	166,655	1,375,620	6,566,375	77,795	813,935	1.11	0.47	0.60
Rest of Canada	7,080,265	232,450	1,270,555	7,810,960	116,655	563,180	1.12	0.51	0.45
1986 <sup>1</sup>									
<b>Canada</b>	<b>15,709,515</b>	<b>6,354,845</b>	<b>3,245,805</b>	<b>17,249,900</b>	<b>6,015,680</b>	<b>1,756,425</b>	<b>1.11</b>	<b>0.96</b>	<b>0.55</b>
New Brunswick	462,890	237,545	9,010	478,125	219,350	4,385	1.04	0.93	0.49
North and east New Brunswick	154,915	222,065	4,025	163,750	210,535	2,185	1.07	0.96	0.55
South New Brunswick	307,975	15,480	4,985	314,375	8,815	2,200	1.03	0.58	0.45
Quebec	678,720	5,408,985	444,775	796,695	5,343,210	314,600	1.19	1.00	0.72
Montréal (CMA)	496,260	2,034,940	390,155	600,360	2,012,130	275,370	1.22	1.00	0.71
Rest of Quebec	182,460	3,374,045	54,620	196,335	3,331,080	39,230	1.09	1.00	0.73
Ontario	7,097,900	484,310	1,519,495	7,798,355	340,545	862,270	1.11	0.71	0.57
Southeast Ontario	497,160	180,555	69,180	569,000	148,420	40,135	1.16	0.83	0.59
Northeast Ontario	233,195	129,965	28,115	270,585	104,205	12,725	1.17	0.81	0.46
Rest of Ontario	6,367,545	173,790	1,422,200	6,958,770	87,920	809,410	1.11	0.51	0.58
Rest of Canada	7,470,085	224,005	1,271,725	8,178,730	112,575	575,160	1.11	0.51	0.46

**Note:** Data on language most often spoken at home exclude persons living in institutions such as prisons and rest homes. Consequently, totals differ from those in tables on mother tongue.

<sup>1</sup> Multiple responses for 1986 are redistributed according to the distribution coefficients for 1981 (except in the case of the New Brunswick and Ontario regions) which makes the data from the last two censuses roughly comparable.

**Source:**

Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Adjusted Linguistic Data, Canada, provinces and territories, April 1988, and unpublished tables.

## Diversity of Home Languages in Canada

To give an idea of the diversity of home languages in Canada, we use data from the 1986 Census question on language most often spoken at home. In 1986, a sizable number of persons (1,159,675, or 4.6% of the Canadian population) reported speaking more than one language at home. It is therefore difficult to gain an exact idea of the number of persons speaking a given language, particularly in the case of non-official language groups. What follows is the breakdown of the main languages spoken in Canada in 1981<sup>9</sup> and 1986, determined solely on the basis of single responses (see Table 6).

In 1986, English was the language most often spoken at home by most Canadians, namely at least 66.3% of the total population, followed by French, spoken by at least 23.2% of the total population.

Among the non-official languages, two stand out from the others (shown in Table 6), each spoken at home by roughly 1% of the population. The two are Italian (1.1%) and Chinese (0.9%).

On this score, the 1986 results are quite comparable to those for 1981. Furthermore, the same languages occupy the first seven positions (although their percentages have shifted). Among the last four linguistic groups, the absence of Ukrainian in the 1986 Census is due to a slight reduction in its percentage share of the population, which puts it behind Spanish, even though the latter retained the same percentage from one census to the other.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In 1981, 535,735 persons (2.2% of the population) reported more than one language spoken at home.

<sup>10</sup> The number of respondents with Spanish as their mother tongue rose from 46,805 in 1981 to 55,760 in 1986 (single responses only), while the number of respondents with Ukrainian as their mother tongue fell from 81,475 in 1981 to 46,150 in 1986 (single responses only).

**Table 6. Population by Language Spoken at Home, for Canada, 1981 and 1986 — Single Responses Only**

Language most often spoken at home	1981		Language most often spoken at home	1986	
	No. of respondents	%		No. of respondents	%
1. English	16,122,020	66.9	1. English	16,595,535	66.3
2. French	5,828,845	24.2	2. French	5,798,470	23.2
3. Italian	344,480	1.4	3. Italian	271,835	1.1
4. Chinese	181,485	0.8	4. Chinese	230,480	0.9
5. German	147,120	0.6	5. German	112,550	0.4
6. Portuguese	123,960	0.5	6. Portuguese	105,420	0.4
7. Greek	88,300	0.4	7. Greek	72,550	0.3
8. Ukrainian	81,475	0.3	8. Aboriginal languages <sup>1</sup>	67,750	0.3
9. Aboriginal languages <sup>1</sup>	77,310	0.3	9. Indo-Pakistani languages <sup>2</sup>	65,790	0.3
10. Indo-Pakistani languages <sup>2</sup>	62,680	0.3	10. Spanish	55,760	0.2
11. Polish	50,130	0.2	11. Polish	55,150	0.2
Other	440,135	1.8	Other	431,040	1.7
Multiple responses	535,735	2.2	Multiple responses	1,159,675	4.6
<b>Total population</b>	<b>24,083,495</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total population</b>	<b>25,022,805</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<sup>1</sup> Includes only Cree, Ojibway and Inuktitut.

<sup>2</sup> Includes only Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu.

Sources:

Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Table LA86B02A.



## THE GROWTH OF BILINGUALISM IN CANADA

**T**he evolution of bilingualism (French-English) arouses great interest, in view of the numerous measures that have been taken to promote it in the past decade and a half. Between 1971 and 1981 a sizable increase in bilingualism was noted; has the trend continued?

### More Than Four Million Persons in Canada Are Bilingual

What was the situation with respect to bilingualism in Canada in 1986? Table 7 shows that the bilingualism rate in the country as a whole was 16.2%. Thus, more than 4 million Canadians (4,056,160) reported being bilingual in 1986.

Furthermore, fewer than 300,000 persons (scarcely 1.1% of the population) could not conduct a conversation in either of the two official languages.

### Bilingual Persons Are Concentrated in Three Provinces: Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick

Bilingualism varies greatly from one province to another. It is in Quebec that it is most significant, with a rate of 34.5% (reaching fully 48% in the Montréal CMA). Indeed, Quebec has 2,226,745 bilingual persons, representing nearly 55% of all bilingual persons in Canada. Bilingualism is also quite common in the two provinces that have a fairly

Table 7. Bilingualism Rate in Percentage, for Canada and Provinces, 1971, 1981 and 1986

Region	Bilingualism rate		
	1971	1981	1986
		%	
Canada	13.5	15.3	16.2
Newfoundland	1.8	2.3	2.6
Prince Edward Island	8.2	8.1	9.4
Nova Scotia	6.7	7.4	8.1
New Brunswick	21.5	26.5	29.1
Quebec	27.6	32.4	34.5
Ontario	9.3	10.8	11.7
Manitoba	8.2	7.9	8.8
Saskatchewan	5.0	4.6	4.7
Alberta	5.0	6.4	6.4
British Columbia	4.6	5.7	6.2
Yukon	6.6	7.9	8.6
Northwest Territories	6.1	6.0	6.7

Note: In 1971, Statistics Canada assumed that persons whose mother tongue was French or English could also conduct a conversation in that language. Thus, the 1971 data somewhat overestimate the number of bilingual persons in comparison to 1981 and 1986.

#### Sources:

Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue No. 92-776 (SP-6), Special Bulletin, August 1975;  
 Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data;  
 Statistics Canada, 1986 Census of Canada, Table LA66B01.

sizable French-speaking minority. In New Brunswick there are more than 200,000 bilingual persons, with the result that the bilingualism rate<sup>11</sup> is nearly 30%, and in Ontario there are 1,057,625 (nearly 12% of the population). Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick account for 86% of the bilingual persons in Canada, whereas they contain only 65% of the total population of the country.

Elsewhere in Canada, the bilingualism rate nowhere exceeds 10%; it is lowest in Newfoundland (2.6%) and highest in Prince Edward Island (9.4%) (Table 7).

### **Bilingualism Continues to Advance in Canada**

Overall, bilingualism is continuing to advance in Canada. Since 1971, the bilingualism rate has risen from 13.5% to 16.2% (Table 7). This increase is occurring in all provinces, except for Saskatchewan, where it has fallen since 1971, and Alberta, where it has merely been holding its own since 1981. While it is difficult to make comparisons between the data from the 1971, 1981 and 1986 Censuses, and while the aging of the Canadian population is responsible for part of the increase in bilingualism, it may be concluded that there has been a genuine increase in bilingualism in Canada. Indeed, the bilingualism rate rose from 15.3% in 1981 to 16.2% in 1986. It rose much more significantly among persons under 25 years of age (from 12.3% to 13.6%) than among persons 25 years and over (from 17.5% to 17.7%) (Table 8).

### **Increase in the Number of Bilingual Persons from 1981 to 1986**

In 1986, there were 374,195 more bilingual persons in Canada than in 1981 (3,681,960 in 1981 and 4,056,160 in 1986). This is an increase of 10.2%, whereas the total population of Canada rose

by only 3.9% during the same period. It should be emphasized that the number of bilingual persons rose in all provinces.

Three provinces (New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario) account for 86% of bilingual persons. We shall now consider which province showed the greatest increase. In absolute numbers, the greatest increase was recorded in Quebec (161,645), followed by Ontario (133,150) and New Brunswick (21,635). However, considering the increase in the total population, the greatest relative increase was observed in New Brunswick, where the number of bilingual persons rose by 11.8% while the total population rose by only 1.8%. In Ontario, the number of bilingual persons rose by 14.4%, but the total population itself rose by 5.5%. In Quebec, the increase in the number of bilingual persons was six times greater (7.8%) than the increase in the population as a whole (1.3%) between 1981 and 1986.

### **Bilingualism Is Advancing More Rapidly Among Persons Under 25 Years**

In the three main provinces that we examine, there was a more rapid increase in bilingualism rates among persons under 25 years than among persons 25 years and over (Table 8). In fact, the relative increase in bilingualism rates was three to five times greater among persons under 25 years than among those 25 years and over. It was in New Brunswick that this relative increase in bilingualism rates was the greatest between 1981 and 1986, standing at nearly 10% as compared to 8.5% in Ontario and 6.4% in Quebec. The provinces rank the same for persons under 25 years and persons 25 years and over.

### **Bilingualism According to Mother Tongue in 1981**

It is common knowledge that persons whose mother tongue is French are much more likely to be bilingual than Anglophones. Thus, in 1981, more than

<sup>11</sup> The bilingualism rate is simply the proportion of bilingual persons within the general population.



a third (36.2%) of Francophones in Canada were bilingual, as compared to only 7.5% of Anglophones (Table 8). Among the group "Other" (Allophones), the bilingualism rate was 10.5% of the population. Of course there were major differences among the provinces: it was in Quebec (28.7%) and New Brunswick (60.8%) that Francophones were the least bilingual;

elsewhere in Canada, the bilingualism rate among Francophones was very high (84% to 90%). Among Anglophones, bilingualism in 1981 was of course highest in Quebec (53.2%). Elsewhere it was less than 5% except in New Brunswick (9%) and Ontario (6.6%), the provinces with the largest French-speaking minorities.

**Table 8. Bilingualism Rate in Percentage by Age Group, for Canada and Certain Provinces, 1981 and 1986**

Region and language	1981			1986		
	Under 25 years	25 years and over	Total	Under 25 years	25 years and over	Total
	%			%		
<b>Canada</b>						
English	7.3	7.7	7.6	9.2	7.9	8.5
French	24.7	44.5	36.2	25.8	44.9	37.8
Other	13.9	9.3	10.5	16.4	10.0	11.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>12.3</b>	<b>17.5</b>	<b>15.3</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>17.7</b>	<b>16.2</b>
<b>New Brunswick</b>						
English	9.4	8.6	9.0	15.2	9.6	11.9
French	47.7	71.7	60.9	49.6	72.3	63.2
Other	13.9	15.0	14.7	16.2	15.2	15.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>22.4</b>	<b>29.8</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>30.9</b>	<b>29.1</b>
<b>Quebec</b>						
English	52.4	53.7	53.2	57.8	57.6	57.7
French	17.8	36.8	28.7	19.2	37.4	30.5
Other	49.3	42.2	44.5	53.1	45.1	47.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>39.1</b>	<b>32.4</b>	<b>25.0</b>	<b>40.1</b>	<b>34.5</b>
<b>Ontario</b>						
English	7.0	6.3	6.6	9.2	6.8	7.8
French	77.4	87.7	83.9	77.9	86.0	84.7
Other	8.8	5.7	6.5	10.9	6.1	7.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>10.7</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>10.8</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>11.3</b>	<b>11.8</b>
<b>Rest of Canada</b>						
English	3.7	3.9	3.8	5.1	3.9	4.5
French	80.7	89.5	86.9	81.3	88.8	87.0
Other	3.8	3.5	3.6	4.8	3.5	3.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>6.4</b>

**Note:** Bilingualism rates by mother tongue were calculated by distributing multiple responses regarding mother tongue uniformly among the languages reported. This method provides a good approximation of bilingualism rates.

**Source:**

Statistics Canada, 1981 and 1986 Censuses of Canada, special tabulations.

## **Bilingualism According to Mother Tongue in 1986**

For 1986, we have chosen to examine, in addition to Canada as a whole, the situation of the above three provinces in order to assess the status and development of bilingualism according to mother tongue.<sup>12</sup> In Canada as a whole, bilingualism is most prevalent among Francophones (37.8%); among Allophones the rate is 11.5%, and among Anglophones, 8.5%. Bilingualism has progressed in all three groups since 1981, in the three provinces examined as well as in the rest of Canada. More than half of the increase in the number of bilingual persons in Canada is attributable to Anglophones.

### **It is in Quebec That Anglophones and Allophones Are the Most Bilingual**

There are major differences between Quebec and the other provinces. Of the 1.3 million bilingual persons whose mother tongue is English, 384,000 reside in Quebec. A still greater number, 546,000, reside in Ontario. However, the bilingualism rate among Quebec Anglophones is 57.6%, as compared to 7.8% among Ontario Anglophones. Francophones are less bilingual in Quebec (30.5%) than in New Brunswick (63.2%) and Ontario (84.7%). As regards Allophones, it is in Quebec that they are the most bilingual (nearly 1 in 2), whereas only 15.5% and 7.2% of Allophones are bilingual in New Brunswick and Ontario respectively.

### **Young Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec Are More Bilingual Than in 1981**

Although bilingualism progressed in Quebec between 1981 and 1986 (with an increase of 161,645 persons, three-quarters of whom were

Francophones), there was a decrease in the number of bilingual persons under 25 years, both among Francophones (roughly 12,000) and Anglophones (approximately 4,500). This phenomenon is largely linked to the falling fertility rate in Quebec in recent years. However, when we examine the rates of bilingualism according to major age groups, we find that, irrespective of mother tongue, they increased more significantly among persons under 25 years (from 7% to 10%, depending on mother tongue groups) than among persons 25 years and over (from 2% to 6%, depending on mother tongue groups).

This phenomenon is of interest in that it is primarily among the young that efforts have been focussed in recent years to improve individual bilingualism.

### **Increasingly, Anglophones Are Learning French Through Immersion Programs**

The continuing growth of bilingualism in Canada is due to several factors, one of which is unquestionably the fact that increasing numbers of students attending English-language schools in provinces other than Quebec are enrolled in French immersion programs. Indeed, more than 184,000 English Canadian school children were enrolled in such programs in public schools in 1986-1987<sup>13</sup> (Table 9). Enrolment in French immersion programs outside Quebec has grown steadily since 1980-1981. On average, the annual increase over the period was 19% for all regions. By province, the average increase varied from 12% to 37% (excluding Yukon and the Northwest Territories).

<sup>12</sup> We explained in the Introduction how we had to correct the 1986 data in order to obtain an estimate of bilingualism according to mother tongue.

<sup>13</sup> These data are drawn from Statistics Canada, *Minority and Second Language Education, Elementary and Secondary Levels, 1986-1987*, Catalogue No. 81-257.

**Table 9. Number of Students Participating in French Immersion Programs in Public Schools, 1980-1981 to 1986-1987, for Canada, Provinces and Territories<sup>1</sup>**

Region	1980-1981	1981-1982	1982-1983	1983-1984	1984-1985	1985-1986	1986-1987	Average increase (%)
Newfoundland	392	551	742	970	1,437	2,015	2,621	37.3
Prince Edward Island	1,280	1,465	1,644	1,833	2,181	2,492	2,514	11.9
Nova Scotia	590	865	869	894	1,099	1,859	2,421	26.5
New Brunswick	5,532	7,390	9,162	11,009	12,820	14,530	15,368	18.6
Ontario	46,638	53,615	57,971	65,310	76,527	87,819	98,809	13.3
Manitoba	4,286	5,770	7,580	9,090	11,043	12,581	14,619	22.7
Saskatchewan	1,603	2,175	3,061	3,590	4,735	5,965	7,503	29.3
Alberta <sup>2</sup>	-	-	-	14,523	16,983	19,017	21,194	13.4
British Columbia	4,368	5,794	8,184	9,807	12,632	15,590	18,744	27.5
Yukon	35	92	130	171	186	247	291	42.3
Northwest Territories	37	53	102	151	192	224	261	38.5
<b>Total, Canada</b>	<b>64,761</b>	<b>77,778</b>	<b>89,445</b>	<b>117,346</b>	<b>139,835</b>	<b>162,339</b>	<b>184,345</b>	<b>19.0</b>

<sup>1</sup> In Quebec, English immersion programs are almost non-existent. According to the Ministry of Education, only some 100 students were enrolled in such programs. By contrast, Quebec provided French immersion programs for approximately 16,000 students in 1986-1987. Enrollment in these programs has remained relatively stable since 1980-1981.

<sup>2</sup> Data for 1980-1981 to 1982-1983 are not available for Alberta.

Source:

Statistics Canada, Minority and Second Language Education, Elementary and Secondary Levels, 1986-1987, Catalogue No. 81-257, Table 10.

## Approximately 13% of Public Schools Offer French Immersion Programs

Table 10 shows that French immersion programs were offered in 13% of the public schools in provinces other than Quebec in 1986-1987, representing an increase of 2% over the preceding year. Except for Yukon and the Northwest Territories, all regions

have offered French immersion programs at the elementary level since 1981-1982. In 1986-1987, only Prince Edward Island, Yukon and the Northwest Territories did not offer immersion courses in all grades at the elementary and secondary levels.

**Table 10. Proportion of Public Schools Offering French Immersion Programs and Percentage of Eligible Students Enrolled in Such Programs, for Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1986-1987<sup>1</sup>**

Region	Total number of public schools	Schools offering immersion program	Proportion of schools (%)	Number of students in program	Proportion of students enrolled (%)
Newfoundland	593	29	4.9	2,621	1.9
Prince Edward Island	69	21	30.4	2,514	10.3
Nova Scotia	542	30	5.5	2,421	1.4
New Brunswick	433	103	23.8	15,368	16.3
Ontario	4,905	820	16.7	98,809	5.8
Manitoba	710	76	10.7	14,619	7.5
Saskatchewan	924	58	6.3	7,503	3.7
Alberta	1,524	135	8.9	21,194	4.7
British Columbia	1,541	151	9.8	18,744	3.9
Yukon	25	1	4.0	291	6.1
Northwest Territories	72	3	4.2	261	2.0
<b>Total, Canada</b>	<b>11,338</b>	<b>1,427</b>	<b>12.6</b>	<b>184,345</b>	<b>5.3</b>

<sup>1</sup> In Quebec, English immersion programs are almost non-existent. According to the Ministry of Education, only some 100 students were enrolled in such programs. By contrast, Quebec provided French immersion programs for approximately 18,000 students in 1986-1987. Enrolment in these programs has remained relatively stable since 1980-1981.

Source:

Statistics Canada, *Minority and Second Language Education, Elementary and Secondary Levels, 1986-1987*, Catalogue No. 81-257.

## More Than 5% of the Eligible Students in English Canada Are Enrolled in French Immersion Programs

During 1986-1987, 184,345 students participated in French immersion programs, representing an increase of 14% (approximately 22,000 students) over the year before. The number of participants represents 5.3% of the eligible school enrolment (elementary and secondary). The participation rate varies greatly from one province to another, ranging from 1.4% for Nova Scotia to 16.3% in New Brunswick

(Table 10). The rate of participation in French immersion programs for Canada as a whole has risen steadily since 1981-1982, with annual increases ranging from 1.4% to 5.3% between 1981-1982 and 1986-1987. This is indicative of the interest that English Canadians are showing in bilingualism, and it partially accounts for the trends noted above regarding the growth of bilingualism outside Quebec.

## CONCLUSION

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**C**learly the trends observed during the 1970s have continued. The proportion of Francophones in Quebec continues to increase, as does the proportion of Anglophones in the rest of the country. Linguistic diversity is growing as a result of significant changes in immigration sources. Immigrants from developing countries represent small but growing minorities.

English continues to be the language exerting the greatest pull, both in regions in which it is in a majority position and in those in which it is in a minority position. Even in Quebec, English continues to benefit from language transfers.

Bilingualism is continuing to increase in Canada and in most provinces. Furthermore, the increase is greater among the young (under 25 years of age) than among persons 25 years and over. On a national scale, Francophones continue to be the most bilingual, followed by Allophones and Anglophones. However, in Quebec, it is the Anglophones who are the most bilingual, in a proportion almost double that of Francophones.



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**Questions Asked in the 1986 Census Regarding the Linguistic  
Characteristics of Individuals**

**APPENDIX**

**Mother tongue**

**Question 6:**

What is the language you first learned in childhood and still understand?

English

French

Italian

German

Ukrainian

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Language spoken at home**

**Question 18:**

What language do you yourself speak at home now? (If more than one language, which language do you speak most often?)

English

French

Italian

Chinese

German

Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

**Official languages**

**Question 19:**

Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?

Mark one box only.

English only

French only

Both English and French

Neither English nor French





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