

LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUNG PEOPLE  
AND THEIR ATTITUDES TO LANGUAGE ISSUES

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for the

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(The French text is the original version.)

Texte français  
au verso



## FOREWORD

This research report on the linguistic characteristics of young Canadians and their attitudes to language issues is of importance to the Department of the Secretary of State for two reasons. Our Department has a keen interest not only in language issues, but in young people as well.

A program of research on young people has been developed by the Social Trends Analysis Directorate. The first stage of the program, a survey of statistics on the situation of young people, has resulted in Young people: A Statistical Overview by Linda Demers (May 1982). The report Youth Canada: Problems and Prospects. A Review of the Literature (August 1983) by Michael Lanphier and Ann Perez, is a summary of existing literature on young people. These two reports provide a general picture of the situation of young people and can be considered an initial step toward an understanding of the youth population.

The Linguistic Characteristics of Young People and Their Attitudes to Language Issues serves to broaden our knowledge of young Canadians. It is the first in a series of reports to be executed in the coming months which will analyse specific areas in depth.

This report was prepared by Robert Bourbeau, a demographer with the University of Montreal. As a member of the Groupe de recherche sur la démographie québécoise (Research Group on the Demography of Quebec), Mr. Bourbeau has conducted a number of studies in the field of demolinguistics. In this report, he has used recent census data and the results of recent surveys to attempt to describe how the linguistic characteristics of young people are influenced by such variables as age, sex and province of residence and to shed some light on the attitudes of the youth population to language issues.

Needless to say, the author is solely responsible for this study and it should not be taken as reflecting the views of the Department of the Secretary of State.

Jean-Marie Romeder  
Director  
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## HIGHLIGHTS

- Between 1971 and 1981, bilingualism increased in Canada: the proportion of bilingual persons among the total population rose from 13.5% to 15.3%.
- The increase in bilingualism can also be seen among persons aged 15-19: their bilingualism rate rose from 17% to 18%, but it decreased from 20% to 19% among individuals in the 20-24 age group between 1971 and 1981.
- In Canada, bilingualism is more widespread among young people whose mother tongue is French: one third of persons between 15 and 19 years of age in the French group report that they are bilingual, as do over two fifths of those aged 20-24. However, young people in this group are less bilingual than adults (aged 25 and over).
- Bilingualism appears to be on the increase among the English group: persons aged 15-19 have a higher bilingualism rate than the 20-24 and 25 and over age groups.
- The level of bilingualism among young people varies considerably from one province to another: bilingualism rates range from 4% in Newfoundland to 32% in Quebec among 15 to 19-year-olds and from 3% in Newfoundland to 39% in Quebec among the 20-24 age group.
- There appears to be a fairly close correlation between the level of bilingualism of a language group in a given province and the relative proportion of the total population represented by that group; the smaller the relative size of a minority group in a province, the higher its bilingualism rate. This accounts in part for the high bilingualism rates (80-90%) among young people in the French group outside Quebec and New Brunswick and the high bilingualism rate (65%) among young people in the English group in Quebec.
- Among 15 to 24-year-olds in Canada, females are more bilingual than males (except in the 20-24 age group of French mother tongue) and the phenomenon is particularly noticeable among younger cohorts.
- The increase in bilingualism in Canada is offset by a decrease in language retention. Among the total population, there has been a slight drop in the language retention rate for the three major language groups. Among the English group, the decrease in language retention can be seen primarily in Quebec, where the rate dropped from 92.5% in 1971 to 86.5% in 1981, while among the French and other groups it occurs in nearly every province.
- In 1981, young people in the English group had an extremely high language retention rate (over 98%) in every province except Quebec (87%). The retention rate for young people in the French group is high

only in Quebec (98%) and New Brunswick (92%); outside these provinces, it ranges from 30% to 75%. For young people in the other group, language retention is highest in Quebec; elsewhere in Canada, nearly half of the persons aged 15-19 in the third-language group have already changed their home language.

- Surveys of Canadians between 15 and 25 years of age reveal significant differences in behaviour and opinions between young Quebecers and young people outside Quebec and between the English minority in Quebec and French minorities outside the province.
- "Individual" bilingualism appears to be more highly valued by young Quebecers than by other young Canadians.
- Young people in Canada have a poor knowledge of the role of government agencies in charge of language matters and believe that linguistic minorities should rely more on themselves to protect their rights and their future.

## 1. INTRODUCTION\*

This report presents some of the major linguistic characteristics of young people - the population aged 15 to 25 - in the various provinces of Canada and in the country as a whole. The data are valuable in that they reflect behaviours with respect to language usage and, more generally, degree of social involvement. As well, they reveal attitudes such as the sense of belonging to well-defined subgroups and the perception of the importance of languages and the future of linguistic minorities.

Nevertheless, the study of the linguistic attributes of young people poses a problem because these attributes are the result of an ever-changing process. Phenomena such as language transfer and bilingualism can take place throughout an individual's life but occur primarily during the first thirty-five years. Linguistic choices are made at certain stages in a person's lifetime, many between the ages of 15 and 25 (entry into the labour force, marriage, migration and so forth). Consequently we shall provide the reader with information to enable a proper understanding of these phenomena in young people.

The major linguistic characteristics of young people presented in this report are language retention or transfer (retention of mother tongue as home language or disuse of mother tongue in favour of another language) and bilingualism (the ability to carry on a conversation in both official languages). We shall first describe these phenomena among persons aged 15 to 24 and highlight differences by cohort group (15-19 years, 20-24 years, 25 years and over), sex and province. We shall then compare the linguistic composition of various regions and the levels of language retention and bilingualism in those regions. The circumstances on which these descriptions and comparisons are based are essentially those observed during the 1981 census. However, some mention will be made of general results of the 1971 census to provide an overview of trends for the period from 1971 to 1981.

Although census data on young people can serve to define certain linguistic behaviours, it is useful to know a little more about the attitudes of young people to language issues. This sort of information can be obtained by means of special surveys of representative samples of the population. We shall briefly describe the results of a few recent surveys in the final section of this study. Although the lack of homogeneity among the various surveys limits comparisons, we feel it is useful to have a proper understanding of the perception which young people have of language, as it may signal a change in behavior.

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\* The author wishes to thank Linda Demers for her support during all the stages of the research and for her very helpful comments and suggestions. He also wishes to thank Norbert Robitaille and Marc Tremblay for their comments, Rosalinda Costa for preparing the tables and Rachel Whissell for her secretarial work.

## 2. SOURCES, CONCEPTS AND INDICES USED

The linguistic characteristics of young people presented in Sections 3 and 4 of this report are derived from Canadian census data for 1971 and, particularly, for 1981. Both the 1971 and the 1981 census contained three questions designed to determine respondents' linguistic attributes. The first concerned current usage (language spoken most often at home), the second referred to past and present usage (first language learned and still understood) and the third dealt not with usage, but with the ability to speak Canada's two official languages, French and English<sup>1</sup>.

In this report, we shall use the term "home language" to indicate the language spoken most frequently at home, the term "mother tongue" for the first language learned and still understood, and the term "official languages" to designate the two dominant languages in Canada. We shall describe all persons with the same home language using the terms Anglophones (English home language), Francophones (French home language) and Allophones (home language other than French or English). Individuals with the same mother tongue will be identified as the English group (English mother tongue), the French group (French mother tongue) and the other group (mother tongue other than French or English)<sup>2</sup>.

The 1971 and 1981 census data on linguistic attributes are not comparable in all respects. Although changes were made in the wording of questions on mother tongue and home language, they appear to have had a rather negligible effect on the comparability of the data. However, problematic responses to questions on mother tongue and home language (multiple responses or no response) were dealt with differently in 1971 and 1981. This aspect of the quality of the data can result in biases, particularly in the comparison of language transfers in 1971 and 1981, and may account in part for the variation in language transfer observed between 1971 and 1981. Since our analysis is based largely on the 1981 census data alone, however, the problem of comparability seldom arises.

Using the census data, we shall be able to measure certain linguistic characteristics of young people. By comparing mother tongue and home language, we shall determine an index of language retention (if the two languages are the same) or transfer (if the languages differ). The index of language retention, called the language retention rate, is the proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who report that they use the same

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1 For further information on the concepts used in the census, see John Kralt, Language in Canada, 1971 Census Profile Study, Statistics Canada, Catalogue 99-707, Volume V, Part I, 1976, pp 4-12.

2 These terms were first suggested by R jean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin in their book The Demolinguistic Situation in Canada: Past Trends and Future Prospects, (Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1982), p.4.

language at home. The index of language transfer, called the language transfer rate, is the proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who report that they use a different language at home (this rate is the complement of the language retention rate). Where the group to which the transfer has taken place is stated, we will talk about the rate of language transfer to English or to French or to other languages.

The data on knowledge of the official languages indicate the level of bilingualism of young people in the various provinces and in Canada as a whole. The index used in this study, the bilingualism rate, is simply the proportion of bilingual persons in each of the three major language groups, as defined by mother tongue.

Regarding our decision to group together all those persons whose mother tongue is neither French nor English, we are aware that this group contains subgroups which may behave quite differently in terms of language usage. In this general study, however, we cannot attempt a more exhaustive analysis which would account for these differences.

The findings presented in Section 5 come from a source other than the census. They are data from recent surveys conducted among certain subsets of the Canadian population, particularly persons aged 15 to 24. To avoid repetition and make the text easier to read, these surveys are described at the beginning of Section 5.

### 3. MAJOR TRENDS IN CANADA, 1971-1981

As a background to this study, it is useful to present some 1971 and 1981 data on the major linguistic characteristics of the total population of Canada and selected regions<sup>3</sup>. These data reveal major language trends and will serve as a reference point in interpreting the data for persons aged 15 to 24. We shall deal successively with language retention and bilingualism in Canada.

#### 3.1 Language retention

Table 1 shows that English and French were relatively stable in Canada as a whole in 1971 and 1981. Among the English group, over 98% of persons speak English at home, while among the French group, over 93% speak French at home. However, only half of the persons in the other group retain their mother tongue.

Table 1: Language Retention Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue, Canada and Provinces, 1971 and 1981 (Total Population)

Provinces	English		French		Other	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
CANADA	98.8	98.4	93.8	93.1	52.8	51.0
Newfoundland	99.9	99.9	56.5	57.1	58.0	53.8
Prince Edward Island	99.7	99.7	56.8	57.9	30.2	29.6
Nova Scotia	99.7	99.7	65.9	62.8	43.4	42.5
New Brunswick	99.2	98.3	91.2	90.2	48.7	42.0
Quebec	92.5	86.5	98.4	97.7	68.1	65.2
Ontario	99.0	98.8	69.7	65.7	59.4	54.8
Manitoba	99.0	98.9	62.8	55.7	47.6	44.6
Saskatchewan	99.3	99.5	47.6	36.3	35.0	32.9
Alberta	99.4	99.1	45.9	42.4	37.8	39.7
British Columbia	99.4	99.2	26.4	27.6	39.8	43.6
Yukon	99.5	99.4	25.6	30.5	27.9	25.2
Northwest Territories	98.7	98.3	46.6	43.3	79.5	79.4

\* Proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who reported that they used the same language at home.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-776 (SP-6), Special Bulletin, August 1975; Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

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<sup>3</sup> Although data for the Yukon and the Northwest Territories are shown in the various tables, we shall not include the results for these regions in our analysis.



There are significant provincial variations in language retention among all three groups, however, particularly among the French and other groups. Among the English group, 86.5% of persons in Quebec retain their mother tongue, compared with over 99% outside Quebec, where there is virtually no language transfer.

Among the French group, the language retention rate in Quebec is extremely high (97.7%) and comparable to the rate for the English group outside Quebec. However, the retention rate for the French group drops considerably outside Quebec, reaching a low of 28% in British Columbia. An average of two out of three people in the French group outside Quebec retain their mother tongue. This rate is much lower than the rate for the English group in Quebec, which is 86.5%.

The retention rate for the third-language group is higher within Quebec (65.2%) than outside the province (48.7%).

In Canada as a whole, there was a slight drop in the language retention rate for all three major language groups between 1971 and 1981. The decrease in language retention by the English group was observed primarily in Quebec, where the rate dropped from 92.5% to 86.5%, while the rates for the French and other groups decreased in nearly every province. However, this should not necessarily be attributed to an increase in language transfer among the Canadian population. Given the small size of the variations, it is quite possible that other factors related to the variation in the composition by age of the population (ageing of the population) or the effect of disturbing phenomena (differential migration by language group) are equally valid as causes.

### 3.2 Bilingualism

In 1981, 3,681,960 Canadians or 15.3% of the total population of Canada reported that they were bilingual. The proportion is higher than in 1971, when 2,900,155 Canadians or 13.5% of the population reported that they were bilingual (Table 2). Between 1971 and 1981, the bilingualism rate rose in almost every province except Manitoba and Saskatchewan. As a result, in 1981, nearly one person in three was bilingual in Quebec, compared with just over one in four in New Brunswick and less than one in ten in all other provinces.

In addition to varying by province, the bilingualism rate differs widely from one language group to another. Certainly, the two variables are not independent, as the level of bilingualism in a province is probably linked to the linguistic composition of its population.

In Canada as a whole in 1981, 7.5% of the English group, 36.2% of the French group and 10.5% of the other group was bilingual. The differences in these figures stem from the fact that the vast majority of the French group outside Quebec is bilingual (at least 84% of persons of French mother tongue outside the province are bilingual, except in New Brunswick, where the bilingualism rate is 60.8%), whereas only 53.4% of the English group in Quebec is bilingual (Table 2).

Table 2: Bilingualism Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue, Canada and Provinces, 1971 and 1981 (Total Population)

Province	Total		English		French		Other	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
CANADA	13.5	15.3	5.5	7.5	34.0	36.2	7.8	10.5
Newfoundland	1.8	2.3	1.2	1.8	86.1	83.8	7.4	9.2
Prince Edward Island	8.2	8.1	2.2	4.0	90.9	87.2	6.5	8.4
Nova Scotia	6.7	7.4	2.3	3.7	89.5	89.6	6.0	9.2
New Brunswick	21.5	26.5	5.2	9.0	53.0	60.8	9.2	15.0
Quebec	27.6	32.4	36.7	53.4	25.7	28.7	33.1	44.6
Ontario	9.3	10.8	4.3	6.6	81.7	84.0	5.0	6.5
Manitoba	8.2	7.9	2.9	3.9	92.1	88.6	2.3	2.3
Saskatchewan	5.0	4.6	1.9	2.5	94.6	86.6	1.5	1.6
Alberta	5.0	6.4	2.4	4.3	93.4	85.4	2.4	3.9
British Columbia	4.6	5.7	2.9	4.3	96.2	85.1	3.6	4.5
Yukon	6.6	7.9	4.2	6.3	98.9	87.7	4.4	4.0
Northwest Territories	6.1	6.0	4.8	5.6	92.2	85.3	1.6	1.7

\* Proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who reported that they could carry on a conversation in both of Canada's official languages.

Sources: See Table 1.

Provincial variations in bilingualism are not independent of variations in the linguistic composition of the provinces. Using the data in Tables 2 and 3, we can compare the bilingualism rate for the French group in each province with the proportion of the provincial population whose mother tongue is English. In general, the bilingualism rate for the French group rises as the relative size of the English group in the region increases. Similarly, the bilingualism rate for persons of English mother tongue rises when there is a large French group in a region. It is important to bear this in mind when interpreting regional variations in bilingualism in Canada.

This overview of the major language trends among the total population of Canada and the provinces will enable us to determine whether the characteristics of 15 to 24-year-olds follow these trends or deviate from them, signaling new behaviours.

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of the Total Population by Mother Tongue and by Home Language, Canada and Provinces, 1981

Province	Mother tongue			Home language		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	61.3	25.7	13.0	68.2	24.6	7.2
Newfoundland	98.7	0.5	2.3	99.3	0.3	0.4
Prince Edward Island	93.9	5.0	1.1	96.6	3.1	0.3
Nova Scotia	93.6	4.3	2.1	96.1	2.9	1.0
New Brunswick	65.1	33.6	1.3	68.0	31.4	0.6
Quebec	11.0	82.4	6.6	12.7	82.5	4.8
Ontario	77.4	5.5	17.1	86.0	3.9	10.1
Manitoba	71.7	5.1	23.2	86.0	3.1	10.9
Saskatchewan	79.6	2.6	17.8	92.8	1.1	6.1
Alberta	80.9	2.8	16.3	91.7	1.3	7.0
British Columbia	82.0	1.6	16.4	91.7	0.6	7.7
Yukon	87.4	2.5	10.1	96.1	1.0	2.9
Northwest Territories	54.1	2.7	43.2	63.6	1.4	35.0

Source: Tables A-1 and A-3 in appendix.

#### 4. LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

##### 4.1 Interpretation Aids

To properly interpret the linguistic characteristics of young people with respect to language retention and transfer, it is useful to have a good understanding of the changes in these phenomena. To describe them, we shall use a very simple framework for analysis suggested by Lachapelle and Henripin<sup>4</sup>.

It is assumed that the language transfer rate depends on two variables: the degree of risk of language transfer and the length of exposure to the risk of changing languages. To isolate the intensity of the phenomenon, which is our primary interest, we must introduce two control variables: age and birthplace. Age indicates the length of exposure to the risk of changing languages, and birthplace data enable us, to a certain extent, to study language transfer in Canada rather than transfers occurring elsewhere in the world.

In this report, we shall of course take age into account, since we are interested in certain specific age groups, but we will not make distinctions by birthplace<sup>5</sup>. This will not have much effect on our analysis of persons aged 15 to 24 whose mother tongue is French or English as the transfer rate for persons born in Canada is similar to the rate obtained when birthplace is not taken into account. However, in the third-language group, the transfer rate for persons born in Canada is much higher than the rate for those born outside the country (which is natural, because the length of exposure is greater for persons born in Canada), so that by not making distinctions by birthplace, we underestimate the actual transfer rate in Canada by approximately 20%<sup>6</sup>.

Given these restrictions, let us see how language transfer varies by age group, or rather by cohort group, since it is the behaviour of various cohort groups that is observed in a census. As an illustration, we have drawn curves of the language transfer rates for the three major language groups by age group for Canada as a whole, Quebec, and Canada less Quebec in 1981 (Diagrams 1, 2 and 3). In general, we note first of all that the shape of the curves is fairly similar from one language group or region to the next but that the rates themselves vary significantly by language group and region.

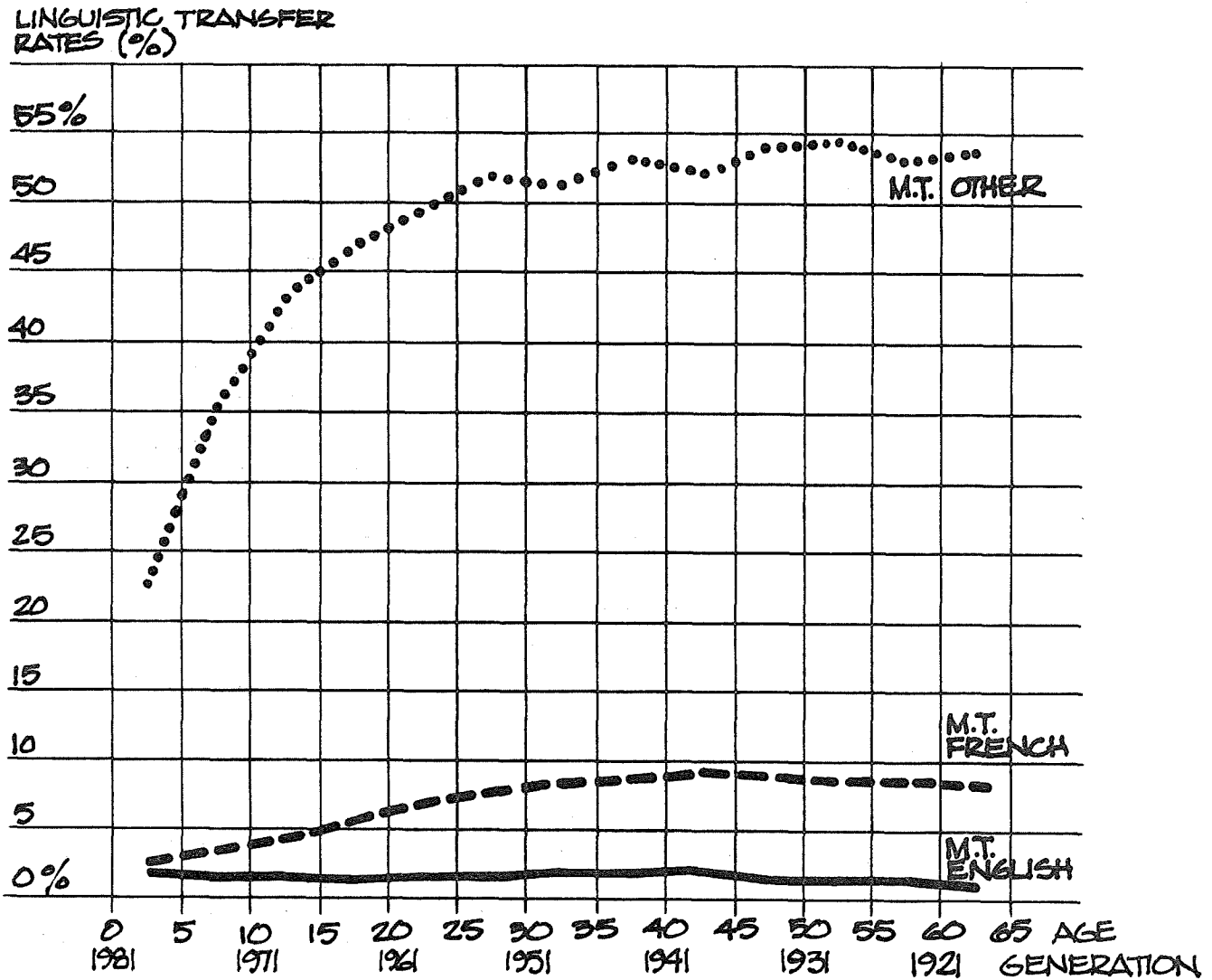
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4 Réjean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin, op.cit., p.121-123.

5 We did not have this information when conducting our study.

6 See Réjean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin, op.cit., p. 128.

DIAGRAM 1  
LINGUISTIC TRANSFER RATES  
BY MOTHER TONGUE AND AGE GROUP,  
CANADA, 1981

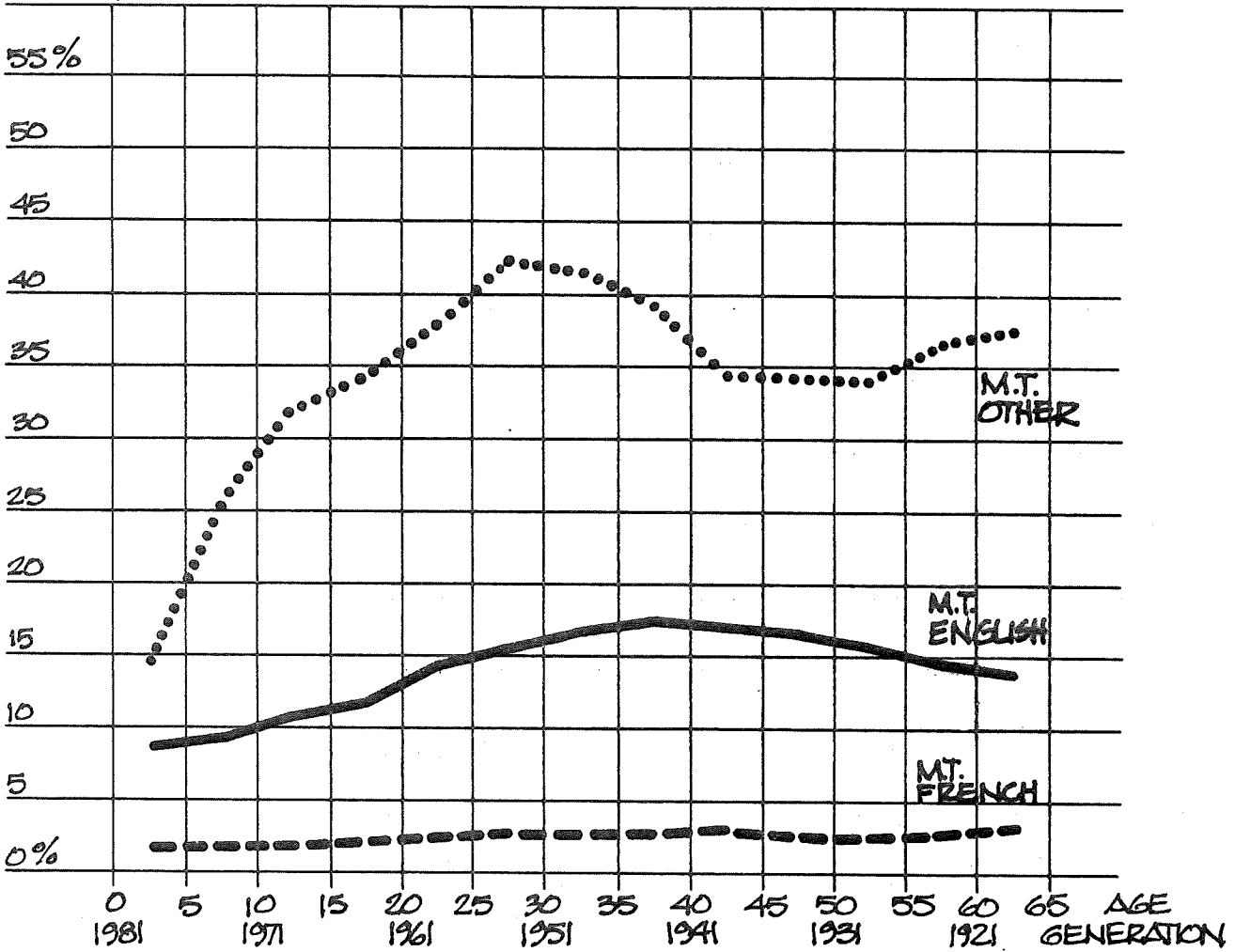


SOURCE: TABLE A.3 OF THE APPENDIX

DIAGRAM 2

# LINGUISTIC TRANSFER RATES BY MOTHER TONGUE AND AGE GROUP, QUEBEC, 1981

LINGUISTIC TRANSFER  
RATES (%)

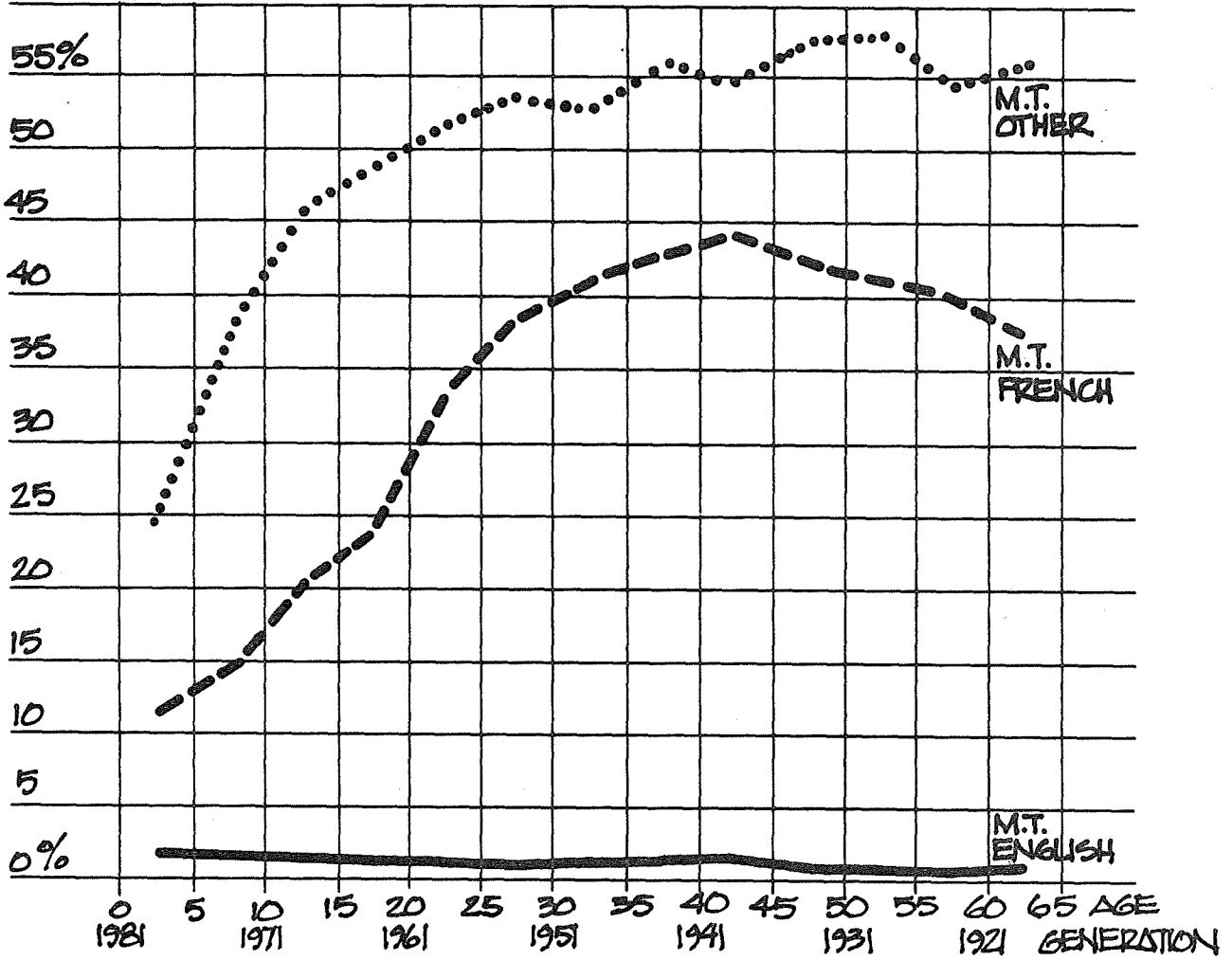


SOURCE: TABLE A.6 OF THE APPENDIX

DIAGRAM 3

LINGUISTIC TRANSFER RATES  
BY MOTHER TONGUE AND AGE GROUP,  
CANADA EXCLUDING QUEBEC

LINGUISTIC TRANSFER  
RATES (%)



SOURCE : TABLE A-7 OF THE APPENDIX

The curve of language transfer rates generally shows two phases: an ascending phase from the 0-4 age group to the 35-39 age group, followed by a phase which reflects a levelling-off or, more often, a decrease in language transfer rates. The first phase is largely due to the increase in the length of exposure to the risk of language transfer (effect of age). The second phase can be attributed to a difference in behaviour by cohort (effect of cohort).

Our comments are based on a number of assumptions inherent in the framework for analysis: we assume here that language transfers are negligible after about age 35 and that they are one-time occurrences. The language transfer rate for persons aged 35 and over can therefore be considered to represent the frequency of completed language transfer for the cohorts to which these persons belong.

#### Behaviour of persons aged 35 and over (older cohorts)

Given these assumptions, it is possible to interpret the second phase of the curves and to determine the behaviour of persons aged 35 and over in 1981 (1916-1921 to 1936-1941 cohort groups). In Canada as a whole (Diagram 1), the transfer rate for the English group remained steady at 1.4% among the 1916-1921 to 1931-1936 cohort groups and rose slightly among the 1936-1941 cohort group, although never above 2%. In the French group, it can be seen that the transfer rate increased from 8.8% to 9.6% among older cohorts. In the third-language group, the transfer rate for cohorts prior to 1941 was fairly steady, ranging from 53% to 55%.

A brief look at Diagrams 2 and 3, however, shows that the language groups behave differently inside and outside Quebec. The language transfer rate for the English group rose in Quebec but remained relatively stable outside the province. The reverse was observed among the French group. There was greater variation in the transfer rate for the third-language group: outside Quebec, it fluctuated between 55% and 58% among older cohorts, while within the province, after levelling off around 35%, it is rising among more recent cohorts (30-44 years of age in 1981).

#### Behaviour of persons under 35 years of age (recent cohorts)

It is more difficult to analyse language transfer among recent cohorts (under 35 years of age in 1981) because the process is still evolving. However, by observing the way in which transfer rates vary with age, we can form some idea of behavioural trends among recent cohorts. A steady increase in transfer rates with age indicates that the behaviour of recent cohorts will be similar to that of older cohorts. Conversely, a decrease or very slight increase in transfer rates from one age group to the next points to a rise in language transfer among recent cohorts. However, these statements are based on the assumption that the distribution by age of language transfers (the tempo of the phenomenon) varies little from one cohort group to another.



In Canada as a whole (Diagram 1), only the English group shows signs of an increase in language transfer among the most recent cohorts. Even among persons in the 0-4 age group, the language transfer rate (1.7%) is similar to the rate for the 35 and over group (1.8%). We must be cautious in interpreting these figures, however, as transfers affect a very small number of individuals in the English group and are influenced far more by outside factors (data processing, disturbing phenomena). As well, it is surprising to note in Diagram 3 that language transfer among the English group seems to be increasing outside Quebec, where this group constitutes the vast majority of the population.

In the French group, there is no sign of an increase in language transfer among recent cohorts as compared with older cohorts. In Quebec (Diagram 2), approximately 3% of persons in recent cohorts can be expected to change their home language, while outside Quebec (Diagram 3), nearly 45% of persons of French mother tongue will stop using French in favour of another language, usually English.

Although the language transfer rates for the third-language group should not be interpreted as indicating a rise in language transfer among recent cohorts, some increase among the 1941-1946 (35-39 years of age) to 1961-1966 (15-19 years of age) cohort groups can be seen, so that the completed language transfer rate for these cohorts could exceed the rate for older cohorts. In Canada as a whole, approximately 55% of persons in the third-language group will change their home language during their lifetime (Diagram 1); the rate could reach over 40% in Quebec (Diagram 2) and over 55% outside the province (Diagram 3). It is important to remember that the data for this group are more difficult to interpret as some language transfers may have occurred before immigrants arrived in Canada.

These comments show that language transfer is a changing process that increases with age (or length of exposure to the risk), probably until about age 35. In presenting the language transfer and language retention rates for 15 to 24-year-olds, we must relate the data to this process, which can be analysed using the assumptions mentioned, although we have relatively little knowledge of how it changes within one cohort. The bilingualism rates must also be related to this process, as bilingualism often leads to a change of home language.

The ideal method of analysing the behaviour of cohorts would be to observe them over time. In fact, we now have the results of two censuses (1971 and 1981) and, although the period of observation is limited, it could give us a better idea of trends among young people. However, this method presupposes that the 1971 and 1981 census data on linguistic characteristics are comparable in every respect and that disturbing phenomena such as mortality and migration are not overly important. We are aware that this is not entirely the case and that this method therefore presents some problems. We shall not use it here because it would require a more detailed analysis of the census data and methods. We shall simply make certain comparisons of the 1971 and 1981 results.

Table 4: Language Retention Rate\* (%) and Bilingualism Rate\*\* (%) for Selected Age Groups, Canada, 1971 and 1981

Age Group	Retention Rate		Bilingualism Rate	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
15-19 years	94.1	94.0	16.6	17.7
20-24 years	92.1	92.9	20.1	18.9
All ages	91.2	90.8	13.5	15.3

\* See the footnote to Table 1.

\*\* See the footnote to Table 2.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-733, January 1974;  
Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table 4 outlines changes in language retention and bilingualism among persons aged 15 to 24 between 1971 and 1981. In the case of bilingualism, trends among young people are less marked than among the total population; bilingualism is increasing among the 15-19 years olds and decreasing among the 20-24 age group. The overall picture of language retention is less clear because only minor variations were observed among young Canadians between 1971 and 1981.

#### 4.2 Comparative situation of young people

We are interested here in the linguistic characteristics of persons aged 15-19 and 20-24 during the 1981 census - in other words, persons belonging to the 1961-1966 and 1956-1961 cohort groups respectively. We shall describe the linguistic behaviour of these groups and compare it with that of persons aged 25 and over in 1981, who belong to cohorts prior to 1956. In view of our previous remarks concerning changes in language transfer by age and cohort, we must be cautious in drawing conclusions from these comparisons. The figures for the various groups are given in Tables A-1, A-3 and A-8 in the appendix.

Table 5 shows indices which can be used to measure and compare the linguistic characteristics of persons aged 15-25 in Canada as a whole. We shall deal with each language group in turn.

Table 5: Language Retention Rate\* (%) and Bilingualism Rate\*\* (%) by Mother Tongue for Selected Age Groups, Canada, 1981

Mother tongue and age group		Retention rate	Bilingualism rate
English	15-19 yrs	98.5	11.0
	20-24 yrs	98.4	9.4
	25 yrs +	98.5	7.8
	Total	98.4	7.5
French	15-19 yrs	95.0	33.6
	20-24 yrs	93.3	41.8
	25 yrs +	91.4	44.5
	Total	93.1	36.2
Other	15-19 yrs	53.6	20.8
	20-24 yrs	50.9	16.8
	25 yrs +	48.2	9.4
	Total	51.0	10.5
Total	15-19 yrs	94.0	17.7
	20-24 yrs	92.9	18.9
	25 yrs +	88.1	17.5
	Total	90.8	15.3

\* See the footnote to Table 1.

\*\* See the footnote to Table 2.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data, and Table A-8 in appendix.

#### English group

Young people in the English group have a very high language retention rate in Canada as a whole; 98.5% kept their mother tongue, which is comparable to the behaviour of adults in the same group. However, the bilingualism rate for 15 to 19-year-olds in the English group is 11%, higher than the rates for persons aged 20-24 (9.4%) and 25 and over (7.8%). The more recent cohorts, then, appear to be more bilingual.

Bilingual persons in the 15-19 age group have a much higher rate of language transfer to French (5.8%) than the overall 15-19 group (0.7%) (Table A-9 in appendix). This is natural as bilingualism is a necessary stage (although not sufficient) in a language transfer. The same is true of the 20-24 and 25 and over age groups, where the transfer rates for bilingual persons are 7.6% and 11.6% respectively.

### French group

The language retention rate for the French group is fairly high in Canada as a whole, although lower than the rate for the English group. Nearly all language transfers are made to the English group. The retention rates conform to the age-group hierarchy: 15 to 19-year-olds have a higher rate than persons aged 20-24 who, in turn, have a higher rate than those 25 and over (Table 5). There is no specific indication of an increase in language transfer among the younger cohorts in the French group, at least in Canada as a whole.

Bilingualism is much more common among the French group than the English group: 44.5% of persons aged 25 and over are bilingual, compared with one person in three in the 15-19 age group and two in five in the 20-24 age group. There is no trend in the French group toward greater bilingualism among the younger cohorts, as found in the English group.

### Other group

Language retention among the third-language group is, of course, much lower; less than one person in two uses his or her mother tongue at home. Among young people, this phenomenon spreads rapidly: only 53.6% of persons aged 15-19 retained their mother tongue in 1981, and the figure drops to 50.9% in the next cohort group (20-24 years). The third-language group has an extremely high language transfer rate and transfers are made almost exclusively to English, at least in Canada as a whole (Table A-9 in appendix).

The level of bilingualism of this group is midway between the rates for the English and French groups. However, there is a sharp increase in bilingualism among the younger cohorts: the bilingualism rate for 15 to 19-year-olds is 20.8%, compared with 16.8% for the 20-24 age group and only 9.4% for persons 25 and over (Table 5).

Thus, in Canada as a whole, young people in the three major language groups have fairly different behaviours that depend in large measure on the size of the groups and their geographical concentration<sup>7</sup>. Certainly, this overview does not accurately reflect the highly varied provincial situations which we shall discuss in the sections to follow.

## 4.3 Language retention among young people

### 4.3.1 Provincial variations in language retention

Because language retention among a group in a region is related to the linguistic composition of that region, it is important to compare the two to properly interpret the regional variations in language in Canada (Table 6)<sup>8</sup>.

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7 Tables A-1 and A-3 in the appendix contain some data on these factors.

8 The data on the linguistic composition of the youth population in each province appear in Tables A-2 and A-4 in the appendix.

Table 6: Language Retention Rate\* (%) and Bilingualism Rate\*\* (%) by Mother Tongue for Selected Age Groups, Canada and Provinces, 1981

a) 15-19 years

Province	English		French		Other		Total Bilingualism
	Retention	Bi-lingualism	Retention	Bi-lingualism	Retention	Bi-lingualism	
CANADA	98.5	11.0	95.0	33.6	53.6	20.8	17.7
Newfoundland	99.8	4.0	46.7	83.9	55.4	5.9	4.2
Prince Edward Island	100.0	5.8	72.4	78.1	18.7	-	8.7
Nova Scotia	99.6	6.7	75.0	92.5	51.4	9.9	9.4
New Brunswick	98.1	11.2	93.0	63.5	59.0	21.3	29.2
Quebec	88.3	65.0	97.9	25.9	65.7	67.4	32.4
Ontario	98.6	10.5	75.2	89.7	52.8	15.1	15.2
Manitoba	99.1	6.2	63.1	89.1	52.5	4.7	9.9
Saskatchewan	99.6	4.5	40.6	81.6	47.1	2.9	5.7
Alberta	99.3	6.4	50.6	82.2	48.1	6.3	7.9
British Columbia	99.2	7.6	31.0	74.1	45.3	9.0	8.3
Yukon	100.0	10.1	-	100.0	9.1	-	10.3
Northwest Territories	98.3	4.6	40.0	75.0	82.0	0.5	3.9

b) 20-24 year

Province	English		French		Other		Total Bilingualism
	Retention	Bi-lingualism	Retention	Bi-lingualism	Retention	Bi-lingualism	
CANADA	98.4	9.4	93.3	41.8	50.9	16.8	18.9
Newfoundland	99.9	2.4	35.9	84.6	47.2	3.7	3.0
Prince Edward Island	99.8	4.8	60.2	89.7	11.1	37.5	9.2
Nova Scotia	99.6	4.9	60.1	93.6	56.0	9.6	8.7
New Brunswick	98.1	10.5	91.6	72.0	52.5	15.0	32.1
Quebec	85.9	65.7	97.8	34.3	62.8	64.0	38.9
Ontario	98.7	8.5	65.6	91.9	50.8	10.7	13.5
Manitoba	98.8	4.8	46.1	91.1	45.9	3.3	9.1
Saskatchewan	99.6	3.5	34.1	90.1	42.9	2.2	5.4
Alberta	99.1	6.0	45.0	87.3	44.4	6.0	8.7
British Columbia	99.2	5.6	34.7	86.1	46.0	6.5	6.9
Yukon	99.3	8.6	41.2	93.7	16.7	10.0	11.6
Northwest Territories	98.6	6.2	37.9	85.7	74.2	1.2	6.7

\* See the footnote to Table 1.

\*\* See the footnote to Table 2.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981, Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table 6: Language Retention Rate\* (%) and Bilingualism Rate\*\* (%) by Mother Tongue for Selected Age Groups, Canada and Provinces, 1981

c) 25 years and over

Province	English		French		Other		Total
	Reten- tion	Bi- ling- ualism	Reten- tion	Bi- ling- ualism	Reten- tion	Bi- ling- ualism	Biling- ualism
CANADA	98.5	7.8	91.4	44.5	48.2	9.4	17.5
Newfoundland	99.9	1.6	40.1	89.2	49.4	11.3	2.3
Prince Edward Island	99.7	3.5	51.3	89.6	23.1	8.4	8.6
Nova Scotia	99.7	3.5	58.2	91.7	35.2	10.4	8.3
New Brunswick	98.3	8.5	87.0	71.7	37.8	15.2	29.8
Quebec	84.9	54.0	97.4	36.7	62.8	42.4	39.1
Ontario	99.1	6.3	59.5	87.7	53.9	5.7	10.9
Manitoba	99.0	3.8	51.0	91.3	39.9	2.1	8.4
Saskatchewan	99.5	2.5	33.3	88.8	27.5	1.5	5.3
Alberta	99.2	4.5	36.2	88.8	35.2	3.7	7.1
British Columbia	99.3	4.6	24.3	87.7	40.8	4.5	6.3
Yukon	99.3	7.2	24.7	92.0	24.1	4.1	9.3
Northwest Territories	98.4	8.9	39.2	89.6	70.9	3.1	9.9

d) All ages

Province	English		French		Other		Total
	Reten- tion	Bi- ling- ualism	Reten- tion	Bi- ling- ualism	Reten- tion	Bi- ling- ualism	Biling- ualism
CANADA	98.4	7.5	93.1	36.2	51.0	10.5	15.3
Newfoundland	99.9	1.8	42.9	83.8	53.8	9.2	2.3
Prince Edward Island	99.7	4.0	57.9	87.2	29.6	8.4	8.1
Nova Scotia	99.7	3.7	62.8	89.6	42.5	9.2	7.4
New Brunswick	98.3	9.0	90.2	60.8	42.0	15.0	26.4
Quebec	86.5	53.4	97.7	28.7	65.2	44.6	32.4
Ontario	98.8	6.6	65.7	84.0	54.8	6.5	10.8
Manitoba	98.9	3.9	55.7	88.6	44.6	2.3	7.9
Saskatchewan	99.5	2.5	36.3	86.6	32.9	1.6	4.6
Alberta	99.1	4.3	42.4	85.4	39.7	3.9	6.4
British Columbia	99.2	4.3	27.6	85.1	43.6	4.5	5.7
Yukon	99.4	6.3	30.5	87.7	25.2	4.0	7.9
Northwest Territories	98.3	5.6	43.3	85.3	79.4	1.7	6.1

\* See the footnote to Table 1.

\*\* See the footnote to Table 2.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

In 1981, persons aged 15-24 in the English group constituted at least 80% of the population in every province except Quebec and New Brunswick. In the other eight provinces, these young people have an extremely high language retention rate which exceeds the Canadian average of 98.5%, with very little difference between cohort groups. It can therefore be concluded that young people in the English group experience almost no language transfer in these provinces.

Although young people in the English group constitute only about two thirds of the population in New Brunswick, their language retention rate is as high (98%) as in the other provinces. In Quebec, on the other hand, these young people are in the minority, forming approximately 11% of the population aged 15-24, and have a lower language retention rate than young people of English mother tongue outside Quebec: 88.3% for the 15-19 age group, 85.9% for the 20-24 age group and 84.9% for the 25 and over age group. However, there is no indication of an increase in completed language transfer among young people in the English group in Quebec, and approximately 17% can be expected to change languages during their lifetime.

Although in Canada as a whole it appears that over 90% of the French group uses French at home, there are marked provincial disparities in language retention. Outside Quebec and New Brunswick, the language retention rate for persons aged 15-19 in the French group varies from 75% in Ontario to 31% in British Columbia, while the rate for the 20-24 age group varies from 65% to 35% and the rate for the 25 and over age group ranges from 60% in Ontario to 25% in British Columbia. As a result, it can be expected that among recent French cohorts outside Quebec one person in four, or one in two at most, will retain French as the home language.

In New Brunswick, language retention among young people in the French group is fairly high, yet at least 10% can be expected to experience a language transfer to English. In Quebec, the retention rate for young people in the French group is extremely high (97-98%), although slightly lower than the rate for the English group outside the province. Nevertheless, the 3% language transfer experience by recent French cohorts represents an appreciable shift to English as a home language in Quebec.

Language retention among the other group is highest in Quebec, with a rate of 66% for persons aged 15-19. This situation is not unrelated to the fact that the English group is in the minority in Quebec. Elsewhere in Canada, nearly half of the persons aged 15-19 in the other group have already changed languages. Only in Quebec and Ontario does language retention among recent cohorts (15-24 years) show signs of decreasing in comparison with retention among older cohorts (25 years and over).

#### 4.3.2 Variations in language retention by sex

Language retention varies relatively little by sex in Canada, at least among the majority group which has the highest retention rate (Table 7). However, females are found to have a slightly higher retention rate than males, particularly among young people in the English group in Quebec. The difference is less pronounced among young people than among adults.

Table 7: Language Retention Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue and Sex for Selected Age Groups, Canada and Provinces, 1981

a) 15-19 years

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	98.5	98.4	98.5	95.0	95.2	94.7	53.6	55.3	51.8
Newfoundland	99.8	99.7	99.8	46.7	66.7	35.0	55.4	60.5	50.0
Prince Edward Island	100.0	100.0	99.9	72.4	71.7	71.7	18.7	20.0	16.7
Nova Scotia	99.6	99.8	99.5	75.0	76.3	73.7	51.4	53.7	49.5
New Brunswick	98.1	98.3	97.9	93.0	93.1	92.9	59.0	63.6	53.1
Quebec	88.3	88.1	88.5	97.9	97.9	97.9	65.7	67.5	63.6
Ontario	98.6	98.5	98.6	75.2	76.5	73.9	52.8	54.3	51.2
Manitoba	99.1	98.9	99.2	63.1	64.9	61.0	52.5	54.7	50.5
Saskatchewan	99.6	99.6	99.6	40.6	44.4	37.4	47.1	49.8	43.9
Alberta	99.3	99.3	99.3	50.6	51.3	50.0	48.1	49.7	46.4
British Columbia	99.2	99.2	99.2	31.0	33.5	29.1	45.3	46.9	43.6
Yukon	100.0	99.5	100.0	-	50.0	-	9.1	15.4	9.1
Northwest Territories	98.3	98.6	97.7	40.0	30.0	50.0	82.0	82.4	81.6

b) 20-24 years

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	98.4	98.3	98.5	93.3	93.5	93.2	50.9	51.4	50.4
Newfoundland	99.9	99.9	99.8	35.9	42.4	29.0	47.2	43.3	58.3
Prince Edward Island	99.8	99.9	99.7	60.2	63.5	55.8	11.1	-	50.0
Nova Scotia	99.6	99.7	99.6	60.1	60.0	59.8	56.0	56.5	55.1
New Brunswick	98.1	98.3	98.0	91.6	91.4	91.7	52.5	52.1	52.9
Quebec	85.9	85.5	86.2	97.8	97.9	97.7	62.8	65.3	60.4
Ontario	98.7	98.6	98.9	65.6	67.7	63.6	50.8	51.0	50.7
Manitoba	98.8	98.8	98.8	46.1	49.5	42.7	45.9	48.6	43.3
Saskatchewan	99.6	99.5	99.7	34.1	36.6	31.3	42.9	42.3	43.6
Alberta	99.1	99.1	99.1	45.0	46.9	42.8	44.4	44.3	44.7
British Columbia	99.2	99.2	99.2	34.7	33.0	36.7	46.0	45.8	46.2
Yukon	99.3	99.5	100.0	41.2	42.9	37.5	16.7	40.0	7.7
Northwest Territories	98.6	98.3	98.5	37.9	40.0	33.3	74.2	75.1	74.1

\* See the footnote to Table 1.

T = total; M = males; F = females

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.



Table 7: Language Retention Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue and Sex for Selected Age Groups, Canada and Provinces, 1981

c) 25 years and over

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	98.5	98.3	98.6	91.4	91.2	91.5	48.2	45.5	50.9
Newfoundland	99.9	99.9	99.9	40.1	38.9	41.5	49.4	44.2	53.1
Prince Edward Island	99.7	99.8	99.6	51.3	50.4	53.0	23.1	21.6	23.4
Nova Scotia	99.7	99.7	99.7	58.2	58.8	57.7	35.2	32.4	38.2
New Brunswick	98.3	98.1	98.4	87.0	87.2	86.9	37.8	35.3	40.8
Quebec	84.9	82.5	87.2	97.4	97.3	97.4	62.8	59.6	66.2
Ontario	99.1	99.1	99.2	59.5	58.9	60.0	53.9	51.3	56.7
Manitoba	99.0	99.0	99.0	51.0	50.3	51.7	39.9	37.6	42.1
Saskatchewan	99.5	99.4	99.5	33.3	32.3	34.2	27.5	25.5	29.5
Alberta	99.2	99.1	99.2	36.2	35.4	37.0	35.2	32.7	37.9
British Columbia	99.3	99.2	99.4	24.3	23.7	24.8	40.8	37.7	43.9
Yukon	99.3	99.5	99.2	24.7	21.4	22.2	24.1	21.4	30.9
Northwest Territories	98.4	98.2	98.6	39.2	37.0	45.2	70.9	69.9	71.8

d) All ages

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	98.4	98.3	98.5	93.1	93.1	93.1	51.0	49.2	52.8
Newfoundland	99.9	99.9	99.8	42.9	46.1	39.2	53.8	52.0	55.2
Prince Edward Island	99.7	99.8	99.7	57.9	57.7	58.0	29.6	27.3	33.0
Nova Scotia	99.7	99.7	99.6	62.8	63.4	62.2	42.5	41.2	43.8
New Brunswick	98.3	98.3	98.3	90.2	90.4	90.1	42.0	40.3	44.2
Quebec	86.5	85.1	87.9	97.7	97.7	97.7	65.2	63.4	67.1
Ontario	98.8	98.7	98.8	65.7	66.0	65.4	54.8	53.0	56.6
Manitoba	98.9	98.9	99.0	55.7	56.1	55.3	44.6	43.3	45.8
Saskatchewan	99.5	99.5	99.5	36.3	35.8	36.7	32.9	31.5	34.4
Alberta	99.1	99.1	99.1	42.4	42.3	42.4	39.7	37.8	41.6
British Columbia	99.2	99.1	99.2	27.6	27.0	28.3	43.6	41.3	45.9
Yukon	99.4	99.5	99.2	30.5	33.3	27.1	25.2	23.4	28.2
Northwest Territories	98.3	98.3	98.4	43.3	41.0	47.2	79.4	79.0	79.7

\* See the footnote to Table 1.

T = total; M = males; F = females

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

The reverse is true of the French group, where young males have a higher retention rate in nearly every province. This is not observed among older cohorts (25 years and over).

Change with age is also observed in the third-language group, where males have a higher retention rate than females in the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups but a lower rate in subsequent age groups.

The reason for these differences may be that language transfer is experienced at different times by the sexes and that opportunities to change language occur slightly later among males than among females. This is only a hypothesis however, as we do not have a thorough knowledge of the evolution of language transfer within a single cohort group.

It will be interesting to investigate further whether there is a connection between differences in retention by sex and differences in bilingualism by sex, as bilingualism can be a step toward language transfer.

#### 4.4 Bilingualism among young people

##### 4.4.1 Provincial variations in bilingualism

In the whole of Canada in 1981, approximately 18% of persons aged 15-24 reported that they had sufficient knowledge of the two official languages to converse in both (Table 6). However, bilingualism is far more widespread among young people whose mother tongue is French; one third of persons between 15 and 19 years of age in the French group report that they are bilingual, as do over two fifths of those aged 20-24. Among the English group, only 11% of persons aged 15-19 and 9% of those aged 20-24 are bilingual. Among the other group, bilingualism is reported by one person in five aged 15-19 and by approximately 17% of the 20-24 age group.

This national picture is the result of widely different regional situations, however. The bilingualism rate for 15 to 19-year-olds in the English group varies from 4% (Newfoundland) to 65% (Quebec); outside Quebec it reaches a maximum of 11% (New Brunswick). The same regional variations are observed among persons aged 20-24 of English mother tongue, although they have a lower bilingualism rate than the 15-19 age group in every province except Quebec. In addition, the rates for the 25 and over age group are lower than those for persons aged 15-24. It can be seen, then, that bilingualism is more common among young people.

The reverse is true of the French group in Canada as a whole. The proportion of bilingual persons increases with age, from 34% among the 15-19 age group to 42% among the 20-24 age group and 45% among the 25 and over age group. The increase is particularly marked in Quebec, where over two thirds of the bilingual persons of French mother tongue in Canada reside. Bilingualism rates are much higher for the French group than for the other two groups; excluding Quebec (28.7% bilingual) and New Brunswick (60.8% bilingual), rates vary from 84 to 90% in the other provinces.

The bilingualism rates for persons aged 15-24 in the third-language group are comparable to the rates for the English group. They are relatively low outside Quebec, reaching a maximum of 20% in New Brunswick, but are higher inside the province, where two thirds of young people are bilingual. In addition, there is a trend toward an increase in bilingualism among recent cohorts whose mother tongue is neither French nor English.

Like language retention rates, bilingualism rates appear to be influenced largely by the linguistic composition of each province. Franco-phones are very much in the minority outside Quebec and a few border counties, and their high level of bilingualism is a reflection of their unequal situation<sup>9</sup>.

#### 4.4.2 Variations in bilingualism by sex

Regardless of language group, the proportion of bilingual persons varies relatively little by sex (Table 8). Among persons aged 25 and over in Canada, however, the bilingualism rate is higher for males in all three language groups. In the English group, 8.5% of males and 7.1% of females are bilingual, as are 51.7% of males and 38.4% of females in the French group and 10.9% of males and 7.8% of females in the other group.

The difference between the sexes is greatest among the French group, where it is close to 13%. This can be attributed to the fact that in Quebec 44.1% of males of French mother tongue are bilingual, compared with only 30% of females in the same language group.

These major trends in bilingualism by sex of persons 25 and over can be observed in the various provinces.

Among persons aged 15-24 in Canada, the situation is reversed and a higher proportion of women than men are bilingual (except in the 20-24 age group of French mother tongue). The phenomenon is particularly noticeable among recent cohorts, and there is a greater difference between the sexes among the 15-19 age group than among the 20-24 age group.

In the whole of Canada, 8.4% of males aged 15-19 in the English group are bilingual, compared with 13.6% of females. The relative difference between the sexes is less pronounced among the French and other groups. The tendency for young women to be more bilingual than young men is observed in nearly every province. However, we cannot be certain that the increase in bilingualism among the 15-19 age group will mean an increase in the extent of bilingualism. It is possible that these findings also stem from a change in the timing of the phenomenon and that women become bilingual earlier than men.

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9 Lachapelle and Henripin, op.cit., p. 142, use the terms proximity bilingualism (close contact with members of the other group) and inequality bilingualism (unequal social relations) to describe bilingualism of Francophone minorities outside Quebec.

Table 8: Bilingualism Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue and Sex for Selected Age Groups, Canada and Provinces, 1981

a) 15-19 years

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	11.0	8.4	13.6	33.6	32.4	34.8	20.8	17.9	23.8
Newfoundland	4.0	2.9	5.0	83.9	90.9	80.0	5.9	-	10.0
Prince Edward Island	5.8	4.6	3.1	78.1	79.3	76.6	5.9	8.3	14.3
Nova Scotia	6.7	4.4	9.0	92.5	90.4	94.7	9.9	12.6	6.9
New Brunswick	11.2	8.9	13.6	63.5	61.0	66.0	21.3	23.4	24.0
Quebec	65.0	61.3	68.9	25.9	24.8	27.0	67.4	65.8	69.2
Ontario	10.5	7.4	13.7	89.7	88.6	90.9	15.1	10.2	20.0
Manitoba	6.2	4.7	7.7	89.1	89.1	88.9	4.7	3.3	6.1
Saskatchewan	4.5	2.8	6.1	81.6	79.1	83.7	2.9	2.1	3.9
Alberta	6.4	4.2	8.6	82.2	82.4	81.9	6.3	4.3	8.4
British Columbia	7.6	5.2	10.0	74.1	70.7	77.0	9.0	6.5	11.7
Yukon	10.1	5.4	15.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	-	7.1
Northwest Territories	4.6	3.9	5.4	75.0	77.8	80.0	0.5	0.5	1.3

b) 20-24 years

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	9.4	8.1	10.5	41.8	43.7	39.8	16.8	15.6	18.1
Newfoundland	2.4	1.9	2.9	84.6	94.1	77.4	3.7	-	3.8
Prince Edward Island	4.8	4.3	5.4	92.2	88.2	98.0	37.5	16.7	-
Nova Scotia	4.9	3.8	6.1	93.6	93.2	93.8	9.6	11.3	9.4
New Brunswick	10.5	9.6	11.4	72.0	72.1	71.7	15.0	14.0	15.7
Quebec	65.7	64.9	66.5	34.3	36.6	32.1	64.0	65.0	62.9
Ontario	8.5	6.7	10.3	91.9	91.9	91.8	10.7	7.9	13.3
Manitoba	4.8	3.9	5.7	91.1	89.1	92.9	3.3	2.4	4.1
Saskatchewan	3.5	3.0	4.1	90.1	90.8	90.1	2.2	2.1	2.2
Alberta	6.0	5.6	6.4	87.3	87.0	87.7	6.0	5.9	6.2
British Columbia	5.6	4.4	6.8	86.1	84.5	87.8	6.5	5.2	7.7
Yukon	8.6	8.1	9.1	93.7	85.7	90.0	10.0	-	-
Northwest Territories	6.2	6.0	6.3	85.7	85.7	92.3	1.2	1.2	1.1

\* See the footnote to Table 2.

T = total; M = males; F = females

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table 8: Bilingualism Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue and Sex for Selected Age Groups, Canada and Provinces, 1981

c) 25 years and over

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	7.8	8.5	7.1	44.5	51.1	38.4	9.4	10.9	7.8
Newfoundland	1.6	1.9	1.4	89.2	89.2	84.4	11.3	13.3	11.7
Prince Edward Island	3.5	3.9	3.0	89.6	88.7	90.2	8.4	9.6	12.2
Nova Scotia	3.5	3.8	3.3	91.7	92.6	90.9	10.4	11.3	9.4
New Brunswick	8.5	9.3	7.8	71.7	75.9	67.7	15.2	15.9	13.6
Quebec	54.0	60.1	48.3	36.7	44.1	30.0	42.4	50.2	34.3
Ontario	6.3	7.0	5.7	87.7	89.8	85.9	5.7	6.4	5.1
Manitoba	3.8	4.1	3.5	91.3	92.8	90.1	2.1	2.4	1.9
Saskatchewan	2.5	2.7	2.4	88.8	89.5	88.3	1.5	1.8	1.3
Alberta	4.5	4.9	4.1	88.8	90.1	87.4	3.7	4.4	3.1
British Columbia	4.6	4.9	4.3	87.7	88.9	86.4	4.5	5.0	4.0
Yukon	7.2	6.9	7.7	92.0	92.7	93.5	4.1	6.4	3.7
Northwest Territories	8.9	9.8	7.8	89.6	91.0	86.6	3.1	3.3	4.2

d) All ages

Province	English			French			Other		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
CANADA	7.5	7.4	7.7	36.2	39.7	32.8	10.5	11.3	9.7
Newfoundland	1.8	1.7	1.9	83.8	86.6	79.8	9.2	9.2	9.4
Prince Edward Island	4.0	3.9	4.0	87.2	86.6	87.8	8.4	8.2	9.3
Nova Scotia	3.7	3.4	3.9	89.6	89.9	89.4	9.2	10.2	8.1
New Brunswick	9.0	8.8	9.1	60.8	62.6	59.1	15.0	15.4	14.5
Quebec	53.4	56.2	50.7	28.7	32.6	24.9	44.6	49.8	39.2
Ontario	6.6	6.3	6.9	84.0	85.0	83.0	6.5	6.4	6.6
Manitoba	3.9	3.7	4.2	88.6	89.1	88.2	2.3	2.4	2.2
Saskatchewan	2.5	2.3	2.8	86.6	86.4	86.7	1.6	1.7	1.4
Alberta	4.3	4.1	4.5	85.4	86.1	84.5	3.9	4.1	3.5
British Columbia	4.3	4.0	4.6	85.1	85.6	84.6	4.5	4.7	4.4
Yukon	6.3	5.4	7.2	87.7	89.4	85.4	4.0	4.7	3.4
Northwest Territories	5.6	5.9	5.3	85.3	85.7	84.1	1.7	1.7	1.5

\* See the footnote to Table 2.

T = total; M = males; F = females

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Along with the growth in bilingualism among females, there is an increase in the bilingualism rate for 15 to 19-year-olds as compared with 20 to 24-year-olds among the English and other groups. Since the extent of bilingualism also depends on the length of exposure to the risk of learning a new language, these findings indicate an increase in bilingualism among recent cohorts in the English and other groups.

The French group is an exception here. In Quebec and Canada as a whole, there is a smaller proportion of bilingual persons among the 15-19 age group (33.6% in Canada and 25.9% in Quebec) than among the 20-24 age group (41.8% in Canada and 34.3% in Quebec) (Table 8). Consequently, there is no indication of an increase in bilingualism among recent cohorts in the French group (1961-1966 cohorts).

#### 4.5 Summary of the linguistic characteristics of young people

Let us review the main findings of our analysis of the census data on the linguistic characteristics of young people.

We noted first that the language retention rate for the total population had decreased between 1971 and 1981. This is not due solely to an increase in language transfer among successive cohorts, however, but is also due to other factors such as the ageing of the population and the effect of differential migration by language group. Among more recent cohorts (15-24 years of age in 1981), there is no sign of an increase in language transfer in Canada as a whole. Even among the linguistic minorities that are most prone to language transfer (the English group in Quebec and the French group outside Quebec), the retention rates decrease with age, something which would not indicate that language retention among the 15-24 age group will be lower than that observed among older cohorts (25 and over in 1981). Only among the other group in Quebec and Ontario is the completed transfer rate for recent cohorts higher than the rate for older cohorts.

Bilingualism grew among the total population in nearly every province between 1971 and 1981. Our findings also indicate an increase in bilingualism among recent cohorts, at least in the English and other groups. In the French group, which has a much higher bilingualism rate than the other two groups, there is no sign of growth in bilingualism among recent cohorts.

Although language retention and bilingualism among young people vary relatively little by sex, some disparity by language group is noted. In the English group, particularly in Quebec, language retention is higher among females. The reverse is true of the other two groups, where retention is higher among males. This is a new phenomenon which was not present in cohorts aged 25 and over in 1981, and is related to the fact that a higher proportion of females than males in recent cohorts are bilingual.

The linguistic behaviour of young people does vary rather widely according to the regions in which the major language groups are concentrated. This is why we insisted on taking the linguistic composition of the regions into account when analysing regional variations in language retention and bilingualism. Certainly, the three variables are not independent. Without

giving it a quantitative value, we suggested that there was a relationship between the linguistic composition of a region and the level of bilingualism in that region. We would repeat that bilingualism is a necessary stage - although not sufficient - in a language transfer. Accordingly, a linguistic minority in a region can be expected to have a high bilingualism rate and to be prone to a high rate of language transfer. However, this very general "model" cannot be applied to every situation, as shown by the following comparison of two linguistic minorities in Canada.

In Manitoba, the French group constituted only 5.1% of the total population in 1981. The group is 88.6% bilingual and has an extremely high language transfer rate: 44% for the total population, but even more for recent cohorts (37% for the 15-19 age group and 54% for the 20-24 age group).

In Quebec, the English minority formed 11% of the population in 1981, yet only slightly more than half of the English group is bilingual and its language transfer rate (13.5%) is much lower than the rate for the French minority in Manitoba (44%). Of course, young English Quebecers are more bilingual than their elders (with a bilingualism rate of 65%), but their completed language transfer rate - estimated at less than 20% - cannot be compared with the rates for the French minorities in Manitoba (50%), Ontario (40%) and even New Brunswick (13%), where the French group makes up one third of the population.

These examples show that the circumstances of minority groups cannot always be compared on the basis of their size alone. Other factors such as their economic influence, their degree of social involvement and the level of development of their institutions and the services provided to them (education, health, culture and so on) must also be taken into consideration in making comparisons.

The survey data presented in the following section will highlight some of these factors, about which the census data provide little information.

## 5. ATTITUDES OF YOUNG PEOPLE TO LANGUAGE ISSUES

### 5.1 Introduction

As seen in the preceding section, census data provide information on some aspects of the linguistic behaviour of young people. However, the concepts used in the census give us only a partial picture of such behaviour. For a better understanding not only of the behaviour of young people, but of their opinions and attitudes as well, we use surveys where it is possible to ask more numerous and more specific questions on language issues. Nevertheless, because these surveys are conducted among fairly small samples of the youth population and differ in terms of objectives and methods, it is important to remember that, at best, they identify trends, providing indications of what the future holds in store.

### 5.2 Major findings of a few surveys

In this section, we shall present the findings of four fairly recent surveys. Although different in terms of target populations or methodology<sup>10</sup>, all of them attempt to define the opinions and attitudes of young people with respect to such language issues as the importance of bilingualism, the perception of the future of linguistic minorities and awareness and relevance of government language programs.

#### Students in Quebec

The first survey concerns secondary school and CEGEP students in Quebec<sup>11</sup> and was carried out between September 1979 and March 1980 at the request of the Conseil de la langue française du Québec. The survey sample consisted of 7,000 students in 4th and 5th years at secondary schools and in 1st and 2nd years at CEGEPs. There were equal numbers of Francophone and Anglophone respondents, ranging in age from 15 to 23. The purpose of the study was to determine how students in Quebec schools experienced and perceived the French and English fact.

The survey findings, made public in the spring of 1983, reveal that non-Francophone young people in Quebec live somewhat cut off from society and have their own culture which differs from that of the linguistic majority. One third feel threatened to the point that they are considering leaving the province.

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10 We shall not concentrate on these extremely important aspects of the surveys.

11 Conseil de la langue française du Québec, Conscience linguistique des jeunes québécois. Tome III, 1983.



Only half of the young people in the sample knew that French is the only official language in Quebec and one quarter were unaware that French and English are Canada's official languages.

The non-Francophone respondents say they do not have a very good knowledge of French. They are for the most part opposed to the francization of Quebec and appear certain that it is spreading. Barely 25% of the students surveyed have a positive image of Francophones.

As a result, these young people live in a sort of isolation which is connected with the self-sufficiency of the Anglophone community in Quebec and is manifested in the fact that most young people participate in cultural activities only in English. The survey reveals the assimilative power of English schools, where non-Anglophones make language transfers to English and socialization and identification with the Anglophone world take place.

The survey shows that Francophones attach a great deal of importance to English and believe they have a better knowledge of English as a second language than Anglophones have of French. In addition, Francophone students are very inclined to participate in cultural activities in English: a large proportion of them listen to English radio and watch English television programs, particularly in the Montreal and Hull areas.

#### French and English minorities in Canada

The second survey, conducted by the CROP survey firm at the request of the federal Department of the Secretary of State, focussed on two minorities: Anglophone Quebecers and Francophones outside Quebec. The sample for this 1982 survey consisted of 422 Anglophone Quebecers and 3,114 Francophones aged 15 and over residing outside Quebec. We are interested only in the findings pertaining to persons in the 15-24 age group.

Some of the survey findings concerning the Anglophone minority in Quebec are consistent with the results of the previous survey. Young Anglophones have a good self-image: they have a strong attachment to the English group (90%), are proud to be Anglophones (80%) and feel superior in the areas of business and quality of life. At least half do not consider themselves members of an ethnic minority similar to other minorities in Quebec. Very few Anglophones are of the opinion that being an Anglophone in Quebec is a disadvantage.

Paradoxically, at least 85% of young Anglophones in Quebec believe that it is difficult for them to remain Anglophone and continue living in Quebec. Their feelings toward Francophones are divided: some have a somewhat favourable opinion of Francophones while others have a somewhat unfavourable opinion, but none have an extremely favourable opinion. Anglophones feel slightly threatened in the job market and believe that Francophones have better employment opportunities. As well, they are somewhat concerned by the exodus of large numbers of Anglophones from Quebec.

With regard to language knowledge, 47% of Anglophones in Quebec speak French well and 43% speak a little French. These findings tie in with the fact that over 80% of Quebec Anglophones recognize the necessity of learning French in Quebec. In the same way, they consider it essential for Francophones outside Quebec to learn English.

Anglophones report that they are not very aware of government language services and agencies and their activities, yet they are in favour of the grants provided by these bodies to aid development of the English minority. Most young Anglophones believe that Anglophones themselves are doing the most to encourage their own development. However, a near majority feels that the provincial government should be doing the most for them and is doing less now than previously. Over 60% think that Canada is not on its way to solving language problems.

Young Francophones outside Quebec differ from Anglophone Quebecers in language usage at home: only two thirds report that they speak French most frequently at home, whereas Anglophone Quebecers all use English at home. Half of the Francophones outside Quebec feel as close to Anglophones as to Francophones and over two thirds consider themselves Canadians first and Francophones second. It should be mentioned that two thirds say they speak English well and that 90% feel it is important to speak English.

Francophones outside Quebec do not consider themselves to be an ethnic minority (80%), claim that they are proud to be Francophones (70%), have a somewhat favourable opinion of Anglophones (66%) and feel equal to Anglophones in the areas of work, business, culture and quality of life (60-70%). They reject any idea of a completely English Canada outside Quebec.

Like Anglophones in Quebec, Francophones outside Quebec (90%) know little about the Department of the Secretary of State and its activities, although they say that they are satisfied with the Department and in favour of the grants it provides. They feel that Francophone organizations and Francophones themselves are doing the most for Francophones in their province, and they do not expect as much from their provincial government as do Anglophone Quebecers. However, they believe that their provincial government is doing more for them now than it did previously. The majority feel that the federal government is not spending enough money to encourage living in French in their province. Francophones outside Quebec are divided equally on the question of whether Canada is solving its language problems.

In summary, we can see a number of similarities between the two linguistic minorities. However, we also note certain differences which are related to the fact that Francophone minorities outside Quebec are more open to the Anglophone community than Quebec Anglophones are to the French linguistic environment. Finally, the attitudes and opinions of persons between the ages of 15 and 24 are generally very similar to those of older individuals (aged 25-34); at most, we find a larger proportion of persons among young Anglophones in Quebec who report that they speak French.

### Young students in Canada

The third survey<sup>12</sup> was conducted in 1982 among elementary (Grade 7) and secondary (Grade 10) pupils to assess their knowledge of Canada and have some idea of their attitudes regarding Canada. The sample consisted of 10,821 pupils from 121 public schools chosen at random from among all the provinces.

This survey offers very little that is actually relevant to our study and we shall mention only the findings concerning attitudes toward bilingualism and minority rights.

Bilingualism does not seem to be important to 34% of the younger (Grade 7) and 41% of the older (Grade 10) pupils. There would appear therefore to be some decrease with age in the importance attached to bilingualism. This finding is somewhat inconsistent with the responses provided in the surveys mentioned above.

Seventy-five per cent of the young people surveyed are in favour of giving Francophones in every province the right to be educated in their own language and there is little difference between the two subgroups on this issue.

### Persons aged 15-24 in Canada

The last survey is the most recent of the four. It was conducted in the spring of 1983 by the Goldfarb survey firm among a sample of 1,200 persons aged 15-24 representing every region of Canada.

Some of the survey questions concern bilingualism and minority rights in Canada. Twenty-eight per cent of the young people surveyed claimed to be bilingual, a somewhat surprising finding in view of the 1981 census data indicating that the bilingualism rate for this age group was approximately 18% (see Table 4). It would be astonishing for bilingualism to have increased so markedly in less than two years when it rose by only 2% between 1971 and 1981. The survey results concerning the bilingualism rates for the various provinces also seem high in comparison with the census data.

Less than a third of the young people surveyed feel that the federal government plays a positive role in protecting minority rights. Only one quarter of the young people in Quebec are of the opinion that the federal government effectively protects the rights of Francophone minorities outside Quebec; however, nearly half believe that Ottawa plays a positive role in protecting the rights of the Anglophone minority in Quebec.

In Quebec, then, federal government action regarding French minorities outside Quebec is judged more harshly than action concerning the rights of the English minority in the province. The opposite view is noted among young people residing outside Quebec.

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12 Kristian John Kirkwood and William G. Nediger, A Survey of Elementary and Secondary Pupils: Their Knowledge and Attitudes Regarding Canada, report submitted to the Department of the Secretary of State, August 1982, 40 pages (+ appendices).

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c. 10?

The rights of Francophones outside Quebec are perceived as extremely important by approximately 27% of young Canadians and by 42% of young Quebecers. Conversely, the rights of Quebec Anglophones are considered extremely important by 31% of young Canadians, but by only 16% of young Quebecers.

Other differences in behaviour between Quebecers and other Canadians with regard to language issues are also noted in this survey. Almost all young Quebecers indicate that they would like to have the opportunity to learn both official languages, whereas only half of Canadians outside Quebec would like to do so. Similarly, nearly three quarters of Quebecers are willing to learn the other official language in order to improve their employment opportunities, compared with only one third of other Canadians. "Individual" bilingualism is more highly valued by young Quebecers than by other young Canadians.

### 5.3 Conclusion

It is difficult to compare the census data with the survey findings. The former reflect linguistic behaviours measured according to a number of somewhat fragile assumptions, while the latter reveal more about attitudes and opinions regarding delicate issues. Nevertheless, some trends do emerge from the two types of observation.

First, with respect to knowledge of official languages and bilingualism, it appears that the survey results tend to overestimate the actual abilities of young Canadians. The survey figures for bilingualism are often double the census figures and should therefore be interpreted with caution and viewed instead as indicative of trends.

Both types of data reveal important differences in behaviour and attitude between young Quebecers and young people outside Quebec and between the English minority in Quebec and French minorities outside the province. Without repeating the slightly worn themes of the Canadian duality and two solitudes, we would state that it appears that young people in the two official language groups have distinct behaviours and different perceptions of Canada's linguistic reality.

Young Francophones are aware of the prevalence of the English language in their environment and appear to be willing to accept it. Young Anglophones are also conscious of the force of assimilation of their group, but remain receptive to French.

The two groups are similar in their perception of the role of government agencies with regard to language issues. In general, young people know little about the role of these agencies and think that minorities should rely more on themselves to protect their rights and their future.

Finally, young people are divided as to whether Canada is on its way to solving its language problems, and their views probably reflect those of the overall population on this issue.

**APPENDIX**



Table A-1: Distribution of the Population of Selected Age Groups by Mother Tongue, Canada and Provinces, 1981

Province	15-19 years			20-24 years		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	1,520,230	599,965	183,385	1,491,645	636,735	206,040
Newfoundland	62,240	155	415	50,465	320	270
Prince Edward Island	12,245	530	80	10,025	520	35
Nova Scotia	81,155	2,680	1,055	73,860	3,305	1,150
New Brunswick	46,705	24,660	465	41,210	22,620	500
Quebec	69,280	516,120	31,295	63,770	545,580	31,610
Ontario	677,750	42,950	84,175	644,925	44,800	97,090
Manitoba	77,670	4,500	13,400	74,745	4,945	14,005
Saskatchewan	85,095	1,710	7,945	79,085	2,010	7,350
Alberta	190,660	4,555	18,150	230,295	8,815	23,840
British Columbia	212,230	2,015	24,065	218,225	3,605	28,375
Yukon	2,070	15	110	2,200	80	100
Northwest Territories	2,715	80	2,200	2,845	140	1,705

Province	25 years and over			All ages		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	8,016,385	3,594,065	2,360,835	14,750,495	6,176,215	3,156,785
Newfoundland	278,335	1,785	2,495	556,105	2,685	4,125
Prince Edward Island	62,360	3,995	1,030	114,000	5,910	1,310
Nova Scotia	439,840	24,970	13,205	786,020	35,695	18,090
New Brunswick	246,480	127,005	6,305	448,885	231,940	8,550
Quebec	416,085	3,012,590	289,355	694,915	5,248,440	425,710
Ontario	3,660,755	295,570	1,101,710	6,598,910	467,885	1,467,470
Manitoba	374,995	34,470	177,215	727,165	51,990	234,550
Saskatchewan	378,930	18,860	137,055	762,155	25,320	168,970
Alberta	881,295	39,210	275,805	1,794,915	60,895	357,840
British Columbia	1,256,850	34,350	346,020	2,221,775	43,695	448,145
Yukon	10,055	380	1,980	20,165	520	2,390
Northwest Territories	10,390	855	8,720	24,650	1,230	19,660

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table A-2: Percentage Distribution of the Population of Selected Age Groups by Mother Tongue, Canada and Provinces. 1981

Province	15-19 years			20-24 years		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	66.0	26.0	8.0	63.9	27.3	8.8
Newfoundland	99.1	0.2	0.7	98.9	0.6	0.5
Prince Edward Island	95.3	4.1	0.6	94.8	4.9	0.3
Nova Scotia	95.6	3.2	1.2	94.3	4.2	1.5
New Brunswick	65.0	34.3	0.7	64.0	35.2	0.8
Quebec	11.2	83.7	5.1	10.0	85.1	4.9
Ontario	84.2	5.3	10.5	82.0	5.7	12.3
Manitoba	81.3	4.7	14.0	79.8	5.3	14.9
Saskatchewan	89.8	1.8	8.4	89.4	2.3	8.3
Alberta	89.4	2.1	8.5	87.6	3.3	9.1
British Columbia	89.1	0.8	10.1	87.2	1.5	11.3
Yukon	94.3	0.7	5.0	92.4	3.4	4.2
Northwest Territories	54.1	1.6	44.3	60.7	3.0	36.3

Province	25 years and over			All ages		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	57.4	25.7	16.9	61.3	25.6	13.1
Newfoundland	98.5	0.6	0.9	98.8	0.5	0.7
Prince Edward Island	92.6	5.9	1.5	94.0	4.9	1.1
Nova Scotia	92.0	5.2	2.8	93.6	4.2	2.2
New Brunswick	64.9	33.4	1.7	65.1	33.7	1.2
Quebec	11.2	81.0	7.8	10.9	82.4	6.7
Ontario	72.4	5.8	21.8	77.3	5.5	17.2
Manitoba	63.9	5.9	30.2	71.7	5.1	23.2
Saskatchewan	70.9	3.5	25.6	79.7	2.6	17.7
Alberta	73.7	3.3	23.0	81.1	2.7	16.2
British Columbia	76.8	2.1	21.1	81.9	1.6	16.5
Yukon	81.0	3.1	15.9	87.4	2.2	10.4
Northwest Territories	52.0	4.3	43.7	54.1	2.7	43.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.



Table A-3: Distribution of the Population of Selected Age Groups by Home Language, Canada and Provinces, 1981

Province	15-19 years			20-24 years		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	1,608,405	583,250	111,920	1,606,995	609,250	118,180
Newfoundland	62,350	205	250	50,740	160	155
Prince Edward Island	12,450	385	15	10,240	340	5
Nova Scotia	82,315	2,250	595	78,315	2,160	745
New Brunswick	47,725	23,765	345	42,575	21,445	305
Quebec	79,265	514,190	23,370	74,180	544,315	22,460
Ontario	718,090	35,130	51,660	699,560	31,545	55,710
Manitoba	84,940	2,980	7,650	84,050	2,475	7,160
Saskatchewan	89,930	770	4,050	84,235	735	3,480
Alberta	200,970	2,565	9,830	246,240	4,525	12,180
British Columbia	225,060	975	12,275	234,105	1,405	14,645
Yukon	2,175	-	15	2,315	40	20
Northwest Territories	3,115	35	1,860	3,330	60	1,295

Province	25 years and over			All ages		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	9,376,305	3,403,970	1,191,010	16,425,905	5,923,010	1,734,580
Newfoundland	280,295	1,020	1,315	559,525	1,810	2,415
Prince Edward Island	64,885	2,235	270	117,080	3,725	420
Nova Scotia	457,265	15,740	4,995	806,945	24,445	8,400
New Brunswick	262,410	114,735	2,650	468,550	216,585	4,240
Quebec	496,720	3,027,315	194,020	809,145	5,256,830	303,095
Ontario	4,251,440	190,245	616,340	7,337,260	332,940	864,065
Manitoba	494,260	18,805	73,615	872,075	31,045	110,585
Saskatchewan	488,545	6,870	39,425	887,385	10,090	58,970
Alberta	1,077,010	16,205	103,095	2,029,500	29,550	154,600
British Columbia	1,478,525	10,245	148,440	2,487,235	15,125	211,160
Yukon	11,755	140	520	22,175	230	670
Northwest Territories	13,220	410	6,325	28,945	630	15,965

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table A-4: Percentage Distribution of the Population of Selected Age Groups by Home Language, Canada and Provinces, 1981

Province	15-19 years			20-24 years		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	69.8	25.3	4.9	68.8	26.1	5.1
Newfoundland	99.3	0.3	0.4	99.4	0.3	0.3
Prince Edward Island	96.9	3.0	0.1	96.8	3.2	0.0
Nova Scotia	96.7	2.6	0.7	96.3	2.8	0.9
New Brunswick	66.4	33.1	0.5	66.2	33.3	0.5
Quebec	12.9	83.4	3.7	11.6	84.9	3.5
Ontario	89.2	4.4	6.4	88.9	4.0	7.1
Manitoba	88.9	3.1	8.0	89.7	2.6	7.7
Saskatchewan	94.9	0.8	4.3	95.2	0.9	3.9
Alberta	94.2	1.2	4.6	93.7	1.7	4.6
British Columbia	94.4	0.4	5.2	93.6	0.6	5.8
Yukon	99.3	-	0.7	97.5	1.0	2.9
Northwest Territories	62.2	0.7	37.1	71.1	1.3	27.6

Province	25 years and over			All ages		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
CANADA	67.1	24.4	8.5	68.2	24.6	7.2
Newfoundland	99.2	0.4	0.4	99.3	0.3	0.4
Prince Edward Island	96.3	3.3	0.4	96.6	3.1	0.3
Nova Scotia	95.7	3.3	1.0	96.1	2.9	1.0
New Brunswick	69.1	30.2	0.7	68.0	31.4	0.6
Quebec	13.4	81.4	5.2	12.7	82.5	4.8
Ontario	84.1	3.8	12.1	86.0	3.9	10.1
Manitoba	84.2	3.2	12.6	86.0	3.1	10.9
Saskatchewan	91.3	1.3	7.4	92.8	1.1	6.1
Alberta	90.0	1.4	8.6	91.7	1.3	7.0
British Columbia	90.3	0.6	9.1	91.7	0.6	7.7
Yukon	94.7	1.1	4.2	96.1	1.0	2.9
Northwest Territories	66.2	2.1	31.7	63.6	1.4	35.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table A-5: Language Transfer Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue and Age Group, Canada, 1981

Age group (years completed)	Cohorts	English	French	Other
0-4	1976-1981	1.7	2.5	22.4
5-9	1971-1976	1.6	3.2	35.0
10-14	1966-1971	1.6	4.3	43.1
15-19	1961-1966	1.5	5.1	46.4
20-24	1956-1961	1.6	6.7	49.1
25-29	1951-1956	1.6	7.7	52.0
30-34	1946-1951	1.8	8.6	51.5
35-39	1941-1946	1.8	8.9	53.1
40-44	1936-1941	1.9	9.6	52.2
45-49	1931-1936	1.4	9.2	54.3
50-54	1926-1931	1.4	9.0	54.9
55-59	1921-1926	1.4	9.0	53.1
60-64	1916-1921	1.4	8.8	53.8
65+	before 1916	1.2	8.0	46.2
All ages		1.6	6.9	49.0

\* Proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who report that they use a different language at home.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table A-6: Language Transfer Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue and Age Group, Quebec, 1981

Age group (years completed)	Cohorts	English	French	Other
0-4	1976-1981	8.7	1.4	14.8
5-9	1971-1976	9.1	1.5	25.6
10-14	1966-1971	10.6	1.8	31.7
15-19	1961-1966	11.7	2.1	34.3
20-24	1956-1961	14.1	2.2	37.2
25-29	1951-1956	15.6	2.4	42.2
30-34	1946-1951	16.8	2.6	41.7
35-39	1941-1946	17.4	2.7	39.5
40-44	1936-1941	17.0	2.8	34.9
45-49	1931-1936	16.3	2.6	34.5
50-54	1926-1931	15.2	2.7	34.5
55-59	1921-1926	14.7	2.7	36.3
60-64	1916-1921	13.9	2.9	37.1
65+	before 1916	11.4	2.5	34.8
All ages		13.5	2.3	34.3

\* Proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who report that they use a different language at home.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table A-7: Language Transfer Rate\* (%) by Mother Tongue and Age Group, Canada less Quebec, 1981

Age group (years completed)	Cohorts	English	French	Other
0-4	1976-1981	1.5	11.0	24.1
5-9	1971-1976	1.3	14.5	37.2
10-14	1966-1971	1.2	20.0	45.6
15-19	1961-1966	1.0	23.4	48.9
20-24	1956-1961	1.0	33.3	51.3
25-29	1951-1956	0.9	38.1	53.6
30-34	1946-1951	1.0	40.9	53.0
35-39	1941-1946	1.0	43.0	55.1
40-44	1936-1941	1.1	44.7	54.7
45-49	1931-1936	0.6	42.4	57.1
50-54	1926-1931	0.6	41.2	57.7
55-59	1921-1926	0.5	40.1	54.9
60-64	1916-1921	0.6	37.4	55.9
65+	before 1916	0.5	32.7	47.7
All ages		1.0	33.1	51.3

\* Proportion of persons of a given mother tongue who report that they use a different language at home.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table A-8: Distribution of the Population of Selected Age Groups by Mother Tongue and Home Language, Canada, 1981

a) 15-19 years

Mother tongue	Home language			
	English	French	Other	Total
English	1,496,950	11,055	12,225	1,520,230
French	28,955	569,610	1,400	599,965
Other	82,500	2,585	98,295	183,385
Total	1,608,405	583,250	111,920	2,303,580

b) 20-24 years

English	1,468,350	11,590	11,705	1,491,645
French	40,745	594,310	1,680	636,735
Other	97,900	3,350	104,795	206,040
Total	1,606,995	609,250	118,180	2,334,420

c) 25 years and over

English	7,892,515	79,780	44,085	8,016,385
French	300,610	3,284,095	9,350	3,594,065
Other	1,183,180	40,095	1,137,575	2,360,835
Total	9,376,305	3,403,970	1,191,010	13,971,285

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

Table A-9: Language Transfer Rate\* (%), Bilingualism Rate\*\* (%) and Transfer Rate for Bilingual Persons\*\*\* (%), by Mother Tongue for Selected Age Groups, Canada and Provinces, 1981

a) 15-19 years

PROVINCES	English mother tongue			French mother tongue			Other mother tongue			Total
	Rate of transfer to French	Bilingualism rate	Rate of transfer to French for bilinguals	Rate of transfer to English	Bilingualism rate	Rate of transfer to English for bilinguals	Bilingualism rate	Rate of transfer to English	Rate of transfer to French	Bilingualism rate
CANADA	0.7	11.0	5.8	4.8	33.6	12.1	20.8	45.0	1.4	17.7
Newfoundland	0.2	4.0	5.3	53.3	83.9	44.0	5.9	44.6	-	4.2
Prince Edward Island	-	5.8	-	27.6	78.1	8.4	-	81.3	-	8.7
Nova Scotia	0.3	6.7	4.2	24.8	92.5	20.5	9.9	47.6	1.0	9.4
New Brunswick	1.7	11.2	14.5	7.0	63.5	9.4	21.3	38.9	2.1	29.2
Quebec	9.3	65.0	11.9	1.9	25.9	6.9	67.4	27.0	7.3	32.4
Ontario	0.4	10.5	3.6	24.4	89.7	22.6	15.1	47.0	0.2	15.2
Manitoba	0.2	6.2	2.5	36.3	89.1	29.5	4.7	47.4	0.1	9.9
Saskatchewan	0.1	4.5	2.0	59.4	81.6	50.9	2.9	52.8	0.1	5.7
Alberta	0.1	6.4	1.9	49.0	82.2	42.2	6.3	51.9	-	7.9
British Columbia	0.1	7.6	1.8	67.3	74.1	59.5	9.0	54.5	0.2	8.3
Yukon	-	10.1	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	-	90.9	-	10.3
Northwest Territories	0.2	4.6	4.0	60.0	75.0	50.0	0.5	18.0	-	3.9

\* See the footnote to Table A-5.

\*\* See the footnote to Table 2.

\*\*\* Proportion of bilingual persons of a given mother tongue who report that they use a different language (English or French, as the case may be) at home.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census of Canada, unpublished data.

b) 20-24 years

PROVINCES	English mother tongue			French mother tongue			Other mother tongue			Total
	Rate of transfer to French	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to French for bilinguals	Rate of transfer to English	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to English for bilinguals	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to English	Rate of transfer to French	Biling-ualism rate
CANADA	0.8	9.4	7.6	6.4	41.8	13.9	16.8	47.5	1.6	18.9
Newfoundland	0.1	2.4	3.3	64.1	84.6	63.0	3.7	50.9	1.9	3.0
Prince Edward Island	0.2	4.8	4.1	39.8	89.7	35.4	37.5	66.7	22.2	9.2
Nova Scotia	0.3	4.9	4.7	39.8	93.6	37.2	9.6	44.0	-	8.7
New Brunswick	1.8	10.5	15.9	8.4	72.0	10.6	15.0	45.5	2.0	32.1
Quebec	12.2	65.7	16.4	2.0	34.3	5.6	64.0	27.8	9.4	38.9
Ontario	0.3	8.5	3.4	34.0	91.9	33.5	10.7	48.9	0.3	13.5
Manitoba	0.2	4.8	5.2	53.5	91.1	50.3	3.3	54.0	0.1	9.1
Saskatchewan	-	3.5	1.6	64.7	90.1	61.4	2.2	57.0	0.1	5.4
Alberta	0.2	6.0	3.6	54.3	87.3	52.8	6.0	55.3	0.3	8.7
British Columbia	0.1	5.6	1.4	65.0	86.1	61.8	6.5	53.9	0.1	6.9
Yukon	0.5	8.6	2.7	58.8	93.7	57.1	10.0	83.3	-	11.6
Northwest Territories	0.4	6.2	5.7	62.1	85.7	58.3	1.2	25.8	-	6.7



c) 25 years and over

PROVINCES	English mother tongue			French mother tongue			Other mother tongue			Total
	Rate of transfer to French	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to French for bilinguals	Rate of transfer to English	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to English for bilinguals	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to English	Rate of transfer to French	Biling-ualism rate
CANADA	1.0	7.8	11.6	8.4	44.5	17.2	9.4	50.1	1.7	17.5
Newfoundland	0.1	1.6	6.3	59.9	89.2	58.4	11.3	50.0	0.6	2.3
Prince Edward Island	0.3	3.5	7.7	48.6	89.6	43.9	8.4	76.4	0.5	8.6
Nova Scotia	0.2	3.5	7.3	41.7	91.7	39.9	10.4	64.3	0.5	8.3
New Brunswick	1.6	8.5	18.1	12.9	71.7	16.9	15.2	60.4	1.8	29.8
Quebec	13.9	54.0	22.6	2.4	36.7	6.3	42.4	24.8	12.4	39.1
Ontario	0.3	6.3	4.9	40.1	87.7	41.6	5.7	45.8	0.3	10.9
Manitoba	0.3	3.8	6.9	48.8	91.3	47.1	2.1	60.0	0.1	8.4
Saskatchewan	0.1	2.5	5.0	66.4	88.8	64.3	1.5	72.4	0.1	5.3
Alberta	0.2	4.5	4.0	63.2	88.8	62.5	3.7	64.7	0.1	7.1
British Columbia	0.1	4.6	2.5	75.2	87.7	73.8	4.5	59.1	0.1	6.3
Yukon	0.2	7.2	3.5	75.3	92.0	74.0	4.1	74.9	1.0	9.3
Northwest Territories	0.4	8.9	5.3	57.3	89.6	55.8	3.1	28.8	0.3	9.9

d) All ages

PROVINCES	English mother tongue			French mother tongue			Other mother tongue			Total
	Rate of transfer to French	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to French for bilinguals	Rate of transfer to English	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to English for bilinguals	Biling-ualism rate	Rate of transfer to English	Rate of transfer to French	Biling-ualism rate
CANADA	0.8	7.5	9.8	6.6	36.2	16.4	10.5	47.4	1.6	15.3
Newfoundland	0.1	1.8	6.1	57.1	83.8	54.2	9.2	45.8	0.4	2.3
Prince Edward Island	0.3	4.0	5.8	42.1	87.2	36.9	8.4	69.6	0.8	8.1
Nova Scotia	0.2	3.7	6.7	37.1	89.6	35.5	9.2	57.1	0.4	7.4
New Brunswick	1.6	9.0	16.5	9.7	60.8	14.6	15.0	56.0	2.0	26.4
Quebec	11.8	53.4	19.0	2.0	28.7	6.8	44.6	23.9	10.9	32.4
Ontario	0.3	6.6	4.8	33.9	84.0	35.9	6.5	45.0	0.2	10.8
Manitoba	0.3	3.9	6.1	44.0	88.6	42.1	2.3	55.3	0.1	7.9
Saskatchewan	0.1	2.5	4.0	63.3	86.6	60.7	1.6	67.0	0.1	4.6
Alberta	0.2	4.3	4.0	57.0	85.4	56.1	3.9	60.2	0.1	6.4
British Columbia	0.1	4.3	2.5	71.8	85.1	70.0	4.5	56.3	0.1	5.7
Yukon	0.3	6.3	4.8	69.5	87.7	67.7	4.0	74.4	0.4	7.9
Northwest Territories	0.3	5.6	5.1	54.3	85.3	52.4	1.7	20.5	0.1	6.1