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Canadian Institute  
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# Life in an Official Minority Language in Canada

**Editor: Rodrigue Landry**

Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities

October 2014



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# INTRODUCTION

**Author:**

**Rodrigue Landry**

Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities

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## INTRODUCTION

### LIFE IN AN OFFICIAL MINORITY LANGUAGE IN CANADA

**Rodrigue Landry** Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities

Canada recognizes two official languages having equal status before the law at the federal level<sup>1</sup>. As shown during the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism during the 1960s, to remain united, the country had to recognize the languages of the “founding peoples” (Mackey, 2010). In the end, the Commission rejected this proposition in favour of a greater openness to multiculturalism and a greater respect for aboriginals, who are the true founding peoples, but continued to speak of the cohabitation within Canada of two “societies”, one “French-speaking”, the other “English-speaking”, rather than of “nations” or “founding peoples” (Bock, 2008: 188).

It is interesting to note that the Supreme Court of Canada affirms that “the presence of two distinct language communities in Canada and the desire to reserve an important place for them in Canadian life constitute one of the foundations of the federal system that was created in 1867”<sup>2</sup>. One could, with good reason, speak of two main “societal cultures” (Kymlicka, 2001), one that is French-speaking, predominant in Quebec, but also present in all other provinces and territories with varying legal statuses, and one that is English-speaking,

predominant throughout Canada, except in Quebec, yet still present and dynamic in the only province recognizing French as its only official language (Landry, 2012). In fact, Canadian case law acknowledges the need to protect official language minorities (Bastarache, 2004; Braën, Foucher & Le Bouthillier, 2006; Rousselle, 2011). In the previously mentioned Judgement, the Supreme Court indicates: “The constitutional protection of minority language rights is necessary for the promotion of robust and vital minority language communities that are essential for Canada to flourish as a bilingual country.”<sup>3</sup>

Despite favourable case law and efforts of the federal government (Jedwab & Landry, 2011), one must admit that the “formal equality” of Canada’s two official languages does not always translate into “substantive equality”. This *de facto* inequality can be observed especially where one of the two official languages is in a minority situation.

This collective brings together nineteen researchers whose objective is to describe the day-to-day reality of the two official language minority communities (OLMC): the anglophones living in Quebec and the francophones living in all other provinces and territories. Both descriptive and analytical, this study is based on the results of the only major Statistics Canada survey devoted to the two official language minorities and that studied identical

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<sup>1</sup> New Brunswick is the only province where French has the same status as English at the provincial level, whereas French is an official language, along with aboriginal languages, in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut.

<sup>2</sup> *Solski (Guardian of) v. Québec (Attorney General)*, [2005] 1 S.C.R. 201, 2005 SCC 14, para 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, para 2.



questions put toward members of the two OLMCs. A general portrait of the results of the *Survey of the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities* has already been presented (Corbeil, Grenier & Lafrenière, 2007), and much of the survey's data has been integrated, along with census data from 2006, in a collection of reports on the OLMCs entitled *Portrait of Official-Language Minorities in Canada*. On Statistics Canada's Web site, one can find these reports that deal with the anglophone community in Quebec and the francophone communities in each of the provinces and the three territories<sup>4</sup>.

It was a post-census survey. Sampling was constructed with the help of the 2006 Census among respondents having answered the long form questionnaire, or 20% of the Canadian population. Most of the sample was made up of persons outside the province of Quebec who indicated that French was their mother tongue and of persons living in Quebec who indicated that English was their mother tongue (multiple responses included, i.e.: French and another language; French, English and another language). In order to be representative of the reality of OLMCs, in a country where approximately 20% of people have a non-official language as "first language learned and still understood", those persons in Quebec who indicated that English was their first official language spoken (FOLS) and those in the other provinces and territories who indicated French was their FOLS are also included in the sample. The FOLS is a method of defining members of the OLMCs

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<sup>4</sup> For statistical purposes, the results for the three territories are treated as a single block, and it is not possible to see the results for each individual territory. The results for each of the provinces, however, are presented in separate reports.

that seeks to include persons whose mother tongue is not an official language<sup>5</sup>. The results of the survey come from two separate samples, the first one being made up of adult members (eighteen years or older) of official language minorities, and the second one made up of children (seventeen years or younger) having at least one parent (who is usually the respondent) who is a member of an OLMC. Response rates were 70.5 % for the adult sample (N = 20,067) and 76.1% for the children's samples (N = 15,550). The telephone interview administered between October 2006 and January 2007 lasted approximately forty minutes (see Corbeil, Grenier & Lafrenière, 2007 for more details).

Results presented here compliment those already published by Statistics Canada. The comprehensive report by Corbeil *et al.* (2007) presents few provincial and regional results, and the individual reports for the provinces and territories in the *Portrait of Official-Language Minorities in Canada* collection do not allow comparisons between these different jurisdictions. Most of the chapters in this work allow comparisons not only between the two official language minorities, but also between most provinces and the three territories as a group, and for three of the provinces (Quebec, Ontario and

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<sup>5</sup> The FOLS is a derived variable that was created based on three linguistic variables (knowledge of official languages, mother tongue and language most commonly spoken at home) with the goal of capturing as members of the OLMCs those persons who speak a non-official language (see Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010 for a description of the methods used, and Forgues, Landry & Boudreau, 2009 for an analysis of the effects of combining different methods in order to define members of OLMCs).



New Brunswick), a comparison between sub-regions is possible because of sufficient sample sizes in these provinces. In addition, several of these results were never mentioned in the published reports. Before proceeding with a presentation of the structure of the work, we describe briefly each of the OLMCs in order to give the reader a comprehensive view.

## 1. FRANCOPHONE AND ACADIAN COMMUNITIES

Different terms are used to designate the minority francophone and Acadian communities (FACs). The term “francophones living outside Quebec” is probably the most commonly used term. However, representatives of these communities do not like defining themselves as entities living “outside” of something, but rather as a group of communities whose particularity is that they are French-speaking. These communities are members of the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne* (FCFA)<sup>6</sup>, but each province and territory has its own political organization which sometimes oversees organizations from different sectors, some of which are organized nationally, such as the *Commission nationale des parents francophones* (CNPF), the *Fédération nationale des conseils scolaires francophones* (FNCSF) and the *Alliance des femmes de la francophonie canadienne* (AFFC).

<sup>6</sup> It would take a while to explain the reasoning behind the addition of the adjective “acadienne” in the singular form, but it is related to a request by francophones from Acadia to be recognized as such and as a distinct people.

In 1951, minority francophones made up 7.3% of the Canadian population outside of Quebec; sixty years later, they made up 4.0% of the same population. This decrease in percentage of the total population has less to do with a decrease in their population and more to do with a strong growth of the so-called allophone population (those whose mother tongue is a language other than an official one). But the French-speaking population is growing at a slower pace than the anglophone and allophone communities for various reasons that confirm the fragile vitality of these communities. The “average” francophone living outside of Quebec is in a census division made up, on average, of 27% francophones, 60% anglophones and 13% allophones (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010).

Among the general trends observed, we note a decrease in the linguistic attraction rate (Landry, 2010). In other words the decrease in the percentage of those using French at home is not compensated by language transfers from those speaking other languages (new immigrants, for example). The “language most often spoken at home/mother tongue” ratio has dropped from 0.73 in 1971 to 0.61 today. We will see how the situation is very different in Quebec’s anglophone community. This last statistic indicates an assimilation or linguistic transfer rate of approximately 40%.

For a long time, the linguistic assimilation rate among the francophone and Acadian communities was compensated by a birthrate that was considerably higher than that of the anglophone community. For example, during the 1956-1961 intercensal period, the average francophone woman had five children, but between 2001 and

2006, this rate was down to 1.5, a rate that is insufficient even to maintain the population's stability. A rate of 2.1 children is required, according to demographers, to protect a group against a decrease in population (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). In addition, the strong increase in exogamy (mixed or inter-linguistic marriages) contributes to low transmission of the French language to children as a mother tongue. In 2006, the exogamy rate was 45%: 40% of francophones had an anglophone spouse, while 5% had an allophone one (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). Since the phenomenon is on the rise, it is more common among young couples of childbearing age than among older couples. In 2006, 66% of children born to so-called eligible parents under section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*<sup>7</sup> had exogamous parents, with rates varying from 32 to 95% depending on the province or territory. Among the francophone and Acadian communities, the transmission rate of French as a mother tongue to the children is 93% when both parents are francophone (endogamy), but only 25% when only one of the parents is francophone (exogamy). Since exogamy is now the statistical norm, the transmission rate of French as a mother tongue to children among all eligible francophone parents is only 50% (Landry, 2010).

A second method of compensating for linguistic assimilation is through welcoming immigrants who adopt the minority group's language. However, this phenomenon contributes little to the growth of

francophone and Acadian communities (Jedwab, 2002; Marmen & Corbeil, 2004). The number of francophone immigrants (3%) is low compared to the number of anglophone (25%) and allophone (71%) immigrants. In addition, language transfers among allophones are towards English in 98.5% of cases, and using a measure that is more inclusive of allophones (the FOLS) only adds about 2% to the French-speaking population compared to the French-speaking population defined by the mother tongue (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). An analysis of the language behaviour of francophone immigrants (defined according to the FOLS) shows that they tend very little to adopt French as the language spoken within the family and that they work predominantly in English (Houle & Corbeil, 2010).

Francophone communities had to fight to obtain or keep French-language schools, and even after the adoption of Section 23 of the *Charter*, several battles had to be resolved before the courts (Foucher, 2008; Landry & Rousselle, 2003; Power & Foucher, 2004). The postcensal survey of 2006 (Corbeil *et al.*, 2007) showed that only one in two children (49%) attended a school belonging to the francophone minority (53% at the elementary school level and 44% at the secondary school level). Here, as well, exogamy represents a determining factor: 88% of the children of francophone endogamous couples were attending French school, compared to 34% of the children of exogamous couples.

It is important to note, however, that exogamy is not a causal factor for this behaviour, but rather the language dynamics chosen by the parents. The children of exogamous couples who follow

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<sup>7</sup> This legal clause confers the right to register one's child in a school that is managed by the minority community and whose language of instruction is the minority language.



the principle of “one parent, one language” (each parent speaks his language to the child) and who chose a school of the linguistic minority for their child tend to identify with both language groups and to be as competent in French as the children of francophone endogamous couples, in addition to being as competent in English as anglophone children (Landry & Allard, 1997). It has been suggested that the most effective strategy for francophone and Acadian communities to revitalize the French language is to target early childhood (Landry, 2010). Social awareness campaigns targeting eligible parents and promoting the positive effects of the “one parent, one language” principle and of significant additive bilingualism achieved by the minority school could bring significantly greater numbers of children of eligible parents to French-language school. However, the school would have to establish education methods designed for a minority environment, while promoting optimum identity construction among students (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2010).

Another challenge concerns post-secondary education in French (see Pilote & Magnan, as well as Landry, in current work). The future leadership of the francophone civil society will be highly dependent on it. We indicated already that only 44% of the children of eligible parents attend French-language secondary school. It's from this group that future graduates of French-language post-secondary education will come. A Canada-wide study (Allard, Landry & Deveau, 2009) showed that only 64% of grade 12 students thought there was a strong possibility they would attend a French-language post-secondary institution. Among the obstacles mentioned were poor results in French, the lack of interest in the

French language, a preference for English, the distance of a French-language institution and the lack of scholarships offered by French-language institutions. In Landry's chapter (in this work), the issue of parents' expectations with regards to attending a French-language post-secondary institution by their children will be discussed.

Another factor contributes to the weakening of the vitality of francophone and Acadian communities, and that is urbanization and the exodus from rural regions. For economic reasons primarily, many francophones leave their community of origin (Beaudin & Forgues, 2006; Forgues, Guignard Noël, Beaudin & Boudreau, 2010) in order to settle in urban areas, which makes them more vulnerable to assimilation, because of the lower concentration of francophones, and which also weakens the community of origin (Beaudin, 1999; Beaudin & Landry, 2003).

The series of factors and general trends confirming the fragile vitality of francophone and Acadian communities translates into an accelerated aging of the francophone population. For example, Marmen & Corbeil (2004) showed that in 2001, the ratio of francophones aged 65 years or older to francophones aged 15 years or less was 1.15 (varying between a low of 0.84 in New Brunswick and a high of 4.14 in Saskatchewan), which means there are more retirement age francophones than young francophones aged 15 or less. In comparison, among anglophones outside of Quebec, the ratio was 0.49; hence, there are twice as many young people aged 15 or less whose mother tongue is English than there are anglophones aged 65 or more. This finding is yet another reason justifying



efforts to favour strong revitalization of the French language during early childhood (Landry, 2010).

## **2. QUEBEC'S ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITY**

Today, English is a global language spoken on all continents (Crystal, 2004; Ostler, 2010). This “hypercentral” language exerts a gravitational force on other languages by means of bilingualism and multilingualism (de Swaan, 2001). Bilingualism is primarily vertical. People seek to become bilingual in order to increase their communication capacity and therefore mostly tend to learn a language that occupies a higher place in the language hierarchy. For a significant part of humanity, one can understand why English will no longer be a foreign language, but a second language (Risager, 2006). Similarly, those who speak English, the language at the top of this hierarchy, have little need for a second language to increase their communication network and are rarely bilingual (de Swaan, 2001). For example, outside Quebec, only 7% of anglophones are bilingual, compared to 85% of francophones (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). The gravitational attraction of English is particularly strong in Canada and the United States, since all other languages are in such a minority position. In this part of the continent, the English language is omnipresent, and francophones and allophones live in close proximity to the epicentre of the “hypercentral” planet represented by the English language (de Swaan, 2001), whose effect is making itself felt the world over through the phenomenon of globalization (Steger, 2009).

The highly privileged status of the English language in the United States and Canada contributes to the belief that the anglophone community in Quebec is pampered and does not have any challenges. Even so, as a result of the Quebec francophones’ “Quiet Revolution” in the 1960s and of Bill 101 passed by the Quebec government in 1977 (Corbeil, 2007), the anglophone minority recognizes its minority status and that it is no longer a mere extension of Canada’s anglophone majority (Caldwell, 2002; Dickinson, 2007; Stevenson, 1999). The fact that the children of immigrants and of the non “eligible” under Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* are obliged to attend French-language school has translated into a significant drop in the student populations of English-language schools in the province (Bourhis & Foucher, 2012), while a majority of Quebec anglophones (69%) are bilingual (84% of anglophone youth), compared to only 7% of anglophones outside Quebec and 35% of Quebec francophones (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). In fact, the relative degree of linguistic dominance and of official language community minorization in Canada can be observed in their French-English bilingualism rates; the least bilingual are the members of the anglophone community outside Quebec (7%), commonly referred to as English Canada by Quebec francophones, followed by Quebec’s majority francophones (35%), Quebec’s anglophones (69%) and finally, the francophones of the francophone and Acadian communities (85%).

The average Quebec anglophone lives in a minority situation, and the anglophone community has a double status: that of being part of a majority nation-wide, but a minority within the province. The opposite



is also true for Quebec francophones. It is interesting, for example, to see if Quebec anglophones behave more like a minority or a majority group. The average Quebec anglophone lives in a census division having 15% anglophones, 64% francophones and 21% allophones (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). From a purely demographic point of view, the average anglophone is in a greater minority situation than the average francophone in the francophone and Acadian communities. The significant proportion of allophones (21%) with which the average anglophone is in contact confirms the fact that 80% of Quebec anglophones live in the Montreal region (Corbeil, Chavez & Pereira, 2010).

The demographic presence of anglophones in Quebec has decreased considerably; while they made up 24% of the Quebec population in 1851 and only 13.8% in 1951. This decreased representation can be explained in large part by the high birth rates among francophones (Corbeil, Chavez & Pereira, 2010). But, as a result of rising francophone nationalism, the drop in absolute numbers of anglophones can be explained by political factors related to the adoption by Quebec's *Charter of the French Language*, which led to massive migration of anglophones to anglophone provinces (Corbeil, Chavez & Pereira, 2010; Jedwab, 2004; Jedwab & Perrone, in current work). In 2011, anglophones made up 8.3% of Quebec's population, while francophones made up 78.9% of the population and allophones, 12.8% (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Several indicators show that Quebec's anglophone community behaves like a real minority. We already mentioned its high rate of bilingualism and the significant decline of its student population. Analyses

show that many of its members are economically disadvantaged and that those of its members who are the best educated tend to leave the province (Floch & Pocock, 2013). In several regions, health services in English are hard to come by or non-existent (Carter, 2013; Gagnon-Arpin, Bouchard, Leis & Bélanger, in current work), and as with francophones outside Quebec, many schools welcome students who speak only the majority language at home and who identify primarily with the majority community (Lamarre, 2007, 2013; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2013; Pilote & Bolduc, 2007).

As with the francophones of the francophone and Acadian communities, exogamy represents a factor that contributes to the non-transmission of English as a mother tongue to the children. A third of anglophones have a francophone spouse (32.4%), and one in ten has an allophone spouse (9.1%), which translates to an exogamy rate of 41.5%. Even though they are more likely to transmit the minority language to their children than the francophones of the francophone and Acadian communities (72% compared to 50%), the effect of exogamy is quite comparable. The transmission rate is 95% in the case of an endogamous couple, but drops to 35% when one of the parents is francophone. However, if the spouse is allophone, 82% of the children have English as a mother tongue, which allows us to believe that English has a higher status than non-official languages, but less so than French in Quebec. A recent study showed that language behaviour and feelings towards the two official languages of students attending an English-language secondary school in Quebec follow the same sociolinguistic trends as those observed



among secondary students attending schools belonging to the francophone and Acadian communities. In both instances, we observe a strong influence of the perceived relative vitality of the official language communities based on the territorial concentration of the minority group (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2013).

However, this last observation must be qualified. The study found that, although Quebec's English-speaking minority is a minority and in many respects behaves like one, it remains "a minority with an edge", that of speaking the most dominant language that humanity has ever known. The status of the French language has greatly improved thanks to language planning efforts in Quebec (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 2013a). For example, 95% of all Quebecers can have a conversation in French, the official language, a statistic that is comparable to that of any sovereign state (Bourhis, 2013b). Nevertheless, several indicators show that the language behaviour of Quebecers, especially anglophones and allophones, is influenced not directly by the English language's vitality in Quebec, but by its status as a global and hypercentral language exerting a strong gravitational force throughout the continent.

A first indication can be observed when we calculate the language attraction index of the English language in Quebec. It is calculated based on the ratio of people who speak English most commonly at home to the number of people for whom English is their mother tongue. It is important to reiterate that in 2011, the index was dropping and below one among the francophone and Acadian communities (0.61). However, within Quebec's English

minority community, the index is greater than one and increased from 1.13 in 1971 to 1.30 in 2006 (Landry, 2010). In 2011, the index was 1.29. Can we speak of stabilization or the beginning of a decrease?

The large number of allophones who chose to speak English at home can explain this increase in the language attraction index. As a result, the numerous language transfers of allophones towards English largely compensate the language transfers of anglophones towards French. As shown by Lachapelle & Lepage (2010), the demographic strength of Quebec's English-speaking community is strongly favoured by the use of the FOLS as a measure rather than the mother tongue. The FOLS/mother tongue ratio, which was only 1.02 for the francophones of the francophone and Acadian communities, was 1.64 for the English-speaking community in Quebec. Based on mother tongue, anglophones make up 8.3% of Quebec's population, but based on FOLS, they make up 10.7% of the population. In addition, if we focus our analysis on the language spoken at home, we observe that 16.6% of Quebecers speak English at least regularly at home (Corbeil, Chavez & Pereira, 2010).

Another indication of the English language's attractiveness in Quebec: the strong consumption of English-language media by secondary school students, including those from English-language secondary schools who speak French most commonly at home and who almost never speak English in public. As is the case for students attending the French-language schools of the francophone and Acadian communities (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2010), students attending the schools of the English-speaking minority in Quebec (Landry, Allard



& Deveau, 2013) show practically an unbounded craze for English-language media (see, as well, Bernier, Laflamme & Lafrenière, in current work, to find corresponding results for the adult population). This strong social attractiveness of English-language media has a negative impact on young francophones' desire to integrate within their community, but this same attraction has a moderating effect on young anglophones in Quebec, since it reduces the consequences of the weak demographic and community vitality of the English minority. In other words, even if identical sociolinguistic principles are applied to both OLMCs, when the two minority groups have a similar territorial concentration, young anglophones have higher scores when it comes to their language (i.e., subjective vitality, desire for community integration, motivations, identity) than the francophones of the francophone and Acadian communities for most language variables studied. It would appear that in the collective imagination, the two minorities are in agreement when it comes to the strong cultural dominance of the English language.

Today, a significant portion of Quebec's anglophone community recognizes the legitimate struggle of Quebec francophones to ensure the protection of the French language, and many of them intend on remaining in the province and flourishing in a province where English has a minor role, even though it is often perceived as a threat by francophones (Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 2013a). They demonstrate a genuine interest in being bilingual and integrating in this society where the public language and the language of convergence are French. The challenge for them will be

not so much about protecting the language among individuals, except in the regions of Quebec where French is dominant, but more about being recognized as a legitimate community, preventing the exodus of its members and giving their community authentic cultural autonomy (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2013). The relatively strong integration rate of allophones to the anglophone community because of the strong attractiveness of the English language on the continent represents an important and positive demo-linguistic factor for this community, but this broad cultural diversity quickly brings considerable challenges for the leadership of the civil society and for its own governance (Jedwab, 2005).

### 3. METHOD OF PRESENTATION

A general description of each OLMC having been provided in the introduction, the following chapters present more detailed descriptions of life as a member of an official language minority in Canada. We start off by that which forms the basis of the vitality of any linguistic minority, which is its ability to transmit the language to future generations (Fishman, 1991 et 2001). In Chapter 1, Réal Allard analyzes the degree to which the minority language is transmitted to children, as well as the language behaviour of children in the two OLMCs, whether it is the language spoken at home, with siblings, with friends, in sporting and cultural activities or in using the media. He also analyzes parents' perceptions of the children's spoken and written official language skills.

Chapter 2 concerns education, the cornerstone of OLMCs' institutional completeness. Rodrigue Landry analyzes the



enrolment numbers for day care centres, kindergartens and schools for each of the OLMCs. The results that are presented allow us to assess the rate at which parents in the OLMCs enroll their children in the minority or majority institutions. The expectations of parents with regard to their children's language of instruction at the post-secondary level are also analyzed.

Presented by Annie Pilote and Odile Magnan, Chapter 3 also examines post-secondary education, but not from the perspective of parents' expectations. In this case, a sample of adults was studied, and the focus was on the education level of the members of the OLMCs and on their language of instruction at the university level. The text also cross-tabulates the language of instruction in university and the level with which adults identify with the two official language communities.

We spoke previously of the OLMC youth's craze for English-language media. Christiane Bernier, Simon Laflamme and Sylvie Lafrenière study this phenomenon in Chapter 4. They examine how media is consumed and the preferred language for this consumption among the adults of the two OLMCs. Certain variables, such as education level and age, are examined in order to ensure a better understanding of certain trends.

Among the services sought in their language, after education, it is probably health services that are the most commonly requested by the members of the OLMCs, both by Quebec anglophones (Carter, 2013) and by francophones in all other provinces and the territories (Bouchard & Desmeules, 2011; Forgues & Landry, 2012). Co-authored by Isabelle Gagnon-Arpin, Louise Bouchard,

Anne Leis and Mathieu Bélanger, Chapter 5 gives a general overview of health service access in the minority language of both OLMCs and of their utilization. They analyze the situation of health professionals capable of offering their services in the minority language, which can limit their availability. As a backdrop, the analysis takes into consideration the health self-assessment of the OLMCs' members.

Chapter 6 presented by Christophe Traisnel and Éric Forgues analyzes the social and community involvement of francophone adults in the francophone and Acadian communities and of adult anglophones in Quebec. Are they members of organizations, associations and networks? Do they do volunteer work? To what degree is language a motive for their involvement in these organizations and these community activities? What language do members of the OLMCs use when communicating with these organizations and networks? Do the members of these community networks have the language skills required to communicate in the minority language? The authors highlight in concluding the necessity of linguistic and community involvement within the OLMCs.

Chapter 7 examines the geographic mobility of members of the OLMCs. Anne Gilbert, Nicole Gallant and Huhua Chao consider three categories of movement: international mobility, interprovincial migration (both permanent and temporary), with special emphasis on francophone migrants from Quebec, and intercity mobility. For each category, the authors examine the "effects of milieu" of OLMC geographic concentration. What type of milieu attracts migrants? They also analyze the anticipated mobility of the OLMCs' members. How



many of them expect to move in the next five years? Where do they want to go? What are their motives?

In chapter 8, Jack Jedwab and Julie Perrone also analyze geographic mobility, but from a different angle. They examined the migratory exchanges between Quebec and the other provinces in order to determine to what extent Quebec francophones contribute to increases or decreases of francophone populations in the other provinces and the territories. They also look at the migratory exchanges between Quebec anglophones and the anglophone population of the other provinces and the territories. This chapter presents statistics on the use of the official languages by migrants, which allows us to appreciate the relative challenges faced by migrants during their linguistic adaptation to their new living environment.

The 9th and final chapter, written by Soheil Chenouf, analyst with Statistics Canada, could be considered a research note. As an economist who does not specialize in OLMCs, he wanted to analyze the salary of francophone adults based on their territorial concentration in the municipalities studied. The results indicate a linear trend characterizing the relationship between these variables. The stronger the

territorial concentration of francophones in a given area, the weaker their average salary tends to be. Although these results have not been the subject of much analysis or commentary, they require new analyses that would allow all associated factors to be brought to light. Are the strong concentrations of francophones primarily in rural areas, which would mean these salary gaps would be caused by rural/urban factors, or are these gaps vestiges of the past, a period during which socio-economic levels of francophone communities were weaker (Corbeil, 2006)?

In general, the work presents primarily descriptive results and raises as many questions as it answers. In addition, certain components of the study did not benefit from analysis. For example, the section dealing with perceptions of the vitality of OLMCs and the section dealing with the ethno-linguistic identity of their members were not analyzed. The SVOLM remains a very rich source of data pertaining to OLMCs, and most observations could be the subject of detailed analyses based on multivariate statistical methods in order to better understand their realities and, as a result, increase our theoretical and empirical knowledge.

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **THE CHILDREN OF CANADA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITY COMMUNITIES AND CANADA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGES**

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## CHAPTER 1

# THE CHILDREN OF CANADA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITY COMMUNITIES AND CANADA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

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### INTRODUCTION

Canada's official language minority communities (OLMC) fundamentally depend on their children's socialization in the language of the community for their survival and development. It is therefore pertinent to analyze the degree to which the linguistic experiences of the children of the French language and English language minority communities take place in each of the country's official languages and to describe how these experiences impact upon their linguistic behaviour and language skills. Do the linguistic experiences, behaviour and skills of the children in their community's language give reason to hope for the survival and development of their OLMC? In 2006, Statistics Canada conducted a post-censal survey aimed at evaluating and describing the vitality of Canada's OLMC. The Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities (SVOLM) in Canada collected data on adults and children in Canada's OLMC. The survey data on OLMC adults are analyzed in other chapters of this publication.

This chapter analyzes some of the data on OLMC children with the goal of describing their experience with Canada's official languages. The survey module on children contains a total of nine sections: information on the child's parents, the child's family experience, the linguistic dynamics of the family, knowledge of the official

languages and language skills, day care and school attendance, the linguistic dynamics between the child and his/her friends, the child's reading habits both alone and with his/her parents, organized sporting and non-sporting activities, and television and Internet use. In this chapter, we present results of data analyses from most of the aforementioned sections of the survey. However, given the importance of education in the minority language for learning the minority language and for the development of one's identity, it was important that the Survey's data on day care and school attendance be analyzed in depth. Rodrigue Landry analyzes this data in Chapter 2 of this publication.

During the past decade, topics similar to those studied in the post-censal Survey and pertaining to children and Canada's official languages were the subject of Canada-wide surveys conducted with large samples of students approaching the end of their secondary studies in OLMC schools, both French-language schools outside Quebec (FLMC; see, for example, Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2007, 2010) and English-language schools in Quebec (ELMC; Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2013). In presenting the results of our analyses in this chapter, we drew upon components of the models used in these surveys. That is why we discuss the results that we present below according to the four main components of the linguistic experiences of OLMC children: the linguistic



socialization of the children in the family and extrafamilial environments, the linguistic behaviour of the children, their knowledge of the official languages, and their official language skills.

## **1. METHODOLOGY**

### **1.1 Sample**

The children that are studied in this chapter are those of persons belonging to official language minorities and who completed the long version of the Census form in 2006, i.e., one household out of five. Corbeil, Grenier, and Lafrenière (2007, p. 6) describe the persons belonging to the post-censal survey sample as follows:

#### **1 – French-speakers outside Quebec**

- a) Those who have French as their mother tongue, alone or with another language;
- b) Those whose mother tongue is a non-official language (referred to in this report as allophones) and who, of the two official languages, know only French;
- c) Those whose mother tongue is a non-official language, who know both French and English, and who speak either a non-official language or French, alone or with another language, most often at home.

#### **2 – English-speakers in Quebec**

- a) Those who have English as their mother tongue, alone or with another language;
- b) Those whose mother tongue is a non-official language and who, of the two official languages, know only English;
- c) Those whose mother tongue is a non-official language, who know both English and French, and who speak either a non-official language or English, alone or with another language, most often at home.

The final size of the children's sample was 9,707 children for the FLMC and 5,240 children for the ELMC, for a grand total of 14,947 children (Corbeil, Grenier & Lafrenière, 2007). For detailed information on the number and proportion of children in the target population in the different provinces, regions and territories<sup>1</sup>, see Annex A. These numbers are slightly different than those normally reported for mother tongue or for first official language spoken (FOLS), but the correlation between these numbers and the proportions obtained based on the SVOLM criteria is very high.

For the purposes of the current chapter, the analyses pertain to responses provided by adults (typically the parents) to questions about their children and languages. As a result, it is important to remember that the responses we are analyzing in this chapter are not those of the children themselves,

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<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, the word territories includes the three federal territories, i.e., the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and Yukon



but respondent representations of various aspects of the sociolinguistic experiences of their children, of their linguistic behaviour, of their knowledge of the official languages and of their official language proficiency. It would have been possible to present analyses for specific age groups of children (for example, 0 to 4, 5 to 11 and 12 to 17), but because of the large number of variables analyzed in the current chapter, the analysis and the presentation of the results will be limited to data pertaining to the entire sample of children aged 17 years and younger, except when otherwise indicated.

## 1.2 Survey Tool

Corbeil, Grenier, and Lafrenière (2007) write that Statistics Canada developed two questionnaires, one for adults and the other for children, in consultation with external clients. During their development, each questionnaire was subjected to several waves of testing. They go on to specify that “Qualitative testing was done during several stages of development, and a pilot test took place one year before the actual survey.”

The SVOLM only looks at certain aspects of vitality, but those studied are among the most important, according to Corbeil, Grenier, and Lafrenière (2007). We estimate that the part of the survey that studies OLMC children coincides with these aspects since the issues studied relate to their linguistic socialisation, their linguistic behaviour, and their knowledge and proficiency in Canada’s official languages.

## 1.3 Procedure

The data that we analyzed were obtained during the telephone survey conducted by Statistics Canada with OLMC parents of children during the months of October 2006 to January 2007, almost six months after the 2006 Census. The data was collected during a 40-minute interview that made use of computer-assisted telephone interviewing (CATI) techniques (Corbeil, Grenier, & Lafrenière, 2007). Interviews were conducted in French or English with the parent who belonged to the OLMC, according to the respondent’s preference.

## 1.4 Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were calculated for the FLMC of each province and territory except Quebec as well as for the ELMC in Quebec. The sample sizes for the provinces of Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec made it possible to perform analyses for different regions in each of these three provinces. New-Brunswick data is divided into three regions (North, Southeast, and Remainder of the province), Ontario data is divided into five regions (Northeast, Ottawa, Southeast, Toronto, and Remainder of the province), while Quebec data is divided into six regions (East, Estrie and South, Montreal, Quebec City and region, West, and Remainder of the province). The combined OLMC target population in these regions (adults and children) varies between 9% and 79% in New Brunswick, between 3% and 45% in Ontario and between 2% and 26% in Quebec (see Annex A).

For reasons of data confidentiality (based on criteria defined by Statistics Canada), it was not possible, because of the small size of certain samples, to present in each of the tables the results for certain variables for



each province and territory. In these instances, we combined the data of certain provincial and territorial FLMC. We proceeded in the same fashion in the data analyses of the regions of Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec. We did not present the data for a region when the confidentiality of the data was threatened and when combining this data with that of another region of the province was unacceptable. Finally, the distribution of responses in the various response categories sometimes made it necessary for us to combine certain response categories. In all cases, we are aware that these combinations constitute compromises, and we endeavoured to ensure that these combinations would have a minimal impact on the interpretation of the data.

## **2. RESULTS**

For each of the variables analyzed, the tables inserted in the text present the data for the provincial and territorial OLMC<sup>2</sup>. Tables presenting regional data for the FLMC in the provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick and regional data for the ELMC in the province of Quebec are to be found in Annex B.

### **2.1 The Sociolinguistic Environment of the Child**

Among children having one or both parents who speak one or both of Canada's official languages, their first contacts with this language or these languages take place within the family. We present in this first section data on the languages to which the

children are exposed, or for which the children are essentially receivers of linguistic output, e.g., the language most commonly spoken to the child in the home, and the language in which books are most often read to the child or stories are most commonly told to the child.

#### **2.1.1 The Language Most Commonly Spoken in the Home to the Child Too Young to Speak**

In FLMC families, the language most commonly spoken in the home to the child too young to speak is French in 44% of the cases and English in 56% of the cases (Table 1). Only in New Brunswick is French the language most commonly spoken to children in the home (82%). In Ontario, French is the language most commonly spoken to the child in the home for 47% of the children. This percentage is 35% in Manitoba and less than 25% in the provinces and territories west and north of Manitoba. In Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince-Edward-Island, French is the language most commonly spoken in the home to the child who is too young to speak by 33% of the parents.

Among parents of the ELMC in Quebec (bottom of Table 1), the official language most commonly spoken to children in the home is English in 60% of the cases and French in 40% of the cases.

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to remember that the results presented in the different tables in this chapter are those obtained from the analyses of different samples of OLMC children. These different samples are defined in the titles of the tables.



**TABLE 1. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MOST COMMONLY SPOKEN IN THE HOME TO THE CHILD TOO YOUNG TO SPEAK**

FLMC: Provinces and Territories (Excluding Quebec)*	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador/ Prince Edward Island	67	33
Nova Scotia	71	29
New Brunswick	18	82
Ontario	53	47
Manitoba	65	35
Saskatchewan/Alberta	77	23
British Columbia/Territories	78	22
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>44</b>
ELMC: Province of Quebec *		
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### 2.1.2 The Language in Which Books Are Read and Stories Told to the Child

Overall, approximately 70 to 75% of FLMC and ELMC respondents or other persons in the household<sup>3</sup> read books or tell stories to their children aged 14 or less. The percentages are very similar in all the provinces and territories as well as in the different regions of New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec. In both the FLMC and the ELMC, roughly half (54% in the FLMC and 47% in the ELMC) of the respondents read each day to the children aged 14 or less, and approximately an additional third (33% in the FLMC and 38% in the ELMC) do so

<sup>3</sup> In order to avoid lengthy repetitions, we use the word ‘respondents’ in place of the expression ‘respondents or other persons in the household’ in the remainder of this section.

several times per week. Therefore, in total, more than eight of ten respondents read each day or several times per week to the children aged 14 or less in their household. Almost one in ten respondents do this activity once per week, and a little less than one in ten does so a few times per month.

In total, in the FLMC (Table 2), a third of the respondents (33%) read books or tell stories to children aged 14 or less exclusively in French or more often in French than in English. A little more than a third of them (36%) read books or tell stories to their children in French and in English equally. Finally, three of ten respondents (30%) read books or tell stories to their children more often in English than in French or exclusively in English. The percentage of people who read or tell stories to their children



exclusively in French (14%) is slightly higher than the percentage of those who do so exclusively in English (10%). It's in New Brunswick that the percentage of respondents reading books or telling stories to the children exclusively in French or in French more often than in English (49%) is highest, followed by Ontario (36%) and Manitoba (31%). The lowest percentages recorded were found in Saskatchewan/Alberta (19%) and British Columbia/Northwest Territories (20%). It is important to note, however, that more

than a third (34%) to almost half (45%) of respondents in the different provinces and territories said they read books and tell stories to the children in French and English equally.

In total, approximately a third of respondents (34%) within the ELMC of Quebec (bottom of Table 2) read books or tell stories to the children only in English or in English more often than in French. Almost four in ten respondents (38%) read books or tell stories only in French or in French more often than in English.



**TABLE 2. THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH BOOKS ARE READ AND STORIES TOLD TO CHILDREN AGED 14 OR LESS BY THE RESPONDENTS OR OTHER PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD**

FLMC: PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES (EXCLUDING QUEBEC)*	ENGLISH ONLY (%)	ENGLISH MUCH MORE THAN FRENCH (%)	FRENCH AND ENGLISH EQUALLY (%)	FRENCH MUCH MORE THAN ENGLISH (%)	FRENCH ONLY (%)			
Newfoundland and Labrador and Prince Edward Island	7	20	45	22	7			
Nova Scotia	12	30	34	15	9			
New Brunswick	3	10	38	25	24			
Ontario	10	19	35	20	16			
Manitoba	11	24	34	23	8			
Saskatchewan/ Alberta	13	25	43	14	5			
British Columbia/ Northwest Territories	18	29	34	12	8			
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>14</b>			
ELMC: Province of Quebec*	English only	English and another language	English much more than French	French and English equally	French much more than English	French and another language	French only	Other language
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>4</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%





### **2.1.3 Family Language Dynamics and Mother Tongue**

Because of the family language dynamics in the household, for example the language spoken to the child in the home and the language used to read books and tell stories to the child, a child learns a first language, commonly referred to as the mother tongue. Statistics Canada defines the mother tongue as the first language acquired and still understood. Among FLMLC children, French is the mother tongue of a little more than four in ten children (43%), while English is the mother tongue of four in ten children (40%) (Table 3). French and English are the mother tongues of nearly one child in ten (9%), while another language is the mother tongue of less than one in ten children (7%). It's in British

Columbia (15%) and in Ontario (9%) that the highest percentages of children whose mother tongue is neither English nor French are to be found. Important variations in the percentage of children who have French as their mother tongue are observed in the FLMLC; they vary from 15% in British Columbia to 80% in New Brunswick.

In the ELMC (bottom of Table 3), English is the mother tongue of slightly more than a third of the children (35%). French is the mother tongue of approximately one quarter of the children (26%), while both French and English are the mother tongues of less than one in ten children (7%). Approximately a third of ELMC children (32%) have a language other than English or French as their mother tongue.



**TABLE 3. FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S) LEARNED BY THE CHILD AND STILL UNDERSTOOD AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY (ALL CHILDREN)**

FLMC: Regional data*	English	French and English	French	Other language(s)
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island/Nova Scotia	54	12	33	1
New Brunswick	15	4	80	1
Ontario	39	10	42	9
Manitoba	51	11	35	3
Saskatchewan/Alberta	65	10	19	6
British Columbia	59	11	15	15
Territories	42	16	36	6
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>				
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>32</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

When the question asked pertains to the first official language spoken (FOLS<sup>4</sup>) by the child, the analysis of the data makes it possible to determine which of Canada's official languages was first spoken by both the children of the OLMC and the children whose mother tongue is neither English nor

French. Among FLMC children, the FOLS (Table 4) is French for slightly less than half of the children (44%) and English for slightly more than five in ten children (52%). The first official languages spoken were both French and English for nearly one child in twenty (4%).

<sup>4</sup> The first official language spoken (FOLS) is a derived variable calculated by Statistics Canada using the knowledge of the official languages, the mother tongue, and the language most commonly spoken at home. The purpose of this variable is to include the allophone populations in the official language communities (For further details, see Chapter 8 of the report prepared by Lachapelle and Lepage (2010).

It's in New Brunswick that the proportion of children whose mother tongue is French is highest (80%). New Brunswick is followed by several provinces where between 43% (Ontario) and 34% (Prince Edward Island and the territories) of FLMC children have French as their mother tongue. Finally, in



the three provinces west of Manitoba and in Newfoundland and Labrador, approximately two in ten FLMC children have French as their mother tongue.

In the ELMC of Quebec (bottom of Table 4), the first official language learned or mother tongue is English for a little more than four of ten children (43%). French is the mother tongue of a similar percentage of the children (45%) and both of Canada's official languages are the first spoken by approximately one in ten children (11%).

The data show that the calculation of the FOLS has a positive effect for the Quebec ELMC, while it tends to have a negative effect for the FLMC of the other provinces and territories. In summary, if we combine the percentages of children whose mother tongue is French with those whose mother tongues are English and French to refer to francophone children of the FLMC, the

percentage of francophones is 52% by mother tongue, but 48% according to the FOLS. For the Quebec ELMC, the same calculations (English and English and French) identifies 42% of anglophones by mother tongue, but 54% according to the FOLS. In Quebec, it can be observed that according to the FOLS, gains are shared between French and English. The proportion of children in Quebec whose first language learned is a third language and the fact that these children are obliged by law to attend a French school are factors that contribute to gains in French while the strong attraction of English among allophones contributes to gains for the English language.



**TABLE 4. FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN (FOLS) BY THE CHILD**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec) *	English (%)	English and French (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	68	8	23
Prince Edward Island	62	4	34
Nova Scotia	62	2	35
New Brunswick	18	1	80
Ontario	51	5	43
Manitoba	60	2	37
Saskatchewan	78	3	18
Alberta	80	2	18
British Columbia	82	3	15
Territories	59	6	34
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>44</b>
ELMC: Province of Quebec*			
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>45</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

#### 2.1.4 The Language of Television, Videocassettes, and DVDs

In total, almost four in ten FLMC children (37%) watch television, videocassettes and DVDs between six and ten hours per week, while approximately three in ten children (32%) do so between one and five hours per week, and less than two in ten children (16%) do so between 11 and 15 hours per week. Finally, approximately one in ten children (11%) engages in these activities sixteen or more hours per week. The differences between the provinces and between the regions within the provinces are, generally speaking, relatively minor.

The percentages of ELMC children in Quebec who engage in this type of activity are very similar to those in the other provinces and territories.

An analysis of the responses given by FLMC respondents indicates that, in total (see Table 5), 4% of children watch TV, videocassettes and DVDs exclusively in French, while 8% do so in French much more than in English, which represents a total of 12% of the children. In comparison, more than four in ten children (42%) do so exclusively in English, while almost one in three children (32%) does so much more in English than in French, which represents a



total of approximately three quarters of the children. The other children, i.e. 14%, do so in French and English equally. It's in New Brunswick that the percentages of children exposed to these media in French are the highest. Twelve percent of children watch TV, videocassettes and DVDs exclusively in French, and 21% do so much more in French than in English, for a total of approximately one third of the children (33%). But the total percentage of FLMC children exposed to these media exclusively in English (19%) or much more in English than in French (25%) is higher still, at 44%. Finally, 22% of the children in the New Brunswick FLMC watch the media to an equal extent in French and in English. In contrast, 10% of Ontario FLMC children and less than 5% of FLMC children in the other provinces and territories watch

the media in French more often than in English. While 44% of New Brunswick children watch English language media much more than French language media, 75% of Ontario FLMC children do the same, and nearly 90% of FLMC children do so in the other provinces and territories.

In total, in the ELMC of Quebec (bottom of Table 5), 27% of the children watch TV, videocassettes, and DVDs exclusively in English, and 24% do so in English much more than in French, which translates to a total of 51% of children. In comparison, 13% of the children do so exclusively in French and 15% in French much more than in English, which represents almost three in ten children. Finally, two in ten children (21%) do so in French and English equally.



**TABLE 5. LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE CHILD WATCHES TV, VIDEOCASSETTES, AND DVDS**

FLMC: Provinces and Territories (excluding Quebec)*	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island/Nova Scotia	54	33	10	3	0
New Brunswick	19	25	22	21	12
Ontario	41	34	14	7	3
Manitoba/Saskatchewan/Alberta	60	28	7	2	2
British Columbia/Territories	55	34	8	3	0
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	42	32	14	8	4
ELMC: Province of Quebec*					
<b>Quebec</b>	27	24	21	15	13

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: In English or in another language/In another language

### 2.1.5 The Language of Internet

In total, more than nine in ten children have Internet access in Canada's provinces and territories. The percentage of children who do not have access to a computer or to the Internet is highest in Manitoba (6%), and lowest in British Columbia (1%). Two thirds of FLMC children (67%) use the Internet at home. The provincial and territorial percentages vary from 61% in New Brunswick to 71% in Nova Scotia. The percentages of children who use the Internet at home in Quebec's ELMC and in the FLMC outside Quebec are identical (67%).

The number of hours per week devoted to the Internet by a large majority of children having access to it (more than 90%) varies between less than one hour and more than sixteen hours. In the FLMC of Canada, almost one in two children (45%), on average, spends between one and five hours per week on the Internet at home. A little more than one in five children (22%) devotes between six and ten hours per week to the Internet, while a little less than one in ten children (9%) spends between eleven and sixteen hours on the Internet. Finally, while 16% of the children spend less than one hour per week on the Internet, 8% of the children do so more than sixteen hours per week. The percentages for the



Quebec ELMC children are very similar to these numbers.

Table 6 presents data on the languages used by the children when on the Internet. In the FLMC, only a little more than one in ten children (12%) uses French only (6%) or French much more than English (6%) on the Internet. And 17% of the children use French and English equally. Almost half of the children (46%) use English only, while a quarter of the children (25%) use English much more than French, for a total of 71%, or approximately seven in ten children. While approximately three in ten New Brunswick FLMC children use French much more than English on the Internet, slightly

more than one child in ten does so in Ontario, and less than one child in twenty does so in the other provinces and territories.

In Quebec's ELMC (bottom of Table 6), a little less than one third of the children (32%) use only English on the Internet, and a fifth of the children (20%) use English much more than French, for a total of 52%, or approximately five in ten children. Approximately one in four children (26%) uses the Internet exclusively in French (14%) or in French much more than in English (12%). A little more than a fifth of the children (22%) use the Internet in French and English equally.



**TABLE 6. LANGUAGE USED BY THE CHILD WHEN ON THE INTERNET**

FLMC: Provinces and Territories (excluding Quebec)*	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island/Nova Scotia	57	27	12	2	2
New Brunswick	19	22	28	15	16
Ontario	45	27	18	6	5
Manitoba/ Saskatchewan	63	26	6	4	1
Alberta/British Columbia/Territories	67	21	8	2	1
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
ELMC: Province of Quebec*					
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: In English or in another language

## 2.1.6 The Language of Organized Sporting and Non-Sporting Activities

### 2.1.6.1 Language in Organized Sports

An analysis of the responses provided by FLMC parents shows that during the twelve months preceding the survey, a little more than six in ten children (63%) had participated at least once per week in organized sports. A little more than three in ten children (32%) had never or almost never participated in organized sports. In Quebec's ELMC, a little less than six in ten children (57%) had participated in organized sports at least once per week during the preceding twelve months. Almost four in

ten children (37%) had never or almost never participated in organized sports. The differences between the provinces and those between the regions of the same province are generally not significant.

As for the language in which these organized sporting activities took place, a minority of FLMC children had engaged in these activities in French. More specifically, a little less than two in ten children (18%) (Table 7) had participated in these activities exclusively in French or in French much more than in English. Slightly more than one in ten children (12%) had participated in these activities in French and English





equally. In comparison, almost six in ten FLMC children (57%) had participated in organized sporting activities held exclusively in English and for a little more than one in ten children (13%), these activities took place in English much more than in French. In total, therefore, seven in ten FLMC children (70%) participated in organized sporting activities held exclusively in English or in English much more than in French. The contrast between New Brunswick FLMC children and those of the other provinces and territories is striking. Slightly more than 60% of New Brunswick's FLMC children participate in organized sports in French much more than in English (nearly half of the children – 46% – do so only in French), nearly 13% do so in Ontario, 10% do so in

the other Atlantic provinces and in Manitoba, and 2% do so in the provinces and territories to the west and north of Manitoba.

In Quebec's ELMC (bottom of Table 7), almost one in four children (24%) had participated in organized sporting activities held exclusively in English or in English much more than in French. And an identical percentage (24%) participated in organized sporting activities in French and in English equally. However, more than five in ten children (52%) had participated in organized sporting activities held exclusively in French (38%) or in French much more than in English (14%).



**TABLE 7. LANGUAGE OF ORGANIZED SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THE CHILD PARTICIPATED DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS**

FLMC: Provinces and Territories (excluding Quebec)*	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador/ Prince Edward Island	67	15	9	4	5
Nova Scotia	67	10	14	5	4
New Brunswick	14	9	16	15	46
Ontario	58	15	13	5	8
Manitoba	61	19	13	4	4
Saskatchewan/Alberta/ British Columbia/ Territories	87	7	5	1	1
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec *</b>					
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>38</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: English or another language/Another language

### 2.1.6.2 Language in Organized Non-Sporting Activities

Almost four in ten FLMC children (38%) in the provinces and territories have participated at least once per week in organized non-sporting activities during the previous twelve months. Slightly more than a third (35%) of the children never participated in such activities during the same period. In Quebec's ELMC, approximately a third (34%) of the children had participated at least once per week in organized non-sporting activities during the previous twelve months, and more than four in ten children (43%) never participated in such activities.

During the twelve-month period preceding the post-censal survey, in total, nearly one in four FLMC children (23%) had participated in organized non-sporting activities held exclusively in French (17%) or in French much more than in English (6%) (Table 8). However, more than one in two children (54%) had participated in organized non-sporting activities held exclusively in English, and more than one in ten children (12%) had participated in such activities held in English much more than in French. In total, therefore, almost two thirds of the children (66%) had participated in organized non-sporting activities held much more in English than in French. Approximately one in ten children (11%) had participated in



such activities held in French and English equally. The contrast between New Brunswick FLMC children and those of the other provinces and territories is again quite marked. While more than 60% of New Brunswick's FLMC children participate in organized non-sporting activities in French much more than in English (approximately half of the children – 49% – do so only in French), 21% do so in Ontario, approximately 15% do so in the other Atlantic provinces and in Manitoba, and approximately 5% do so in the provinces and territories to the west and north of Manitoba.

In Quebec's ELMC (bottom of Table 8), in total, a third of the children (33%) had participated in organized non-sporting activities held exclusively in English (20%) or in English much more than in French (13%). However, almost four in ten children (39%) had participated in organized non-sporting activities held exclusively in French, and more than one in ten children (11%) had participated in such activities held in French much more than in English. In total, almost half the children (50%) had participated in such activities held in French or in French much more than in English. Approximately one in five children (18%) had participated in organized non-sporting activities held in English and French equally.



**TABLE 8. LANGUAGE OF ORGANIZED NON-SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THE CHILD PARTICIPATED DURING THE PREVIOUS TWELVE MONTHS**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island	65	11	8	4	12
Nova Scotia	61	11	13	7	8
New Brunswick	15	9	14	13	49
Ontario	54	13	13	6	15
Manitoba	62	12	12	4	10
Alberta	78	13	4	1	4
Saskatchewan/British Columbia/Territories	84	8	4	1	3
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>					
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>39</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: In French or in another language

## 2.2 Language Behaviour

### 2.2.1 Official Languages Spoken by the Children at Home

Table 9 shows how, in total, less than four in ten FLMC children (37%) speak French most often at home and 8% speak both official languages equally. Less than half of the children speak French more often than English or as often as English (45%) at home.

It's in New Brunswick (77%) and Ontario (35%) that the children are more likely to speak French at home, and it's in the three western-most provinces that they are less likely to speak French most often at home: Alberta (14%), Saskatchewan and British Columbia (10%). Results of another analysis on all languages spoken at home indicates that six percent of FLMC children in Ontario (22% in Toronto) speak another language most often at home.



In total, in Quebec’s ELMC (bottom of Table 9), five in ten children (50%) speak English most often at home, and a little more than four in ten children (43%) speak French most often at home. The remaining 7% speak English and French equally often at

home. It is important to note, however, that an analysis of all languages spoken at home shows that a fifth of the ELMC children (20%) (22% in Montréal) speak other languages most often at home.

**TABLE 9. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME BY CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO SPEAK IN ALL OF THE PROVINCES**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	English (%)	French and English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	73	10	17
Prince Edward Island	63	9	28
Nova Scotia	65	7	27
New Brunswick	18	5	77
Ontario	55	9	35
Manitoba	65	9	27
Saskatchewan	83	6	10
Alberta	83	4	14
British Columbia	84	6	10
Territories	62	12	27
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>			
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>43</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### 2.2.2 Official Language Spoken by the Children With Their Siblings at Home

A minority of FLMC children who speak more than one language in the home speak French most often with their brothers and

sisters. In total, slightly less than a third of FLMC children (32%) speak French most often with their brothers and sisters compared to a little more than two thirds (68%) who speak English most often with their siblings (see Table 10). The province



with the highest percentage of FLMC children who speak French most often with their siblings is New Brunswick (64%); this percentage is approximately two to three times higher than that of each of the other provinces and territories. In the Territories, in Prince Edward Island, in Ontario and Manitoba, approximately three in ten children speak French most often with their siblings. In the other provinces and regions,

two in ten children on average behave in this manner.

In Quebec's ELMC (bottom of Table 10), a little less than half of children (47%) speak English most often with their siblings at home. Therefore, a little more than half of ELMC children (53%) speak French most often with their siblings.

**TABLE 10. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME WITH SIBLINGS BY CHILDREN WHO SPEAK MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE IN THE HOME**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	77	23
Prince Edward Island	67	33
Nova Scotia	79	21
New Brunswick	36	64
Ontario	69	31
Manitoba	70	30
Saskatchewan	83	17
Alberta	82	18
British Columbia	80	20
Territories	66	34
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>32</b>
ELMC: Province of Quebec*		
Quebec	47	53

\* All CVs are less than 1%

## **2.2.3 Official Languages Spoken by the Children With Their Friends**

### **2.2.3.1 Official Languages Spoken with Friends**

Table 11 presents data on the official languages spoken by OLMC children with their friends. In total, in the FLMC, one in four children (25%) speaks solely in French with his/her friends, one in five children (21%) speaks French and English, and a little more than half of the children (54%) speak solely in English with friends. New Brunswick has the highest proportion of children who speak solely in French with their friends (65%) and by far the lowest proportion of children who speak solely in English with their friends (17%). In Ontario, in Manitoba and in Prince Edward Island, approximately one in five children speaks

exclusively in French with his/her friends. In the other provinces and territories, approximately one in ten children speaks exclusively in French with his/her friends. In British Columbia, Alberta, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Saskatchewan, approximately eight in ten children speak exclusively in English with their friends. In all the provinces and territories, approximately two in ten children (14% to 27%), on average, speak French and English with their friends.

A third of ELMC children (33%) (bottom of Table 11) speak solely in English with their friends, one in five children (21%) speaks French and English, and almost half of the children (46%) speak exclusively in French with their friends.



**TABLE 11. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY CHILDREN WITH THEIR FRIENDS**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	English only (%)	French and English (%)	French only (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	80	16	4
Prince Edward Island	56	26	18
Nova Scotia	62	24	14
New Brunswick	17	18	65
Ontario	55	24	22
Manitoba	64	17	20
Saskatchewan	79	15	6
Alberta	80	14	6
British Columbia	81	17	2
Territories	60	27	13
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>			
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>46</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### **2.2.3.2 Official Language Spoken Most Often with Friends Before Starting School**

Before starting school, approximately four in ten FLMC children (41%) speak French most often with their friends and almost six in ten (59%) speak English (Table 12). While almost eight in ten children (78%) speak French most often with their friends before starting school in New Brunswick, between

almost three in ten children (27%) and four in ten children (40%) behave this way in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Ontario and the Territories, and between one (10%) and two children in ten (17%) do so in Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, and Newfoundland and Labrador. In the latter four provinces, between eight and nine in ten children





speak English most often with their friends before starting school.

In Quebec (bottom of Table 12), a little more than half of ELMC children (53%)

speak English most often with their friends before starting school.

**TABLE 12. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN WITH FRIENDS BEFORE STARTING SCHOOL**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	90	10
Prince Edward Island	73	27
Nova Scotia	73	27
New Brunswick	22	78
Ontario	60	40
Manitoba	69	31
Saskatchewan	83	17
Alberta	84	16
British Columbia	87	13
Territories	68	32
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>		
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>47</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### 2.2.3.3 Official Language Spoken Most Often With Friends During Elementary Schooling

Table 13 deals with the language spoken most often with friends during elementary schooling. In total, within the FLMC, a little more than four in ten children (43%) speak French most often with their friends during elementary schooling, and nearly six in ten children (57%) speak English. While in New

Brunswick more than eight in ten FLMC children (82%) speak French most often with their friends during elementary schooling, approximately four in ten children (between 35% and 42%) do so in Manitoba, the Territories, Nova Scotia, Ontario and Prince Edward Island, and between one (14%) and two in ten children (24%) do so in Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, and Newfoundland and



Labrador. In these last provinces, therefore, between eight and nine in ten children speak English most often with their friends during their elementary schooling.

In Quebec's ELMC (bottom of Table 13), a little less than half of the children (47%)

speak English most often with their friends during their elementary schooling.

The linguistic experiences and behaviours described above (and others that are not analyzed here) influence both the children's knowledge of the official languages and their language abilities.

**TABLE 13. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN WITH FRIENDS DURING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	86	14
Prince Edward Island	58	42
Nova Scotia	60	40
New Brunswick	18	82
Ontario	58	42
Manitoba	65	35
Saskatchewan	76	24
Alberta	85	15
British Columbia	86	14
Territories	63	37
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>		
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>54</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



## **2.3 Knowledge of the Official Languages and Official Language Skills<sup>5</sup>**

Before discussing the topic of language skills, it is useful to remember that for an important proportion of children, their language skills are influenced not only by the experiences and behaviours described above, but also by the experiences they've had and by what they've learned in day care and in school.

### **2.3.1 Knowledge of Official Languages (Ability to Speak Both Official Languages)**

In total, within the FLMC (Table 14), a majority of children of speaking age (55%) have sufficient knowledge of Canada's official languages to be able to have a conversation in both of these languages. Slightly more than four out of ten children (43%) know only English well enough to be able to have a conversation, while one in a hundred children only knows French well enough to be able to have a conversation in that language. However, the data also indicate that almost all FLMC children know English well enough to be able to have a conversation in that language (98%) and that a little more than half of FLMC children (56%) know French sufficiently well to be able to have a conversation in that language. In all provinces and territories except New Brunswick, nine in ten children

or more have a sufficient knowledge of English to have a conversation in English (six in ten children can do so in New Brunswick). On the other hand, when it comes to having a sufficient knowledge of French to be able to have a conversation in French, with the exception of New Brunswick where more than nine in ten FLMC children have this ability, between six and seven in ten children have this ability in Ontario, Manitoba and the Atlantic provinces, and between four and five in ten children are able to do so in the provinces and territories west and north of Manitoba.

In Quebec's ELMC also, a majority of children (53%) have sufficient knowledge of English and French to have a conversation in these languages (bottom of Table 14). A little less than two in ten children (17%) know only English well enough to be able to have a conversation in English, while three in ten children (30%) know only French well enough to be able to have a conversation in French.

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<sup>5</sup> It is particularly important to recall that the results presented in this part of the chapter are not the product of objective assessments or measures of the FLMC and ELMC children's knowledge of the official languages and their language skills, but the parents' representations of this knowledge and these skills.

**TABLE 14. LANGUAGE(S), AMONG FRENCH AND ENGLISH, KNOWN WELL ENOUGH BY THE CHILD TO HAVE A CONVERSATION**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	English only (%)	French and English (%)	French only (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island	36	61	3
Nova Scotia	37	59	4
New Brunswick	10	51	40
Ontario	31	59	9
Manitoba	36	60	4
Saskatchewan	56	43	2
Alberta	60	37	3
British Columbia/Territories	52	47	1
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>			
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>30</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



### **2.3.1.1 French Speaking Skills**

We saw in Table 9 that for 37% of FLMC children, French is the official language most spoken at home when the survey was conducted. We deduce that their French speaking skills are very good. Table 15 presents the results of an analysis of the data relating to French speaking skills of the 63% of children for whom French is not the official language spoken most often in the home. For the FLMC, the French speaking skills of half these children (50%) is assessed as being weak or passable. The skills of four in ten children (41%) are assessed as being good or very good and, according to the respondents, one child in ten is unable to speak French (10%). The French speaking skills are assessed as being good or very good for between four and five in ten children (41 to 47%) in all the provinces and territories except Alberta (30%), Saskatchewan (33%) and Manitoba (37%),

where approximately one third of the children have this skill level. Less than 10% of the children are unable to speak French in Manitoba and in the provinces east of Manitoba, but between 14% and 22% of the children in the provinces and territories west and north of Manitoba are unable to speak French.

We also saw in Table 9 that for 43% of ELMC children, French was the official language most often spoken in the home when the survey was conducted. In the remaining 57% of Quebec's ELMC children (bottom of Table 15), we see that the French speaking skills of 65% of these children are assessed as being good or very good, and as passable or weak for the remaining 35% of the children. Finally, we note that there is not an analyzable number of ELMC children unable to speak French in Quebec.



**TABLE 15. FRENCH SPEAKING SKILLS OF CHILDREN FOR WHOM FRENCH IS NOT THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME**

<b>FLMC:</b> Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	<b>Weak (%)</b>	<b>Passable (%)</b>	<b>Good (%)</b>	<b>Very good (%)</b>	<b>Unable to speak French (%)</b>
Newfoundland and Labrador	25	19	23	24	9
Prince Edward Island	27	23	23	24	3
Nova Scotia	29	21	21	24	5
New Brunswick	33	18	25	19	5
Ontario	30	18	21	22	8
Manitoba	32	23	17	20	8
Saskatchewan	39	13	17	16	16
Alberta	39	17	14	16	14
British Columbia	22	21	21	22	15
Territories	26	11	19	22	22
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>					
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>-</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



### 2.3.1.2 English Speaking Skills

The percentage of children in Canada’s OLMC who do not speak English most often at home is very small in each province and region, with the exception of New Brunswick. It is therefore for reasons of confidentiality that the results of the analyses of the data from the provinces and territories other than New Brunswick are not presented here. But this also means that the English speaking skills of very large proportions of children in all provinces and

regions except New Brunswick can be considered to be very good.

In New Brunswick (Table 16), the English speaking skills of children for whom English is not the language spoken most often at home are assessed as being good or very good for half of the children (50%) and as being weak or passable for a little more than four in ten children (43%). Approximately one child in twenty is unable to speak English (6%).

**TABLE 16. ENGLISH SPEAKING SKILLS OF CHILDREN FOR WHOM ENGLISH IS NOT THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME**

FLMC: Province of New Brunswick*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to speak English (%)
New Brunswick	23	20	24	26	6

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### 2.3.2 Official Languages Reading Skills

#### 2.3.2.1 French Reading Skills

Table 17 shows that in the FLMC, the French reading skills of children old enough to talk and capable of reading are good or very good for almost two in three children (64%) and weak or passable for almost one in three (31%). According to the respondents, one in twenty children is unable to read French (5%). The French reading skills are good or very good for approximately eight in ten children old enough to talk and capable of reading in New Brunswick (79%), and weak or passable for two in ten children (21%). French reading skills are good or very good for six to seven in ten children in Prince Edward Island, Ontario, and Nova Scotia. These skills are weak or passable for four to five in ten children old enough to talk and capable of reading in Alberta and

Saskatchewan, and for three to four in ten children in the other provinces and territories, except for New Brunswick. Finally, between one and two children in ten are unable to read French in the provinces and territories to the west and north of Manitoba and in the provinces east of Manitoba.

In Quebec’s ELMC (bottom of Table 17), French reading skills are assessed as being good or very good for a large proportion of children, or for almost four in five children (78%), and as being weak or passable for approximately one child in five (21%).



**TABLE 17. FRENCH READING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF READING**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to read French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	21	14	24	33	7
Prince Edward Island	20	12	26	41	2
Nova Scotia	16	14	27	38	4
New Brunswick	9	12	33	46	1
Ontario	18	12	26	40	4
Manitoba	20	19	23	32	6
Saskatchewan	34	10	21	24	11
Alberta	34	12	18	24	13
British Columbia	18	15	25	27	15
Territories	19	11	19	36	15
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	18	13	26	38	5
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>					
<b>Quebec</b>	8	13	30	48	-

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### 2.3.2.2 English Reading Skills

In total, in the FLMC (Table 18), the English reading skills of children old enough to talk and capable of reading are assessed as being good or very good for approximately

eight in ten children (81%) and as being weak or passable for two in ten children (20%). It's in New Brunswick that we find the lowest proportion of children whose English reading skills are assessed as being good or very good (63%) as well as the





highest proportion of children whose English reading skills are assessed as being weak or passable (37%). In all other provinces, between eight and nine in ten children have English reading skills assessed as being good or very good.

In Quebec’s ELMC (bottom of Table 18), the English reading skills of approximately two thirds of the children (67%) old enough to talk and capable of reading are assessed as being good or very good, while for three in ten of these children (29%), these skills are assessed as being weak or passable.

**TABLE 18. ENGLISH READING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF READING**

FLMC: Provinces (excluding Quebec)*	Weak (%)	Satisfactory (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to read/Unable to read English (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	5	7	25	62	-
Prince Edward Island	5	11	26	57	-
Nova Scotia	5	6	17	71	-
New Brunswick	17	20	32	31	-
Ontario	8	10	27	54	-
Manitoba	7	8	35	50	-
Saskatchewan	4	7	26	63	-
Alberta	3	8	29	60	-
British Columbia	5	7	23	65	-
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec</b>					
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>4</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### 2.3.3 Official Languages Writing Skills

#### 2.3.3.1 French Writing Skills

For the FLMC, the French writing skills of approximately six in ten children (59%) old enough to speak and capable of writing are assessed as being good or very good; the



skills of a little more than three in ten children (35%) is assessed as being weak or passable; and less than one child in ten (6%) is unable to write in French (see Table 19). The provinces having the highest proportions of children whose French writing skills are assessed as being good or very good are New Brunswick (75%), Prince Edward Island (63%), Ontario (61%), and Nova Scotia (59%).

In Quebec’s ELMC (bottom of Table 19), the French writing skills of a little more than seven in ten children (73%) old enough to talk and capable of writing are assessed as being good or very good, while the skills of a little more than two in ten children (25%) are assessed as being weak or passable.



**TABLE 19. FRENCH WRITING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF WRITING**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to write French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	22	16	26	29	7
Prince Edward Island	17	14	31	32	5
Nova Scotia	21	15	29	30	4
New Brunswick	9	16	38	37	1
Ontario	21	14	29	32	4
Manitoba	25	19	24	26	6
Saskatchewan	35	9	20	22	13
Alberta	34	14	18	20	14
British Columbia	25	16	28	17	14
Territories	24	14	20	30	13
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	21	14	29	30	6
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>					
<b>Quebec</b>	10	15	35	38	1

\* All CVs are less than 1%

### 2.3.3.2 English Writing Skills

In total, in the FLMC, the English writing skills of a little more than seven in ten children (73%) old enough to talk and capable of writing are assessed as being

good or very good, while those of a little more than two in ten children (23%) are assessed as being weak or passable. Less than one child in twenty (4%) is unable to write in English (Table 20). The English



writing skills of more than eight in ten FLMC children are assessed as being good or very good in several provinces and territories: Saskatchewan (86%), Nova Scotia (84%), Alberta/British Columbia/Territories (83%) and Manitoba (80%). It's in New Brunswick that we find the highest proportion of children where these skills are assessed as being weak or passable (39%).

In Quebec's ELMC (bottom of Table 20), the English writing skills of a little more than six in ten children (63%) old enough to talk and capable of writing are assessed as being good or very good, while they are assessed as being weak or passable for a little more than three in ten children (33%).

**TABLE 20. ENGLISH WRITING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF WRITING**

FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to write English (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island	9	12	34	42	3
Nova Scotia	4	11	27	57	1
New Brunswick	18	21	33	21	7
Ontario	10	12	32	42	4
Manitoba	5	12	36	44	3
Saskatchewan	5	6	30	56	3
Alberta/British Columbia/Territories	5	11	30	53	1
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>ELMC: Province of Quebec*</b>					
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>4</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

So far, we have presented relatively detailed information about the children of each OLMC relative to Canada's official languages. In the next part of this section,

we present a comparison of the FLMC and ELMC children based on the various variables analyzed above.



## **2.4 OLMC Children and the Language of the Community: a Comparative Analysis**

If the children of Canada's two official language communities lived in identical or very similar minority situations, we could expect the results of the SVOLM for the children of each community to also be very similar. In short, the results concerning the sociolinguistic experiences of the children in the official language of their community, their mother tongue, their knowledge of the language and their language skills would be practically the same and would generally reflect the same variations. However, previous research has shown that these communities do not have identical sociolinguistic environments and that there is significant variation in the linguistic experiences lived, not only between the ELM and the FLM communities, but also within these same communities. But what do the results of the SVOLM show?

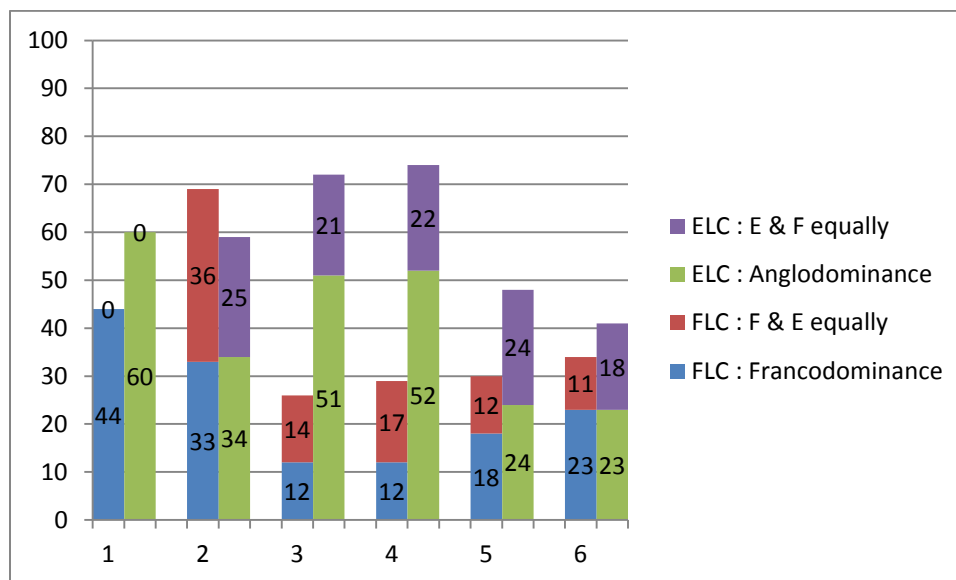
Graph 1 presents the main results on the sociolinguistic experiences of OLMC children in both official languages. In each of the six pairs of columns in this figure, the column on the left represents the sociolinguistic experience of the FLMC children, and that on the right, the sociolinguistic experience of the ELMC children. Each pair of columns presents the percentage of children whose sociolinguistic experience was primarily in the language of their linguistic community.

Column pairs 2 to 6 also present the percentages of children whose sociolinguistic experiences were equally frequent in both official languages. In general, the percentages of children who are exposed more often to the official language of their community than to the other official language are less important in the FLMC than in the ELMC, and that is the case for all the types of experiences that we analyzed, except one. The exception to the rule is the OLMC language used in organized non-sporting activities (see 6th column pair), since these activities are held most often in French for FLMC children at the same level (23%) as they are held most often in English for ELMC children. It is very clear, however, that these activities are held primarily in the official language of the majority on the territory, and not in that of the minority.

The Franco-dominance of the media viewed and used by FLMC children is particularly low when compared to the Anglo-dominance of the media viewed and used by the ELMC children (see column pairs 3 and 4). The percentages of OLMC children who participate in organized sporting and non-sporting activities primarily in the language of their respective community are weak and relatively similar (see column pairs 5 and 6). Slightly less than one child in four participated in these activities in the language of his/her community.



**GRAPH 1. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN EACH OLMC WHO WERE SOCIALIZED IN THEIR COMMUNITY’S LANGUAGE DURING DIFFERENT TYPES OF ACTIVITIES TAKING PLACE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE FAMILY**

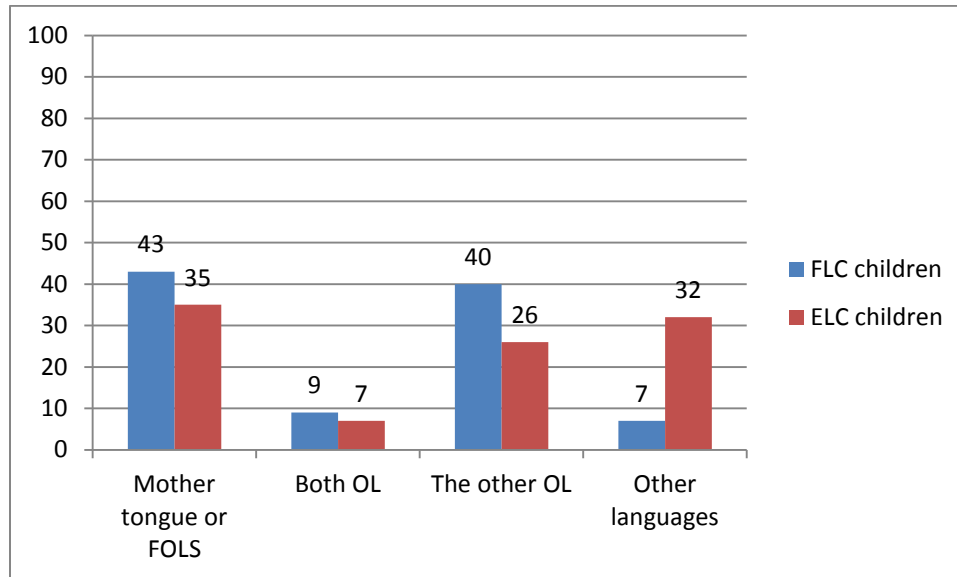


- 1 OLMC language spoken to the child at home
- 2 OLMC language used when reading to children aged 14 and under
- 3 OLMC language used when watching TV, videocassettes and DVDs
- 4 OLMC language used when using the Internet
- 5 OLMC language used during organized sporting activities
- 6 OLMC language used during organized non-sporting activities

At first sight, it may seem surprising that the mother tongue, defined as the first language acquired and still understood or as the first official language spoken (FOLS), is the official language community language of the child for such low percentages of children in each OLMC (respectively 43% and 35%; see the 1st pair of columns in Graph 2). Relatively small percentages of FLMC and ELMC children have both official languages as their mother tongues (9% in the FLMC and 7% in the ELMC; see the 2nd pair of columns). Also noteworthy are the relatively high percentages of children in each OLMC who have the language of the

other official language community (the majority in the province or territory) as their mother tongue. Indeed, no less than 40% of FLMC children have English as their mother tongue and 26% of ELMC children have French as their mother tongue (see 3rd pair of columns). The effect of integrating immigrants in each of the two OLMC is very different, as shown by the high percentage of Quebec’s ELMC children whose mother tongue is a language other than Canada’s two official languages (32%, compared to 7% of FLMC children; see 4th pair of columns).

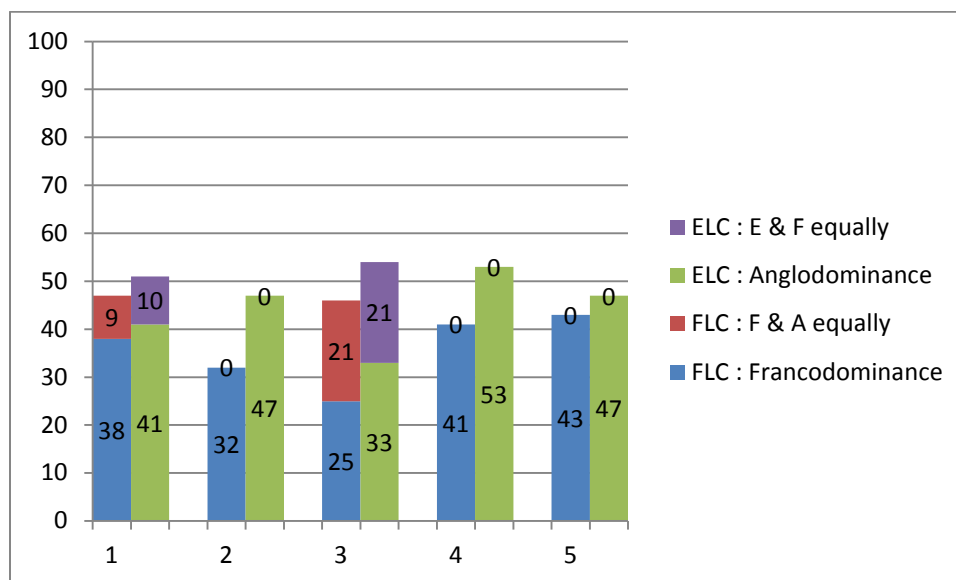
**GRAPH 2. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN EACH OLMC (COMBINED SAMPLE) WHOSE MOTHER TONGUE IS THE LANGUAGE OF HIS/HER COMMUNITY**



On the whole, the percentages of ELMC children who speak English at home, with their siblings, with their friends, with their friends before starting school and during their elementary schooling are always higher than the percentages of FLMC children who speak French in the same contexts (See column pairs 1 to 5 in

Graph 3). It is important to mention that a small percentage of the children in both OLMC speak English and French equally frequently at home and with their friends (see column pairs 1 and 3, respectively). The remaining children speak the language of the linguistic majority most often.

**GRAPH 3. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN EACH OLC WHO SPEAK THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR COMMUNITY IN VARIOUS CONTEXTS.**



1. Children who speak their OLC's language at home
2. Children who speak their OLC's language most often with their siblings
3. Children who speak their OLC's language with their friends
4. Children who speak their OLC's language most often with their friends before starting school
5. Children who speak their OLC's language most often with their friends during their elementary schooling

Graph 4 illustrates the language skills of the children in each of the official languages. It is important to note first of all that since the samples of children are not the same for all of the skills analyzed, it is best not to compare results relating to the different skills. Secondly, it is important to remember once again that the results reflect the perceptions held by the parents of their children's skills, and not objective measurements of skills. Finally, it is important to note here that this portrait does not take into account the language of instruction of the children and, as a result, its impact on the results observed. According to Landry (see Chapter 2 in this publication), the language of instruction of the children attending school when the survey was conducted was French for half of the FLMC children and English for the other

half; in the ELMC, it was English for 38% of the children and French for 62%. In the latter community, participation in French immersion programs at the elementary school level in Quebec is likely behind these statistics. It is therefore likely that the perceptions of the language skills, especially for reading and writing, are influenced by this instruction. Based on the assessments of their parents, the percentage of ELMC children who have good or very good French speaking skills is higher than that of the FLMC children (see the 1st pair of columns in Graph 4). It is important to note that we are referring here only to the children for whom the language spoken most often at home is not French. We can see here the influence of the Franco-dominant culture in Quebec and, possibly, of the language of instruction. We can also see the influence of

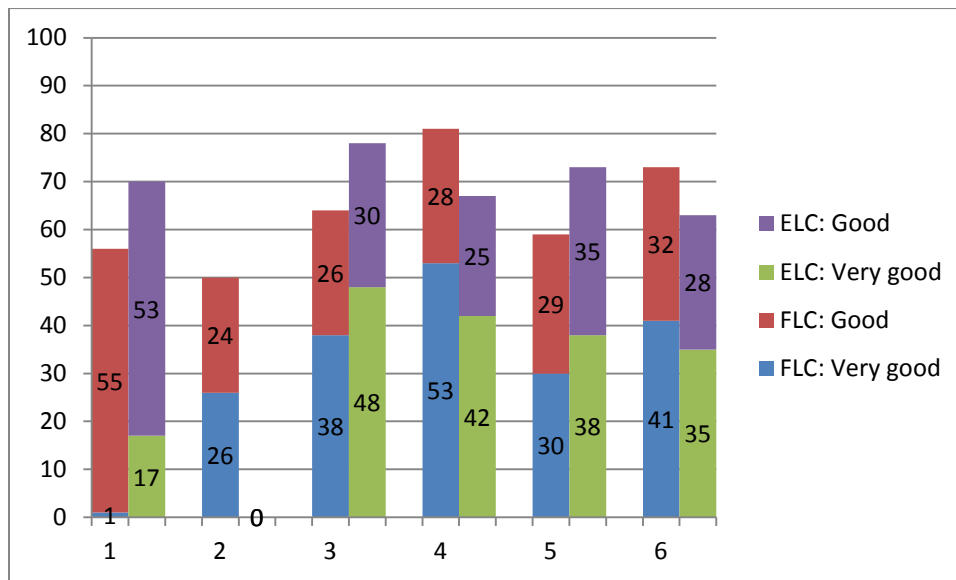


the Anglo-dominant environment on the FLMC, since it is only in New Brunswick that we were able to analyze data on children for whom the language spoken most often at home was not English (see 2nd column). Among New Brunswick children for whom the language spoken most often at home was not English, half of them had English speaking skills assessed as being good or very good.

With regards to reading skills in the official languages, the entire sample of children old enough to talk and capable of reading was analyzed (see column pairs 3 & 4). However, it's for the entire sample of children old enough to talk and capable of writing in

each OLMC that writing skills in the official languages were analyzed (see column pairs 5 & 6). It is interesting to note what would in part be the effect of the sociolinguistic context on these skills. When it comes to reading skills, we note that a higher proportion of ELMC children than of FLMC children have French reading skills that are assessed as being good or very good (see 3rd column pair). The opposite is true when it comes to English reading skills being assessed as good or very good (see 4th column pair). We observe the exact same phenomenon when we look at French writing skills (see 5th column pair) and English writing skills (see 6th column pair).

**GRAPH 4. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN EACH OLMC WHOSE SKILLS IN THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ARE ASSESSED AS GOOD OR VERY GOOD**



- 1 French speaking skills of children for whom the language spoken most often at home is not French
- 2 English speaking skills of children for whom the language spoken most often at home is not English (New Brunswick children only)
- 3 French reading skills of children old enough to talk and capable of reading
- 4 English reading skills of children old enough to talk and capable of reading
- 5 French writing skills of children old enough to talk and capable of writing
- 6 English writing skills of children old enough to talk and capable of writing

### 3. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The main interest of Canada's Official Language Minority Communities (OLMC) is



their preservation and development. When we examine the global picture given by the results of the analyses of the data on OLMC children and language, the first conclusion that we draw is that, generally speaking, it is mainly the proportion of persons belonging to one of the OLMC and their territorial concentration or social proximity that provides them with opportunities to use their language in various life situations. Although we did not conduct any correlational analyses, it is obvious that this proportion, when combined with socializing proximity, has a strong impact on the linguistic experiences, the linguistic behaviours and the language skills of children in the language of their community. In Annex A, we find information relating to population proportions (and their socializing proximity) of the FLMC in the different provinces and regions and of the ELMC in Quebec. We note, for example, that in northern and eastern New Brunswick, there are two Census divisions that are more than 80% francophone, two Census divisions that are more than 60% francophone and two Census divisions that are more than 40% francophone. In South-East Ontario, there is one Census division that is more than 60% francophone and two others that are approximately 20% francophone, while in the North-East, there are five Census divisions that are between 25% and 47% francophone. Finally, in Nova Scotia, there are four divisions that are between 15% and 33% francophone. In the ELMC, several Census divisions are more than 10% anglophone, and one division is 57% anglophone (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010).

In addition to the proportion and proximity or territorial concentration factors, there is the family structure factor. During recent decades in particular, the increasing

numbers of exogamous families and the concomitant decrease in endogamy rates in the OLMC have interested researchers (see, for example, Bouchard-Coulombe, 2011; Landry & Allard, 1997). According to the 2006 Census (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010), among francophones outside Quebec, the spouse's mother tongue is English in 40% of couples and another language in 5.3% of couples. In the FLMC, the francophone-anglophone exogamy rate is lowest in New Brunswick (16%); the rate is 42% in Ontario, 46% in Manitoba and varies between 53% and 70% in the other provinces and territories. The proportion of children coming from these exogamous couples among minority francophones is 66%, or two out of three children. Depending on the province and territory, between two in three children and nine in ten children come from exogamous couples, except in New Brunswick, where the proportion is approximately one in three children (Landry, 2010). In Quebec's anglophone community, the spouse's mother tongue is French in 32% of cases and a third language in 9% of cases (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010). In the ELMC, the proportion of children from anglophone-francophone exogamous couples in Quebec is approximately 45% and slightly more than 14% from anglophone-allophone couples (Corbeil, Chavez & Pereira, 2010). It is important to note that it has been demonstrated through empirical studies that there is no direct link between francophone-anglophone family structure, i.e. exogamy, and linguistic assimilation (or language transfer), but that such a structure affects the linguistic dynamics within the family (Landry & Allard, 1997). In turn, these linguistic dynamics play a role in the choice of the language of instruction as well as in other language choices that can contribute to language transfer.



We have seen that large proportions of OLMC children participate in organized sporting and non-sporting activities. Considering the interest of most children for activities of this nature, it is clear that they play a significant role in the construction of these children's identities as well as in the development of their sense of belonging to their community. Hence the importance of activities of this nature in the children's mother tongue, especially when they are in a minority situation (Dallaire, 2004). But the organization of such activities in the minority language is difficult if not impossible in situations where minorities are dispersed or low in number. In such situations, it is to be expected that the children from the linguistic minority will join groups of children from the linguistic majority of their region, which leads to negative linguistic consequences with which we are familiar for the minority language.

The media are particularly accessible, everywhere and at all times, due to the exponential development of new information technologies. But it is mainly the English language that has benefited from these developments. English, a hypercentral language (Calvet, 1999; de Swaan, 2001), dominates not only the global business and financial realms, but also significant portions of the artistic and cultural production which is now accessible almost everywhere via the Internet. Considering the attractiveness of English and English cultural products for children and youth in Canada, it is clear that the widespread distribution and consumption of English-language media represents both an enormous challenge for the FLMC as well an extraordinary resource for the ELMC.

When confronted with such realities, where do OLMC hopes for survival and development lie? Several authors of the recent composite work directed by Jedwab and Landry (2012) reflect upon potential answers to this question. We will limit ourselves to indicating once again that research results show that the child's primary linguistic socialization within the family and his or her language of instruction are particularly important factors in his or her identity development and identity commitment to the linguistic community (Deveau, Landry & Allard, submitted). Have the leaders of the OLMC been successful in reaching a majority of OLMC parents in their respective communities with this message? Are the parents in these communities aware of the consequences of their linguistic choices for their children? And when they are aware, what reasons explain why their behaviour does not reflect this consciousness? For the time being, in the FLMC, when we look at how the French language is used with a minority of children in the family context, whether it be in conversations or in the use of media, and when we consider the fact that a significant portion of these families do not even enrol their children in French language schools, it is clear that for some of these families, the transmission of French is not a fundamental value or one that they take to heart, i.e. a "core value", in the words of Smolicz (2002). When faced with such an observation, it is the responsibility of the FLMC to see to it that a social marketing campaign such as the one proposed by Landry and Rousselle (2003) be conducted to reach these families for whom the French language is, or could potentially become or be once again, a fundamental value. For the ELMC, its children's results are largely reflective of processes that are largely similar to those that influence the



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results of FLMC children. However, as we've seen, the dominant status that English enjoys internationally and the global presence of English-language cultural products are such that it is highly probable that Quebec's ELMC will preserve its language and culture even if ever-increasing

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numbers of its children become bilingual. Indeed, its challenge is more about preserving and developing itself as a community in Quebec (Bourhis, 2013; Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2013). To achieve that objective, its leaders will have to display initiative and creativity.

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**ANNEX A.****PROPORTION OF THE TARGETED POPULATION OF FLMC AND ELMC ADULTS AND CHILDREN  
(ADAPTED FROM CORBEIL, GRENIER, & LAFRENIÈRE, 2007)**

<b>FLMC: Provinces and territories (excluding Quebec)*</b>	<b>FLMC Adults (%)</b>	<b>FLMC Children (%)</b>	<b>Total (%)</b>
Total Canada	7.6	8.9	7.9
Newfoundland and Labrador	0.5	0.8	0.6
Prince Edward Island	5.0	5.8	5.2
Nova Scotia	4.0	5.5	4.7
New Brunswick	35.1	33.9	34.9
Ontario	5.5	6.7	5.8
Manitoba	5.1	6.1	5.4
Saskatchewan	2.4	2.8	2.5
Alberta	2.8	3.6	3.0
British Columbia	2.2	2.8	2.3
Territories	3.6	3.4	3.5
<b>Total Canada excluding Quebec</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>5.4</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions*</b>			
New Brunswick – North	79.3	78.9	79.2
New Brunswick – Remainder	8.8	11.2	9.3
New Brunswick – Southeast	51.9	51.6	51.8
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>35.1</b>	<b>33.9</b>	<b>34.9</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions*</b>			
Ontario – Northeast	28.1	33.9	29.3
Ontario – Ottawa	19.2	23.3	20.1
Ontario – Southeast	44.4	48.1	45.3
Ontario – Remainder	2.7	3.6	2.9
Ontario – Toronto	2.7	3.5	2.8
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>ELMC: Quebec and its regions*</b>	<b>ELMC Adults (%)</b>	<b>ELMC Children (%)</b>	<b>Total (%)</b>
Quebec – Estrie and South	9.7	11.5	10.1
Quebec – East	4.2	5.5	4.4
Quebec – Montreal	25.6	29.6	26.4
Quebec – West	14.5	19.6	15.7
Quebec – Quebec City region	1.7	3.0	2.0
Quebec – Remainder	3.2	4.5	3.5
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>15.0</b>	<b>18.4</b>	<b>15.7</b>



**ANNEX B.**

**TABLE 1. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MOST COMMONLY SPOKEN IN THE HOME TO THE CHILD TOO YOUNG TO TALK**

<b>FLMC: Regional data*</b>	<b>English (%)</b>	<b>French (%)</b>
New Brunswick – North	N/A	N/A
New Brunswick – Southeast	25	75
New Brunswick – Remainder/	N/A	N/A
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions*</b>		
Ontario – Northeast	50	50
Ontario – Ottawa	47	53
Ontario – Southeast	36	64
Ontario – Toronto	53	47
Ontario – Remainder	66	34
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>		
Quebec – East	N/A	N/A
Quebec – Estrie and South	N/A	N/A
Quebec – Montreal	58	42
Quebec – Quebec City region	55	45
Quebec – West	N/A	N/A
Quebec – Remainder	52	48
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 2. THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH BOOKS ARE READ AND STORIES TOLD TO CHILDREN AGED 14 OR LESS BY THE RESPONDENTS OR OTHER PERSONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD**

FLMC: Regional data*									
New Brunswick and its regions*	English only/English much more than French/English and another language			French and English equally	French much more than English/ French and another language		French only		
New Brunswick – North			7		37		27		30
New Brunswick – Southeast			8		34		31		27
New Brunswick – Remainder			28		43		17		12
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>			<b>13</b>		<b>38</b>		<b>26</b>		<b>23</b>
Ontario and its regions*	English only		English much more than French	French and English equally	French much more than English		French only		
Ontario – Northeast	5		18		34		24		19
Ontario – Ottawa	6		15		35		28		16
Ontario – Southeast	N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A
Ontario – Toronto	N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A		N/A
Ontario – Remainder	16		26		32		14		13
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>10</b>		<b>19</b>		<b>35</b>		<b>20</b>		<b>16</b>
ELMC*	English only		English much more than French	French and English equally	French much more than English	French and another language		French only	Other language
Quebec – Montreal	13	3	16	23	10	7	23	4	
Quebec – Other regions	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>4</b>	

\* All CVs are less than 1%





**TABLE 3. FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S) LEARNED BY THE CHILD AND STILL UNDERSTOOD AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY (ALL CHILDREN)**

FLMC: Regional data*	English (%)	French and English (%)	French (%)	Other language(s) (%)
New Brunswick – North	5	2	92	-
New Brunswick – Remainder	40	8	52	-
New Brunswick – Southeast	16	6	78	-
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>-</b>
Ontario – Northeast/Ontario Ottawa	29	9	58	5
Ontario – Remainder/Southeast	48	11	32	10
Ontario – Toronto	35	12	29	24
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>				
Quebec – Estrie and South/ Quebec – East	54	15	26	5
Quebec – Montreal	34	5	25	37
Quebec – West	44	16	28	12
Quebec – Remainder	35	23	39	3
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>32</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 4. FIRST OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN (FOLS) BY THE CHILD**

FLMC: Regional data *	English (%)	English and French (%)	French (%)
New Brunswick – North	N/A	N/A	N/A
New Brunswick – Remainder	N/A	N/A	N/A
New Brunswick – Southeast	20	2	78
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	18	1	80
Ontario – Northeast	37	2	60
Ontario – Ottawa	34	5	61
Ontario – Remainder	73	7	20
Ontario – Southeast	25	3	71
Ontario – Toronto	61	8	30
<b>Total Ontario</b>	51	5	43
<b>ELMC*</b>			
Quebec – Estrie and South	57	9	33
Quebec – East	62	8	30
Quebec – Montreal	42	11	46
Quebec – West	49	11	39
Quebec – Quebec City region	26	11	62
Quebec – Remainder	39	12	49
<b>Total Quebec</b>	43	11	45

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 5. LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE CHILD WATCHES TV, VIDEOCASSETTES AND DVDS**

FLMC: Regional data*	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
New Brunswick – North	8	14	26	3	19
New Brunswick – Southeast	24	36	22	12	6
New Brunswick – Remainder	41	35	13	7	4
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	19	25	22	21	12
<b>Ontario and its regions*</b>					
Ontario – Northeast	37	36	17	7	4
Ontario – Ottawa	31	38	20	7	4
Ontario – Southeast	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Toronto	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Remainder	45	35	13	5	2
<b>Total Ontario</b>	41	34	14	7	3
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – East	43	22	19	11	6
Quebec – Estrie and South	37	26	19	9	8
Quebec – Montreal	26	23	21	16	14
Quebec – Quebec City region	16	21	27	24	13
Quebec – West	33	28	24	11	4
Quebec – Remainder	25	27	24	13	10
<b>Total Quebec</b>	27	24	21	15	13

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: In English or in another language/In another language



**TABLE 6. LANGUAGE USED BY THE CHILD WHEN ON THE INTERNET**

FLMC: Regional data*	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
New Brunswick – North	10	11	30	22	27
New Brunswick – Southeast	23	28	30	11	8
New Brunswick – Remainder	35	36	18	7	5
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	19	22**	28	15	16
Ontario – Northeast	35	26	26	7	6
Ontario – Ottawa	31	36	22	5	6
Ontario – Southeast	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Toronto	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Remainder	60	24	11	2	3
<b>Total Ontario</b>	44	28**	18	6	5
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – East	51	12	21	8	8
Quebec – Estrie and South	41	21	15	11	13
Quebec – Montreal	31	20	22	12	15
Quebec – Quebec City region	21	20	23	20	17
Quebec – West	39	21	20	10	11
Quebec – Remainder	26	25	20	15	13
<b>Total Quebec</b>	32	20	22	12	14

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: In English or in another language



**TABLE 7. LANGUAGE OF ORGANIZED SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THE CHILD PARTICIPATED DURING THE PAST 12 MONTHS**

<b>FLMC: Regional data*</b>	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
New Brunswick – North	3	5	15	13	64
New Brunswick – Southeast	11	11	20	23	35
New Brunswick – Remainder	49	18	11	7	15
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	14	9	16	15	46
Ontario – Northeast	36	20	24	10	10
Ontario – Ottawa	42	28	16	4	10
Ontario – Southeast	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Toronto	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Remainder	83	8	4	2	3
<b>Total Ontario</b>	58	15	13	5	8
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – East	29	8	13	10	39
Quebec – Estrie and South	14	8	26	19	33
Quebec – Montreal	11	14	24	14	37
Quebec – Quebec City region	3	2	5	11	80
Quebec – West	13	8	29	15	35
Quebec – Remainder	5	8	15	19	52
<b>Total Quebec</b>	11	13	24	14	38

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: English or another language/Another language



**TABLE 8. LANGUAGE OF ORGANIZED NON-SPORTING ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THE CHILD PARTICIPATED DURING THE PREVIOUS TWELVE MONTHS**

FLMC: Regional data*	English only (%)	English much more than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French much more than English (%)	French only (%)
New Brunswick – North	3	4	12	11	69
New Brunswick – Southeast	13	10	16	22	39
New Brunswick – Remainder	49	18	14	5	15
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>49</b>
Ontario – Northeast	37	16	19	10	18
Ontario – Ottawa	38	21	15	5	21
Ontario – Southeast	15	8	24	14	38
Ontario – Remainder/Ontario – Toronto	79	10	6	1	4
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – East	31	9	16	9	35
Quebec – Estrie and South	21	9	21	14	34
Quebec – Montreal	19	13	19	11	38
Quebec – Quebec City region	5	5	9	14	68
Quebec – West	27	14	21	7	31
Quebec – Remainder	11	8	13	11	57
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>39</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%

\*\* Add: In French or in another language



**TABLE 9. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S) SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME BY CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO SPEAK IN ALL OF THE PROVINCES**

FLMC: Regional data	English (%)	French and English (%)	French (%)
New Brunswick – North	6	3	90
New Brunswick – Southeast	20	7	74
New Brunswick – Remainder	48	5	47
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>77</b>
Ontario – Northeast	45	8	47
Ontario – Ottawa	40	11	49
Ontario – Southeast	29	8	63
Ontario – Toronto	65	9	26
Ontario – Remainder	77	10	13
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>			
Quebec – East	59	11	30
Quebec – Estrie and South	59	12	29
Quebec – Montreal	51	6	43
Quebec – Quebec City region	22	15	64
Quebec – West	53	10	37
Quebec – Remainder	37	19	43
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>43</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 10. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME WITH SIBLINGS  
BY CHILDREN WHO SPEAK MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE IN THE HOME**

<b>FLMC: Regional data*</b>	<b>English (%)</b>	<b>French (%)</b>
New Brunswick – North	32	68
New Brunswick – Southeast	30	70
New Brunswick – Remainder	49	51
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>64</b>
Ontario – Northeast/Ontario – Ottawa	56	44
Ontario – Southeast/	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Toronto	N/A	N/A
Ontario – Remainder	86	14
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>ELMC: Quebec and its regions*</b>		
Quebec – East/Quebec – Estrie and South	55	45
Quebec – Montreal	47	53
Quebec – Quebec City region/Quebec – Remainder	43	57
Quebec – West	48	52
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>53</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%





**TABLE 11. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY CHILDREN WITH THEIR FRIENDS**

FLMC: Regional data*	English only (%)	French and English (%)	French only (%)
New Brunswick – North	7	14	80
New Brunswick – Southeast	17	19	63
New Brunswick – Remainder	44	26	30
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>65</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>			
Ontario – Northeast	41	30	30
Ontario – Ottawa	42	28	30
Ontario – Southeast	27	24	49
Ontario – Toronto	68	21	11
Ontario – Remainder	75	19	7
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>			
Quebec – East	49	16	35
Quebec – Estrie and South	39	27	34
Quebec – Montreal	33	20	46
Quebec – Quebec City region	8	16	75
Quebec – West	32	26	42
Quebec – Remainder	19	25	56
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>46</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 12. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN WITH FRIENDS BEFORE STARTING SCHOOL**

FLMC: Regional data*	English (%)	French (%)
New Brunswick – North	8	92
New Brunswick – Southeast	25	75
New Brunswick – Remainder	52	48
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>78</b>
Ontario – Northeast	42	58
Ontario – Ottawa	48	52
Ontario – Southeast	29	71
Ontario – Toronto	77	23
Ontario – Remainder	84	16
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>		
Quebec – East	65	35
Quebec – Estrie and South	61	39
Quebec – Montreal	54	46
Quebec – Quebec City region	19	81
Quebec – West	51	49
Quebec – Remainder	36	64
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>47</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 13. OFFICIAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN WITH FRIENDS DURING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING**

FLMC: Regional data*	English (%)	French (%)
New Brunswick – North	8	92
New Brunswick – Southeast	21	79
New Brunswick – Remainder	43	57
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions*</b>		
Ontario – Northeast	42	58
Ontario – Ottawa	43	57
Ontario – Southeast	33	67
Ontario – Toronto	74	26
Ontario – Remainder	81	19
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>		
Quebec – East	62	38
Quebec – Estrie and South	60	40
Quebec – Montreal	46	54
Quebec – Quebec City region	29	71
Quebec – West	48	52
Quebec – Remainder	44	56
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>54</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 14. LANGUAGE(S), AMONG FRENCH AND ENGLISH, KNOWN WELL ENOUGH BY THE CHILD TO HAVE A CONVERSATION**

FLMC: Regional data*	English only (%)	French and English (%)	French only (%)
New Brunswick – North	2	37	61
New Brunswick – Southeast	10	67	23
New Brunswick – Remainder	28	58	14
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions*</b>			
Ontario – Northeast	19	70	11
Ontario – Ottawa	17	70	13
Ontario – Southeast	11	64	24
Ontario – Toronto	42	51	7
Ontario – Remainder	50	48	3
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>			
Quebec – East	38	45	17
Quebec – Estrie and South	23	55	22
Quebec – Montreal	16	53	31
Quebec – Quebec City region	7	55	39
Quebec – West	23	58	19
Quebec – Remainder	13	59	29
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>30</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 15. FRENCH SPEAKING SKILLS OF CHILDREN FOR WHOM FRENCH IS NOT THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME**

FLMC: Regional data*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to speak French (%)
New Brunswick – North	19	19	39	22	-
New Brunswick – Southeast	35	22	21	23	-
New Brunswick – Remainder	39	17	25	19	-
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>-</b>
Ontario – Northeast	32	19	23	20	6
Ontario – Ottawa	23	20	25	28	4
Ontario – Southeast	28	22	23	22	5
Ontario – Toronto	30	14	20	23	13
Ontario – Remainder	32	18	19	21	9
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – East	29	29	22	21	-
Quebec – Estrie and South	21	19	23	37	-
Quebec – Montreal	16	18	29	37	-
Quebec – Quebec City region	16	10	23	51	-
Quebec – West	25	21	22	32	-
Quebec – Remainder	20	20	22	38	-
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>-</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 16. ENGLISH SPEAKING SKILLS OF CHILDREN FOR WHOM ENGLISH IS NOT THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME**

FLMC: Regional data*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to speak English (%)
New Brunswick – North	29	23	19	20	8
New Brunswick – Southeast	16	17	34	30	3
New Brunswick – Remainder	11	17	24	46	2
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>6</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 17. FRENCH READING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF READING**

<b>FLMC: Regional data*</b>	<b>Weak (%)</b>	<b>Passable (%)</b>	<b>Good (%)</b>	<b>Very good (%)</b>	<b>Unable to read French (%)</b>
New Brunswick – North	6	12	33	49	-
New Brunswick – Southeast	9	13	34	45	-
New Brunswick – Remainder	17	9	32	42	-
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>-</b>
Ontario – Northeast	15	10	28	46	-
Ontario – Ottawa	8	15	25	51	-
Ontario – Southeast	10	13	30	48	-
Ontario – Toronto	23	13	31	33	-
Ontario – Remainder	29	13	27	32	-
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – East	24	21	25	31	-
Quebec – Estrie and South	16	16	31	37	-
Quebec – Montreal	7	13	31	49	-
Quebec – Quebec City region	9	9	27	55	-
Quebec – West	18	15	22	45	-
Quebec – Remainder	8	17	28	46	-
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>-</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 18. ENGLISH READING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF READING**

FLMC: Regional data*	Weak (%)	Satisfactory (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to read/Unable to read English
New Brunswick – North	20	25	27	20	9
New Brunswick – Southeast	13	13	36	32	5
New Brunswick – Remainder	12	15	26	44	4
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	16	19	30	29	7
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>					
Ontario – Northeast	8	14	30	45	3
Ontario – Ottawa	9	9	26	51	4
Ontario – Southeast	13	13	30	38	6
Ontario – Remainder/Ontario – Toronto	6	7	25	61	1
<b>Total Ontario</b>	8	10	27	53	3
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec– East/ Quebec– Estrie and South	12	15	25	46	3
Quebec – Montreal	16	13	25	41	5
Quebec – Quebec City region/Quebec – Remainder	19	12	22	43	4
Quebec – West	15	9	21	50	6
<b>Total Quebec</b>	16	13	25	42	4

\* All CVs are less than 1%





**TABLE 19. FRENCH WRITING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF WRITING**

FLMC: Regional data*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to write French (%)
New Brunswick – North	5	14	40	41	-
New Brunswick – Southeast	8	21	37	34	-
New Brunswick – Remainder	21	11	35	33	-
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	9	16	38	37	-
Ontario – Northeast	18	12	32	36	3
Ontario – Ottawa	12	17	26	42	3
Ontario – Southeast	12	13	33	39	3
Ontario – Toronto	23	12	29	23	13
Ontario – Remainder	31	13	26	25	6
<b>Total Ontario</b>	21	14	28	32	5
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – Montreal	9	15	36	39	1
Other Quebec regions	n.d	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<b>Total Quebec</b>	10	15	35	38	1

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**TABLE 20. ENGLISH WRITING SKILLS OF CHILDREN OLD ENOUGH TO TALK AND CAPABLE OF WRITING**

FLMC: Regional data*	Weak (%)	Passable (%)	Good (%)	Very good (%)	Unable to write English (%)
New Brunswick – North	24	23	31	14	8
New Brunswick – Southeast	14	21	35	25	4
New Brunswick – Remainder	12	15	35	36	2
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>7</b>
Ontario – Northeast	11	16	37	33	3
Ontario – Ottawa	13	13	31	38	5
Ontario – Southeast	13	15	33	30	6
Ontario – Toronto/ Ontario – Remainder	8	10	29	51	2
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>ELMC*</b>					
Quebec – Estrie and South/Quebec – East/Quebec – Remainder	15	15	29	39	2
Quebec – Montreal	18	15	27	35	5
Quebec – Quebec City region	26	16	23	30	5
Quebec – West	15	11	31	37	6
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>4</b>

\* All CVs are less than 1%



**CHAPTER 2**  
**FROM PRESCHOOL TO POST-  
SECONDARY EDUCATION:  
ENROLMENTS OF OLMC'S  
CHILDREN IN MINORITY  
LANGUAGE INSTITUTIONS**

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## CHAPTER 2

# FROM PRESCHOOL TO POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION: ENROLMENTS OF OLMC'S CHILDREN IN MINORITY LANGUAGE INSTITUTIONS

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### INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an analysis of the extent to which children from official language minority communities (OLMC) attend child care facilities, preschools, kindergartens and schools in the minority language. There is no doubt that attending minority-language educational institutions is a decisive factor in maintaining strong OLMCs. These institutions serve as an extension of family life and, along with families, ensure that children receive the early socialization necessary for effective language acquisition. Sometimes, especially in the case of an exogamous family structure (inter-linguistic or mixed language couples), the minority language may not be used extensively at home, and the child care facility, preschool, kindergarten or school are the only spaces where social interaction takes place predominantly in the minority language (Landry, 2010).

Extensive statistics on these enrolment patterns (particularly in schools) were presented in the Statistics Canada 2006 post-census survey results (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007). With the help of these earlier analyses and of further analyses, this study provides an overview of the enrolment patterns in minority-language educational institutions. First, we will outline the situation in child care facilities, followed by kindergartens. Next, we will review some of the statistics presented by Corbeil, Grenier and

Lafrenière (2007) regarding the school system and include the results of complimentary analyses. The chapter will end with a presentation of parents' estimates about their children's intention to attend post-secondary institutions in the minority language after completing their high school education.

The post census survey results on official language minorities presented in this chapter are drawn from interviews with the parents of children surveyed in the Statistics Canada study. The tables present descriptive statistics pertaining to francophones in each of the provinces and to anglophones in Quebec. For most of the variables analyzed, regional tables for Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec are included. It should be noted that the sample size does not allow us to present results for each of the three territories (Yukon, North-West Territories and Nunavut) separately; the data is grouped under the "Territories" category.

It should also be noted that these statistics reflect the total group of parents in the samples of the francophone population outside of Quebec and of the English population in Quebec, as these populations were defined by Statistics Canada for the purposes of the survey. In other words, parents in the "outside Quebec" sample are people whose first language learned and still understood is French, or allophones (whose mother tongue is neither French nor



English) whose first official language is French. Similarly, the anglophone population of Quebec includes parents whose first language is English and allophones whose first official language is English (see Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007).

It is important to remember that, for the purposes of this chapter, parents have not been categorized according to whether or not they are right holders in respect to section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. Various criteria can be used to define right holders under section 23, i.e. those who have the right to enrol their children in a minority-language school and to manage these minority schools (Power and Foucher, 2004; Landry and Rousselle, 2003). The criteria are more stringent in Quebec than in the other provinces and territories, as the parents' mother tongue and Canadian citizenship are not sufficient in Quebec to guarantee the right to enrol their children in a minority language school. The *Charter of the French Language* in Quebec prohibits francophones, anglophones and allophones who do not meet the criteria set out in section 23 to attend English-language schools (Foucher, 2013). In Quebec, two general criteria apply, aside from being a Canadian citizen. The parents have to have been themselves schooled in English in Canada during their primary education or have one or more children that have or are being schooled in an English-language school in Canada. These two criteria apply as additional criteria along with mother tongue and Canadian citizenship to give access to minority education in francophone school districts outside Quebec; however, numerous students whose parents do not, strictly speaking, meet any of the criteria in section

23, have been or can be admitted to French-language schools when the admission committee approves the parents' request. Given the complex nature of the criteria in section 23, this study compares the situations of OLMCs without considering the legal status of the parents. The only criterion applied is whether the parent is a member of the language group considered by virtue of his or her mother tongue or first official language. This criterion enables us, to some extent, to better compare the two official language communities, since section 23 does not apply the same criteria to the two language groups.

It is therefore important to interpret with caution the profile differences in enrolments in educational institutions between the two official language communities. The differences in language dynamics experienced by these communities will be reviewed in our conclusion. Another study (Landry and Chennouf, forthcoming) attempts to identify, through multivariate analyses, the factors that most influence enrolment in educational institutions of the francophone minority. In the final section of this chapter, we will discuss the power dynamics and demographic influences that limit the enrolment in OLMC schools. We will begin with enrolment in child care facilities.



## 1. CHILD CARE AND PRESCHOOL ACTIVITIES

Data is available for two categories of children who may have received child care services: those who, at the time of the interview, were school-aged and may have attended a child care facility in early childhood, and those who were preschoolers and of an eligible age to receive child care services at the time of the interview.

### 1.1 Types of Child Care

Table 1 shows the percentages of school-aged children who were enrolled in a child care facility before beginning school, according to the types of child care. We observe that the majority of children in the

sample outside Quebec (59.08%) attend a public or private child care facility, and that approximately one third (34.77%) received home daycare or a babysitter's services. A small percentage (6.16%) experienced both types of child care. The percentage of school-aged children who attended a public or private child care facility was highest (70.27%) in Newfoundland and Labrador and lowest (30.24%) in Saskatchewan. Percentages ranged from 48.66% to 66.66% in the other provinces and territories.



**TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN WHO RECEIVED CHILD CARE SERVICES BEFORE BEGINNING SCHOOL, ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF CHILD CARE**

Provinces	Type of child care facility		
	Home daycare or babysitter (%)	Public or private child care facility (%)	Both (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	25.59	70.27	N.D.
Prince Edward Island	31.48	65.76	N.D.
Nova Scotia	27.87	60.13	12.00
New Brunswick	26.07	66.66	7.27
Ontario	35.35	58.61	6.03
Manitoba	42.65	54.61	2.74
Saskatchewan	64.50	30.24	N.D.
Alberta	45.94	48.66	5.40
British Columbia	30.11	64.48	N.D.
Territories	29.46	63.03	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>34.77</b>	<b>59.08</b>	<b>6.16</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>			
North	25.40	68.80	5.80
Centre and southwest	21.61	70.91	7.48
Southeast	29.77	60.80	9.43
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>26.07</b>	<b>66.66</b>	<b>7.27</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>			
Northeast	33.34	60.53	6.13
Ottawa	40.23	52.05	7.72
Other	34.75	59.84	5.41
Southeast	46.18	48.68	5.15
Toronto	16.61	78.55	4.85
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>35.35</b>	<b>58.61</b>	<b>6.03</b>



Quebec and its regions			
Estrie and south	38.65	59.75	N.D.
East	52.85	41.85	N.D.
Montréal	17.67	79.83	2.50
West	43.30	51.51	5.19
Quebec City region	27.95	64.17	7.88
Other	36.05	59.25	4.70
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>20.78</b>	<b>76.40</b>	<b>2.82</b>

This table shows that there is a marked variation in the percentages of children who had received child care services, depending on the region, in New Brunswick and Ontario. In New Brunswick, enrolment in public or private child care facilities is lower in southeastern New Brunswick than in the two other regions. In Ontario, Toronto is distinct in that enrolment in a public or private child care facility is higher than in other regions.

It is in Quebec that the percentage of school-aged children who have attended a public or private child care facility before beginning school is the highest (76.40%). In the eastern and western regions of Quebec, the rates are lower than elsewhere. In the Montreal region, however, the percentage is higher than in any other region; here, eight school-aged children out of ten attended a public or private child care facility.





**TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN TOO YOUNG TO ATTEND SCHOOL WHO ARE RECEIVING CHILD CARE SERVICES, ACCORDING TO THE TYPE OF CHILD CARE**

Provinces	Type of child care	
	Home daycare or babysitter (%)	Public or private child care facility (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	33.34	66.66
Prince Edward Island	46.08	53.92
Nova Scotia	31.10	68.90
New Brunswick	43.21	56.79
Ontario	46.80	53.20
Manitoba	33.93	66.07
Saskatchewan	65.65	34.35
Alberta	47.46	52.54
British Columbia	42.37	57.63
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
Canada outside Quebec	44.80	55.20
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	32.32	67.68
Centre and southwest	48.83	51.17
Southeast	53.55	46.45
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>43.21</b>	<b>56.79</b>



Ontario and its regions		
North	47.20	52.80
Ottawa	58.89	41.11
Other	42.75	57.25
Southeast	59.00	41.00
Toronto	18.15	81.85
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>46.80</b>	<b>53.20</b>
Quebec and its regions		
Estrie and south	45.92	54.08
East	48.59	51.41
Montréal	30.56	69.44
West	46.92	53.08
Quebec City region	47.20	52.80
Other	52.55	47.45
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>32.73</b>	<b>67.27</b>

Table 2 shows the figures for child care services according to the type of child care, for children who were of preschool age at the time of the survey. The results for the sample of francophones outside Quebec indicate that the percentage of children of preschool age receiving child care services in a family daycare or from a babysitter in 2006 was higher than that of school-aged children (44.80% vs. 34.77%). Only slightly more than half of preschool-aged children (55.20%) attended a public or private child care facility. The highest rates of attendance were found in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Labrador, and Manitoba. Saskatchewan differs from the other provinces in that it has a much lower rate (34.35%) of attendance. In New Brunswick and in

Ontario, the rates are similar to the average outside of Quebec, but some regional variations were observed. Enrolment in a public or private child care facility was very high in Toronto.

In Quebec, the average rate of enrolment in a public or private child care facility was higher than in the other provinces. However, we observed that, as in the case of the other provinces, the enrolment rate is lower among preschool-aged children than for school-aged children. The rate is highest (69.44%) in Montreal, and this rate explains why the average attendance rate is higher in Quebec than in the other provinces.

To summarize, for both school-aged children and preschool-aged children, the

enrolment rate in public or private child care facilities tends to rise in large cities such as Montréal and Toronto. As for the differences between preschoolers and school-aged children, they are relatively small and can be explained by the greater preference of parents to use family daycare or the services of babysitters, by a lack of availability of child care facilities, by the fact that the cohort of children of preschool age includes a proportion of children too young to attend public or private child care facilities, or by a combination of these factors. Furthermore, it should be noted that Table 2 contains only two categories of responses, whereas Table 1 contains an additional category that includes both types of child care. This difference in the question format could also be a factor to take into consideration.

## **1.2 Language of Child Care**

Table 3 shows the language of child care services received by school-aged children who were cared for at a home daycare or by a babysitter before they attended school. In the sample of francophones outside Quebec, fewer than half of the children received French-language services (47.57%). The rates vary considerably, depending on the province. New Brunswick is unique among the provinces for its relatively high rate of French-language services (79.31%). Approximately one out of every two children received French-language services in Ontario (51.00%) and in Manitoba (48.89%). In every other province, a large or very large majority of children received English-language care.

**TABLE 3. LANGUAGE OF CHILD CARE FOR SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN WHO**



## RECEIVED SERVICES IN A HOME DAYCARE OR FROM A BABYSITTER BEFORE ATTENDING SCHOOL

Provinces	Language of services	
	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	57.28	42.72
Prince Edward Island	59.26	40.74
Nova Scotia	76.64	23.36
New Brunswick	20.69	79.31
Ontario	49.00	51.00
Manitoba	51.11	48.89
Saskatchewan	88.15	11.85
Alberta	83.95	16.05
British Columbia	74.54	25.46
Territories	N.A.	N.A.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>52.43</b>	<b>47.57</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	9.80	90.20
Centre and southwest	63.51	36.49
Southeast	16.52	83.48
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>20.69</b>	<b>79.31</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
Northeast	29.12	70.88
Ottawa	47.75	52.25
Other	66.40	33.60
Southeast	18.75	81.25
Toronto	89.18	10.82
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>49.00</b>	<b>51.00</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Etrie and south	42.99	57.01
East	40.65	59.35
Montréal	38.75	61.25
West	36.04	63.96
Quebec City region	11.49	88.51
Other	26.34	73.66
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>37.29</b>	<b>62.71</b>

In New Brunswick, while a strong majority of school-aged children in northern and southeastern New Brunswick who had

received services from a home daycare or a babysitter had benefited from French-language services, the situation is quite



different in central and southwestern New Brunswick, where nearly two-thirds of the children (63.51%) had received English-language services. In Ontario, there were also wide variations between regions. Approximately seven out of ten children (70.88%) in northeastern Ontario and eight out of ten children (81.25%) in southeastern Ontario have received French-language services at a home daycare or from a babysitter; in other regions the percentages were much lower, reflecting the lower demographic density of francophones in the region. Notably, only one child out of ten (10.82%) received French-language child care services in the Greater Toronto Area.

In Quebec, slightly more than six school-aged children out of ten (62.71%) had received services in the language of the majority in their home daycare or from their babysitter. In Quebec City and the surrounding area, the situation was different from elsewhere: only a small percentage of children received services in the minority language (11.49%). In other words, among anglophones in Quebec, the situation in areas where French predominates, such as Quebec City, is very similar to that of francophones outside Quebec who live in areas where English predominates, such as Toronto.

Table 4 shows the data pertaining to the language of child care facilities attended by school-aged children who were enrolled in public or private child care facilities before starting school. The figures are, in large

part, the same as the findings for home daycare and babysitting situations. In French-language communities outside Quebec, slightly fewer than one child out of two (48.67%) has attended a French-language public or private child care facility. New Brunswick stands out from the other provinces, with 80.37% of children receiving French-language services. Interestingly, the second highest percentage (65.26%) occurs in the three territories. Ontario and Manitoba follow, with slightly more than four children out of ten attending French-language child care facilities. In New Brunswick, a majority of children in every region were enrolled in francophone facilities. In Ontario, a majority of children benefited from French-language child care facilities in three of the five regions: southeastern Ontario (79.04%), northeastern Ontario (60.42%) and the Ottawa region (58.10%).

In Quebec, nearly six school-aged children out of ten (58.47%) have attended a public or private child care facility that offered French-language services before they started school. However, the findings for Montreal were different; 44.08% children had attended an English-language child care facility. Similarly, in the region of Quebec, fewer than 10% of children had attended a child care facility in the minority language. Outside the Montreal region, it is less than 30% of the children that were cared for in the minority language.

**TABLE 4. LANGUAGE OF CHILD CARE FOR SCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN WHO WERE ENROLLED IN A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE CHILD CARE FACILITY BEFORE STARTING SCHOOL**

Language of services



Provinces	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	84.25	15.75
Prince Edward Island	62.10	37.90
Nova Scotia	62.99	37.01
New Brunswick	19.63	80.37
Ontario	53.57	46.43
Manitoba	63.29	36.71
Saskatchewan	57.51	42.49
Alberta	73.18	26.82
British Columbia	82.59	17.41
Territories	34.74	65.26
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>51.33</b>	<b>48.67</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	12.46	87.54
Centre and southwest	34.55	65.45
Southeast	21.72	78.28
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>19.63</b>	<b>80.37</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
Northeast	39.58	60.42
Ottawa	41.90	58.10
Other	70.68	29.32
Southeastern Ontario	20.96	79.04
Toronto	67.27	32.73
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>53.57</b>	<b>46.43</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Etrie and south	28.07	71.93
East	29.91	70.09
Montréal	44.08	55.92
West	24.01	75.99
Quebec City region	8.72	91.28
Other	18.92	81.08
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>41.53</b>	<b>58.47</b>

In the situation of child care services received by children of preschool age, the number of children surveyed did not allow us to obtain valid percentages for some of the provinces. The findings for New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec are shown

below. The other Atlantic provinces were grouped together, as were provinces west of Ontario and the Territories. Table 5 presents the data for children of preschool age who received services at a home daycare or from a babysitter. Outside

Quebec, the percentage of children receiving French-language services is slightly lower than that of school-aged children (45.36% versus 47.57%; see Table 3). New Brunswick, where 70.68% of children received French-language in-home services, ranks far higher than the average of the other provinces.

Ontario falls slightly below the average for areas outside Quebec, with 43.28% of children of preschool age who are receiving services at a home daycare or from a babysitter benefiting from French-language services. In the other provinces, fewer than

three children out of ten receive French-language services.

In Quebec, nearly three-quarters of the preschool-aged children (73.92%) are in home day-cares where the language of the majority is used. This rate is considerably higher than that of school-aged children (62.71%; see Table 3). The region of western Quebec has the highest percentage of children receiving English-language services in home daycare or from babysitters (41.63%).

**TABLE 5. LANGUAGE OF CHILD CARE FOR PRESCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN WHO WERE RECEIVING SERVICES IN A HOME DAYCARE OR FROM A BABYSITTER AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY**

Provinces	Language of services	
	English (%)	French (%)
New Brunswick	29.32	70.68
Ontario	56.72	43.28
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island/ Nova Scotia	73.76	26.24
Manitoba/Saskatchewan/Alberta/British Columbia/Territories	72.47	27.53
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>54.64</b>	<b>45.36</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Estrie and south	33.99	66.01
East	N.D.	N.D.
Montréal	25.81	74.19
West	41.63	58.37
Quebec City region	N.D.	N.D.
Other	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>26.08</b>	<b>73.92</b>

Table 6 shows the language of services received by preschool-aged children who attended a public or private child care facility in 2006. Only four children out of ten (41.28%) in the sample of francophones outside Quebec attended a francophone public or private child care facility. This

percentage is lower than that of school-aged children who had attended a francophone facility before starting school (48.67%; see Table 4). As in the previous table, it is only in New Brunswick that a majority (71.85%) of children in the



francophone sample are enrolled in French-language child care facilities. As for Quebec, the percentage of children enrolled in a public or private child care facility in the minority language is 33.98%. Again, this

percentage is lower than that of school-aged children who received minority-language services while attending a public or private child care facility in the past (41.53%; see Table 4)

**TABLE 6. LANGUAGE OF CHILD CARE FOR PRESCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN WHO WERE ENROLLED IN A PUBLIC OR PRIVATE CHILD CARE FACILITY AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY**

Provinces	Language of services	
	English (%)	French (%)
New Brunswick	28.15	71.85
Ontario	62.18	37.82
Newfoundland and Labrador/Prince Edward Island/ Nova Scotia	59.47	40.53
Manitoba/Saskatchewan/Alberta/British Columbia/Territories	81.21	18.79
Canada outside Quebec	58.72	41.28
Total Quebec	33.98	66.02

### 1.3 Parents' Language Preferences for Daycare

How do the numerous parents whose children received child care services in the language of the majority feel about the situation? Would they have preferred that their child receive services in the minority language? Table 7 shows the proportion of

parents of children now in school who would have preferred that they receive minority-language child care services. Approximately one parent out of every two in the sample of francophones outside Quebec would have preferred to have child care services in the minority language (50.08%). The preference in different

provinces ranges from a low of 37.03% in Nova Scotia to high of 62.49% in Newfoundland and Labrador. In Quebec, however, only one parent out of four (24.28%) would have preferred to have child care in English. It is in regions where French predominates that the proportion of parents who would have preferred that their child receive child care services in English is higher (the Quebec City region and in areas included in “other” Quebec regions). Although it is not as clearly defined, a similar trend can be observed among francophone respondents. In places where parents have less access to child care services in the language of the minority because of their demographic situation (i.e. where there are very small minority language populations), the choice of the



language of child care services is less voluntary. It is possible that the limited or non-existent availability of services in their preferred language are at the root of the parents' lack of satisfaction in regards to the language of child care services their children

received. In these regions where French predominates, child care services in English could be perceived as one of the only means of preparing the child to attend the minority school.



**TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHOSE CHILD RECEIVED CHILD CARE SERVICES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAJORITY WHO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED RECEIVING SERVICES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MINORITY**

Provinces	Preference for minority-language services	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	62.49	37.51
Prince Edward Island	52.29	47.71
Nova Scotia	37.03	62.97
New Brunswick	42.96	57.04
Ontario	51.79	48.21
Manitoba	50.56	49.44
Saskatchewan	43.01	56.99
Alberta	46.71	53.29
British Columbia	54.47	45.53
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>50.08</b>	<b>49.92</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Estrie and south	23.83	76.17
East	34.32	65.68
Montréal	23.98	76.02
West	N.D.	N.D.
Quebec City region	38.51	61.49
Other	41.45	58.55
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>24.28</b>	<b>75.72</b>



Table 8 shows the proportion of parents whose children were receiving child care services in the language of the majority at the time of the survey and who would have preferred that they receive minority-language services. Outside Quebec, the proportion is much higher than for parents of school-aged children. Nearly two out of three parents (65.48%) of preschool children would have preferred that their child receive services in the language of the minority, compared to 50.08% of parents of school-aged children (see Table 7). The proportion ranges from 47.73% to 70.76% in

these provinces. Because the situation of parents of preschoolers is more immediate, rather than a recalled situation from the past, parents may have a greater sense of regret about their limited access to minority-language services. In Quebec, the proportion of parents of preschool-aged children who would have preferred that their child receive minority-language services is a little higher (29.07%) than that of parents of school-aged children. Depending on the region, the percentage ranges from 29.03% to 44.30%.

**TABLE 8. PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHOSE CHILD WAS RECEIVING CHILD CARE SERVICES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAJORITY AT THE TIME OF THE SURVEY WHO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED RECEIVING SERVICES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MINORITY**

Provinces	Preference for minority-language services	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	57.63	42.37
Prince Edward Island	N.D.	N.D.
Nova Scotia	68.38	31.62
New Brunswick	60.57	39.43
Ontario	70.76	29.24
Manitoba	N.D.	N.D.
Saskatchewan	55.29	44.71
Alberta	47.73	52.27
British Columbia	59.29	40.71
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>65.48</b>	<b>34.52</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Etrie and south	32.48	67.52
East	34.98	65.02
Montréal	29.03	70.97
West	N.D.	N.D.
Quebec City region	44.30	55.70
Other	43.51	56.49
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>29.07</b>	<b>70.93</b>



### 1.4 Language of Preschool Activities

Parents of preschoolers also reported on the language of activities or programs in which their children were enrolled. These findings are presented in Table 9. Although data is not available for all provinces, the information shows that 63.57% of children in the francophone sample take part in English-language activities or programs. The only province in which a substantial proportion (71.19%) of francophone children in the sample take part in French-language activities is New Brunswick. It is

important to note, however, that the percentages in New Brunswick and Ontario vary considerably from one region to another. More French-language programs are offered in regions where there is a greater geographical density of francophones.

In Quebec, the percentage of children (60.67%) participating in majority-language programs and activities is very similar to that of francophones in minority situations. Depending on the region, the percentages vary from 48.89% to 73.57%.

**TABLE 9. LANGUAGE OF ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMS IN WHICH PRESCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN ARE ENROLLED**

Provinces	Language of activities or programs	
	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	N.D.	N.D.
Prince Edward Island	67.29	32.71
Nova Scotia	79.97	20.03
New Brunswick	27.81	72.19
Ontario	64.13	35.87
Manitoba	75.32	24.68
Saskatchewan	N.D.	N.D.
Alberta	N.D.	N.D.
British Columbia	N.D.	N.D.
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
Canada outside Quebec	63.57	36.43

New Brunswick and its regions		
North	9.78	90.22
Centread southwest	62.39	37.61
Southeast	30.03	69.97
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>27.81</b>	<b>72.19</b>
Ontario and its regions		
Northeast	39.01	60.99
Ottawa	60.28	39.72
Other	81.16	18.84
Southeast	38.36	61.64
Toronto	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>64.13</b>	<b>35.87</b>
Quebec and its regions		
Estrie and south	30.73	69.27
East	N.D.	N.D.
Montréal	39.15	60.85
West	51.11	48.89
Quebec City region	26.43	73.57
Other	42.75	57.25
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>39.33</b>	<b>60.67</b>

### 1.5 Language of Preference for Preschool Activities

Because parents do not always have the choice of having activities in the language of the majority or the language of the minority, the survey asked parents if they would have preferred that their children take part in minority-language activities when they had indicated that their children

attended majority-language programs. The findings are presented in Table 10.

Three out of every four parents in the “francophone outside Quebec” sample would have preferred having French-language activities for their children (75.18%). In Quebec, though, 44.05% of parents would have preferred to have their children take part in minority-language



activities. The regions of southern Quebec and the Estrie (Eastern Townships) were notably different, in that 68.38% of parents

expressed a preference for English-language activities.

**TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHOSE CHILD IS CURRENTLY TAKING PART IN PRESCHOOL ACTIVITIES OR PROGRAMS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAJORITY WHO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED ACTIVITIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MINORITY**

Provinces	Preference for minority-language services	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	N.D.	N.D.
Prince Edward Island	N.D.	N.D.
Nova Scotia	74.73	25.27
New Brunswick	63.39	36.61
Ontario	78.43	21.57
Manitoba	59.52	40.48
Saskatchewan	N.D.	N.D.
Alberta	77.68	22.32
British Columbia	72.71	27.29
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>75.18</b>	<b>24.82</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Estrie and south	68.38	31.62
East	N.D.	N.D.
Montréal	45.03	54.97
West	N.D.	N.D.
Quebec City region	37.02	62.98
Other	38.04	61.96
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>44.05</b>	<b>55.95</b>



## **2. KINDERGARTEN**

In this section, we present the data pertaining to kindergarten enrolment. Because public pre-kindergartens are not available in certain provinces, information for them is not included. As was the case for child care services, the children are divided into two categories: school-aged children who attended kindergarten before grade one and preschoolers who were attending kindergarten at the time of the survey.

### **2.1 Language of Kindergarten**

Table 11 shows the language of education received by children the year before they attended grade one. In the francophone sample, 58.84% of children were enrolled in a French-language kindergarten program. New Brunswick has the highest percentage of pupils who attend French-language kindergarten programs (82.80%), followed by Ontario (60.60%). One child out of two attended a French-language kindergarten in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Manitoba. Elsewhere in Canada, the proportion is 3 or 4 children out of ten.



**TABLE 11. LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION AMONG PUPILS WHO ATTENDED SCHOOL THE YEAR BEFORE ENTERING GRADE ONE**

Provinces	Language of education	
	English/Immersion (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	65.29	34.71
Prince Edward Island	49.25	50.75
Nova Scotia	46.50	53.50
New Brunswick	17.20	82.80
Ontario	39.40	60.60
Manitoba	50.53	49.47
Saskatchewan	60.10	39.90
Alberta	66.91	33.09
British Columbia	64.65	35.35
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>41.16</b>	<b>58.84</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	8.32	91.68
Centre and southwest	38.71	61.29
Southeast	15.69	84.31
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>16.53</b>	<b>83.47</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
Northeast	14.48	85.52
Ottawa	29.73	70.27
Other	56.85	43.15
Southeast	13.71	86.29
Toronto	49.67	50.33
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>36.18</b>	<b>63.82</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Estrie and southern	54.21	45.79
East	62.27	37.73
Montréal	34.76	65.24
West	36.86	63.14
Quebec City region	28.06	71.94
Other	42.57	57.43
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>36.25</b>	<b>63.75</b>





In New Brunswick, fewer children attended a French-language kindergarten in the southern and central-western regions of the province, while the highest proportion (91.68%) is found in the north. In Ontario, the northeastern and southeastern regions have the highest percentages of children who attended French-language kindergarten programs (85.52% and 86.29%).

In Quebec, 36.25% of pupils who attended school before grade one were enrolled in an English-language program. The percentages range from 62.27% in eastern Quebec to 28.06% in the Quebec City area.

Table 12 shows the language of instruction in kindergarten programs attended by

children who were enrolled at the time of the survey. For the sample outside Quebec, enrolments in French-language facilities were slightly higher for these children than they were for school-aged children who attended kindergarten before starting grade one. The percentage rose from 58.84% to 61.73% (current enrolments). Enrolments in French-language facilities are highest in New Brunswick (88.51%), followed by Ontario (59.42%).

In Quebec, three-quarters of children currently of kindergarten age attend programs in the language of the majority (75.69%).

**TABLE 12. LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION AMONG CHILDREN CURRENTLY ATTENDING KINDERGARTEN PROGRAMS**

Provinces	Language of Education	
	French (%)	English/Immersion (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	N.D.	N.D.
Prince Edward Island	N.D.	N.D.
Nova Scotia	46.41	53.59
New Brunswick	88.51	11.49
Ontario	59.42	40.58
Manitoba	N.D.	N.D.
Saskatchewan	N.D.	N.D.
Alberta	50.22	49.78
British Columbia	49.11	50.89
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>61.73</b>	<b>38.27</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		



Estrie and south	68.77	31.23
East	N.D.	N.D.
Montréal	76.78	23.22
West	56.21	43.79
Quebec City region	N.D.	N.D.
Other	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>75.69</b>	<b>24.31</b>

## 2.2 Language of Preference

Table 13 enables us to see that a significant proportion of parents whose school-aged children were enrolled in majority-language kindergartens would have preferred them to attend a minority-language program. Outside Quebec, 39.63% indicated this preference. The proportion ranged from 25.05% in New Brunswick to 54.86% in Prince Edward Island. In New Brunswick, the strongest preference was seen in the central-southeastern region. Parents in the Greater Toronto Area and northeastern Ontario had the strongest preferences in

Ontario. In Quebec, 32.00% of parents would have preferred that their children attend a kindergarten program in the minority language.

As was the case with child care programs, parents who live in regions where the minority-language population is least concentrated and where their children attend a majority-language facility tend to express the strongest preferences for minority-language education.

**TABLEAU 13. PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHOSE CHILD ATTENDED KINDERGARTEN IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAJORITY WHO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THEIR CHILD ATTEND A MINORITY-LANGUAGE**



## KINDERGARTEN BEFORE STARTING GRADE ONE

Provinces	Preference for minority-language services	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	48.90	51.10
Prince Edward Island	54.86	45.14
Nova Scotia	34.01	65.99
New Brunswick	25.05	74.95
Ontario	40.84	59.16
Manitoba	33.99	66.01
Saskatchewan	42.15	57.85
Alberta	39.20	60.80
British Columbia	45.93	54.07
Territories	40.19	59.81
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>39.63</b>	<b>60.37</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	21.62	78.38
Centre and southwest	30.22	69.78
Southeast	20.50	79.50
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>25.05</b>	<b>74.95</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
Northeast	58.12	41.88
Ottawa	34.12	65.88
Other	37.03	62.97
Southeast	37.77	62.23
Toronto	54.67	45.33
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>40.84</b>	<b>59.16</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Etrie and south	25.43	74.57
East	28.99	71.01
Montréal	33.28	66.72



West	10.71	89.29
Quebec City region	41.21	58.79
Other	39.36	60.64
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>32.00</b>	<b>68.00</b>

Table 14 shows the preferences of parents whose child was attending a kindergarten in the language of the majority at the time of the survey. Reliable data are available for only two provinces. Outside Quebec, slightly more than one parent out of two (52.15%) would have preferred that their child attend a French-language facility, but this preference is much stronger in Ontario than in

Alberta. In Quebec, a little more than one parent out of four would have preferred to have a minority-language kindergarten program for their child. It must be noted, however, that this number reflects exclusively the Montreal area, where 80% of the anglophone population of Quebec resides.



**TABLE 14. PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHOSE CHILD IS CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN KINDERGARTEN IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MAJORITY WHO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THEIR CHILD ATTEND A MINORITY-LANGUAGE KINDERGARTEN BEFORE STARTING GRADE ONE**

Provinces	Preference for minority-language services	
	Yes (%)	Non (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	N.D.	N.D.
Prince Edward Island	N.D.	N.D.
Nova Scotia	N.D.	N.D.
New Brunswick	N.D.	N.D.
Ontario	58.01	41.99
Manitoba	N.D.	N.D.
Saskatchewan	N.D.	N.D.
Alberta	25.45	74.55
British Columbia	N.D.	N.D.
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>52.15</b>	<b>47.85</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Estrie and south	N.D.	N.D.
East	N.D.	N.D.
Montréal	27.00	73.00
West	N.D.	N.D.
Quebec City region	N.D.	N.D.
Other	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>27.55</b>	<b>72.45</b>



### 3. SCHOOLS

#### 3.1 Language of Schooling

As mentioned previously, Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007) presented their findings from the study on the vitality of minority-language communities in regards to the language of schools attended by children of francophone right holders under section 23 and of other parents who were not right holders. These authors did not present the statistics on the language of schooling among anglophones in Quebec in terms of their status under section 23. They did, however, present data for children who had at least one English-speaking parent. Table 15 summarizes the results included in Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007) for the sample outside Quebec. It includes only the children entitled to attend minority-language schools under section 23. Numbers of other children were often too small to be statistically valid. This table

shows that 56% of children of francophone parents entitled to attend were enrolled in French-language schools at the elementary level. The percentage drops to 47% at the secondary level. It is in Newfoundland and Labrador that the proportion is lowest at the elementary level (fewer than two children out of ten) and in New Brunswick that it is the highest (82%). It should be noted that in all provinces and territories, the percentages of children attending French-language schools at the secondary level are lower than at the elementary level. The decrease is often significant.

Another important point is that many children in the anglophone school system are enrolled in French immersion programs. In Newfoundland and Labrador, for example, nearly half of all children entitled under section 23 are registered in French immersion programs in elementary schools (47%).



**TABLE 15. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN OF FRANCOPHONE PARENTS ENTITLED UNDER SECTION 23 WHO ARE ENROLLED IN FRENCH-LANGUAGE SCHOOLS (F), AND IN ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SCHOOLS (E) IN EITHER A REGULAR PROGRAM (R) OR A FRENCH-IMMERSION PROGRAM (I) AT ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS OUTSIDE QUEBEC (ACCORDING TO CORBEIL, GRENIER AND LAFRENIÈRE, 2007)**

Provinces	Elementary (%)				Secondary (%)			
	F	E	(R I)		F	E	(R I)	
Newfoundland and Labrador	18 <sup>E</sup>	81	(35 47)		N.D.	90	(61 29)	
Prince Edward Island	45	54	(32 <sup>E</sup> 22 <sup>E</sup> )		36	63	(41 23 <sup>E</sup> )	
Nova Scotia	47	52	(37 15 <sup>E</sup> )		42	58	(36 <sup>E</sup> 22 <sup>E</sup> )	
New Brunswick	82	17	(7 10)		79	20	(8 <sup>E</sup> 11 <sup>E</sup> )	
Ontario	58	41	(28 14)		48	50	(36 13 <sup>E</sup> )	
Manitoba	49	49	(32 17 <sup>E</sup> )		35 <sup>E</sup>	64	(46 18 <sup>E</sup> )	
Saskatchewan	30	69	(55 14)		17 <sup>E</sup>	80	(60 20 <sup>E</sup> )	
Alberta	28	70	(48 22)		12 <sup>E</sup>	81	(70 11 <sup>E</sup> )	
British Columbia	27 <sup>E</sup>	73	(50 23 <sup>E</sup> )		N.D.	88	(62 26 <sup>E</sup> )	
Territories	45 <sup>E</sup>	50 <sup>E</sup>	(44 <sup>E</sup> N.D.)		N.D.	83	(76 N.D.)	
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>(29 15)</b>		<b>47</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>(37 14)</b>	

Percentages followed by the symbol E may not be reliable because of the small number included in the sample. Percentages do not always add up to 100% because of other types of programs or unreliable data.

Overall, outside Quebec, a total of 15% of children of rights holders (or 34% of children of rights holders enrolled in English-speaking schools) attend French immersion programs. Are these parents aware that the level of bilingualism their children would achieve would be noticeably superior if they attended a French-language school (Landry, 2003 and 2010)? As Corbeil, Corbeil and Lafrenière (2007) have shown, when children leave immersion programs, 73% of them enter regular English programs and only 21% choose French-language schools.

On the other hand, the parents of 35% of the children enrolled in immersion programs indicate that they would have preferred that their children attend a minority-language school.

The study conducted by Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007) also shows that parents in a mixed-language couple have a greater tendency to choose an English-language school and a French immersion program. When both partners are francophone, 88% of children are registered



in French-language schools and 11% in English-language schools (8% in a regular program and only 3% in an immersion program). When the partner of the francophone parent entitled under section 23 is English-speaking, only 34% of the children attend French-language schools and 65% attend English schools (47% in a regular program and 18% in immersion). When the partner speaks a language other than French or English, the situation is similar: 37% of children attend a French school and 60% an English school (47% regular; 13% immersion). It is important to realize that children whose parents are in an exogamous situation constitute a strong majority of children of parents entitled under section 23; they represent 66% of the clientele eligible for French-language schooling (Landry, 2010).

Other factors that contribute to the choice of French-language schooling include the language of the school attended by the parent and the main language of the parent (i.e. the language in which the parent is more comfortable). When the francophone parent was educated in French throughout elementary and secondary school, 66% of the children are enrolled in a French school; whereas if the francophone parent did not attend a French school in either elementary or secondary school, 83% of the children attend an English school. When French is the main language of the francophone parent, 80% of children are enrolled in a French school. The proportion is inverted when the main language is English: 77% of children are enrolled in an English school.

In Quebec, there are more restrictions on eligibility to attend minority language schools. The legislation in Quebec requires that any person who is not entitled under

section 23 attend a majority-language school. The parent's mother tongue is not a criterion to qualify a child for English-language schooling in Quebec; the parent must be a Canadian citizen and have attended an English-language elementary school in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada, or have a child who was already educated in English in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada. As a result, all immigrants, regardless of whether their first official language or preferred language is English, must attend a French-language school. Outside Quebec, although immigrants are not entitled under section 23, they are eligible to attend a French-language school if they wish and if the admission committee (school boards feature admission committees) allows it. Nonetheless, the vast majority of immigrants outside Quebec prefer to be integrated into the English-speaking community (Lachapelle and Lepage, 2010).

Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007) calculated the rates of minority-language school attendance in Quebec for children who had at least one English-speaking parent: 49% of these children attend an English school. Interestingly, this percentage is identical to that of children who attend French-language schools outside Quebec and have at least one parent with French as their mother tongue. It must be remembered, however, that the dynamic pertaining to school choices in Quebec is very different and that it would be imprudent to infer too many similarities between the two official language communities on the basis of these choices. On the other hand, trends for elementary and secondary schools are reversed. While 55% of children outside Quebec attend French-language elementary schools compared to 44% at the secondary level,



the situation in Quebec is the opposite: 44% of children are enrolled in English elementary schools and 55% in secondary schools. A significant proportion of children in English schools in Quebec are in French immersion programs: 29% of elementary pupils (making up 66% of those enrolled in English schools) and 19% of secondary school students (35% of those in English schools). Approximately a third of anglophone parents whose children attend majority-language schools would have preferred that their children receive minority-language schooling.

As we noted previously, the language of schooling of the parent is one of the criteria recognized under section 23 of the *Charter*. In Quebec, when they had a parent who was educated in English at the primary and secondary level, 66% of children were educated in English. When they did not, 80% of children attended French-language schools (Corbeil, Corbeil and Lafrenière, 2007).

Most Quebec children who have at least one anglophone parent also have a parent who speaks another language (60%). Of the 40% of children who have two English-speaking parents, 78% attend English schools, with approximately half of them in French immersion programs. However, when the anglophone parent's partner is francophone, the percentage of children attending an English school drops to 37%. When the partner is allophone, 67% of the children are enrolled in English schools, including 41% in immersion and 25% in the regular program (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007). These results must be interpreted with caution as the degree to which the choices are either imposed by legislation or voluntary is unknown.

In Quebec, if the main language of the parent is French, 88% of the children will attend a French-language school. If English is the main language, only 55% of them will attend an English-language school (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007). This suggests that other factors come into play, for instance legal issues connected to eligibility and entitlement and financial factors related to the choice of a private school.

Table 16 shows the language of schooling of children of the parents included in the sample of Canada outside Quebec and in the sample in Quebec. This table includes parents whose mother tongue is the official minority language (French, English), or another language, but for whom the first official language spoken is the minority language. In the sample in Canada outside Quebec, the findings are very similar to those presented in Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007) for children who have at least one parent who speaks French as a first language. Approximately one out of every two children is enrolled in a French-language school (50.45%); New Brunswick is the only province where a significant majority of children in this situation is enrolled in a minority-language school (80.70%). Table 16 shows the regional variations in New Brunswick and Ontario. Attending a French-language school is closely linked to high geographic concentrations of francophones in these regions.



**TABLE 16. LANGUAGE OF SCHOOLING OF CHILDREN CURRENTLY ENROLLED IN SCHOOL**

Provinces	Language of schooling	
	English (%)	French (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	82.71	17.29
Prince Edward Island	57.36	42.64
Nova Scotia	54.19	45.81
New Brunswick	19.30	80.70
Ontario	47.81	52.19
Manitoba	54.95	45.05
Saskatchewan	74.54	25.46
Alberta	76.69	23.31
British Columbia	80.50	19.50
Territories	62.66	37.34
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>49.55</b>	<b>50.45</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	9.00	91.00
Centre and southwest	49.06	50.94
Southeast	17.66	82.34
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>19.30</b>	<b>80.70</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
North	28.64	71.36
Ottawa	37.13	62.87
Other	67.76	32.24
Southeast	20.31	79.69
Toronto	64.10	35.90
<b>Total Ontario and its region</b>	<b>47.81</b>	<b>52.19</b>



Quebec and its regions		
Estrie and southern Quebec	54.91	45.09
East	57.40	42.60
Montréal	37.01	62.99
West	40.92	59.08
Quebec City region	26.37	73.63
Other	46.24	53.76
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>38.20</b>	<b>61.80</b>

In Quebec, when all children in the sample are considered, the proportion of children attending a minority-language school is lower (38.20%) than it is outside Quebec. Once again, restricted access to English schooling in Quebec clearly affects these results. The percentages range from 26.7% in the Quebec City region to 57.40% in eastern Quebec. It must be remembered that in Quebec, when both parents are allophones (even if their first official language is English), only 31% of children attend English schools. The rate jumps to 72% when one parent is allophone and the other is anglophone; in this case, the children may be eligible to attend an English school under section 23. However, of all the children who have at least one allophone parent, 83% live with two parents who are allophones (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007).

As we have seen, a significant proportion (50%) of children in the Quebec sample, when enrolled in an English school, are in a French immersion program. The main reason for choosing this option is to encourage children to learn French, since it is one of the official languages of Canada and the only official language of Quebec.

Table 17 shows the proportions of students registered in majority-language schools outside Quebec who are in a French immersion program. Their status under section 23 not considered, this proportion is 30.55%, but the rates range from 22.95% in Saskatchewan to 56.61% in New Brunswick. There is some variation between the regions in New Brunswick, but, in Ontario, it is in the Ottawa region that children enrolled in English schools are by far the most likely to attend immersion programs: 62.26% compared to 42.80% in southeastern Ontario and fewer than 30% in the other regions. The main reason given by the parents for their choice is bilingualism and learning both official languages (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007). Although immersion produces an excellent level of bilingualism in Quebec, outside Quebec it is the French-language schools that produce the highest rate of bilingualism (Landry, 2003; Landry and Allard, 1997). The many francophone parents whose children are entitled to attend French schools, but who choose to enrol them in an immersion program instead, despite the availability of a French school in the region, are not making the optimal choice if they want their children to become bilingual (Landry, 2010).



**TABLE 17. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN ENROLLED IN THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SCHOOL SYSTEM WHO ATTEND IMMERSION, FOR ALL PROVINCES OUTSIDE QUEBEC**

Provinces	Children attending immersion programs	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	46.23	53.77
Prince Edward Island	38.86	61.14
Nova Scotia	31.98	68.02
New Brunswick	56.61	43.39
Ontario	29.89	70.11
Manitoba	31.55	68.45
Saskatchewan	22.95	77.05
Alberta	23.97	76.03
British Columbia	27.32	72.68
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>30.55</b>	<b>69.45</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	50.76	49.24
Centre and southwest	60.28	39.72
Southeast	55.38	44.62
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>56.61</b>	<b>43.39</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
Northeastern Ontario	27.90	72.10
Ottawa	62.26	37.74
Other Ontario	19.79	80.21
Southeast	42.80	57.20
Toronto	20.29	79.71
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>29.89</b>	<b>70.11</b>



### **3.2 Language of Preference**

Table 18 shows the percentage of parents whose children are enrolled in a majority-language school, but who would have preferred that they receive schooling in the minority language. The total for parents in Canada outside Quebec is 40.98%, ranging from 27.76% in Nova Scotia to 56.82% in the territories. According to Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007), the reasons given for choosing a regular English program include proximity to an English school (29%), perception of the quality of the school or program (21%) and the fact that English is

the first language or the best known language of the child (16%) or of the parent (11%). Proximity to an English school, lack of availability of a minority-language school, and the perceived quality of the school or program were also the reasons given by parents whose children were enrolled in immersion programs.



**TABLE 18. PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHOSE CHILDREN ARE ENROLLED IN A MAJORITY-LANGUAGE SCHOOL WHO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THAT THEY RECEIVE MINORITY-LANGUAGE SCHOOLING**

Provinces	Preference for minority-language education	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	44.09	55.91
Prince Edward Island	38.15	61.85
Nova Scotia	27.76	72.24
New Brunswick	28.46	71.54
Ontario	43.03	56.97
Manitoba	32.65	67.35
Saskatchewan	43.66	56.34
Alberta	38.20	61.80
British Columbia	47.81	52.19
Territories	56.82	43.18
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>40.98</b>	<b>59.02</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	14.57	85.43
Centre and southwest	35.33	64.67
Southeast	28.17	71.83
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>28.46</b>	<b>71.54</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
Northeast	52.69	47.31
Ottawa	38.67	61.33
Other	41.20	58.80
Southeast	36.32	63.68
Toronto	51.81	48.19
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>43.03</b>	<b>56.97</b>



Quebec and its regions		
Estrie and south	31.73	68.27
East	31.54	68.46
Montréal	33.94	66.06
West	14.17	85.83
Quebec City region	38.11	61.89
Other	36.93	63.07
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>32.90</b>	<b>67.10</b>

It is worth noting that in Quebec (Table 18), a third of parents (32.90%) whose children are enrolled in majority-language schools would have preferred that they attend English schools. This preference is least noticeable in western Quebec (14.17%). In Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007), the reasons given by parents are of a legal (section 23 and Quebec legislation) or financial nature (possibility of attending a private school that is not subsidized by the state). Parents who do not prefer that their children attend an English school refer to the need or the wish for their children to learn French.

#### 4. LANGUAGE OF POST-SECONDARY STUDIES

In Table 19, we present the perceptions of parents regarding the desire of their children to complete post-secondary studies in the language of the minority. In Canada outside Quebec, four children out of ten (39.66%) according to parents would like to pursue post-secondary studies in French. The percentage is highest in New Brunswick (69.78%) and lowest in Saskatchewan (7.32%). Reliable data is not available for all provinces and territories. In New Brunswick and in Ontario, the proportions are highest

in areas where the density of the francophone population is highest. A recent study of Grade 12 students in French schools outside Quebec (Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2009) has shown that 64.1% of these students would like to pursue post-secondary studies in French, with significant variations: 71.4% in New Brunswick, 35.6% in the other Atlantic Provinces, 57.2% in Ontario and 42.7% in the western provinces and the Territories. We have to notice, however, that these figures are based on a sample of students who have all attended French schools, whereas in the parent sample only about half of the parents consisted of those whose children attend or will attend a minority-language school.

Outside Quebec, according to parents, the percentage of children who want to attend minority-language post-secondary programs is lower than the percentage of children enrolled in French schools. However, the opposite is true in Quebec. While 38% of children in the Quebec sample are enrolled in English schools, 73.77% of them want to pursue their post-secondary studies in English, according to their parents. The percentage planning to study in English are lowest in the Quebec City area (47.30%). A recent study (Allard and Landry, in press)



shows that more than 75% of secondary school students enrolled in the minority-language schools in Quebec want to pursue their post-secondary studies in English. The legislation in Quebec does not prevent

students from pursuing post-secondary studies in English. Furthermore, it is possible that studying in English at the post-secondary level is believed to open up better opportunities for increased social mobility.





**TABLE 19. PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WHO WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE POST-SECONDARY STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE MINORITY, ACCORDING TO PARENTS**

Provinces	Language of the minority	
	Yes (%)	No (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	N.D.	N.D.
Prince Edward Island	33.76	66.24
Nova Scotia	33.78	66.22
New Brunswick	69.78	30.22
Ontario	42.56	57.44
Manitoba	20.94	79.06
Saskatchewan	7.32	92.68
Alberta	11.80	88.20
British Columbia	N.D.	N.D.
Territories	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Canada outside Quebec</b>	<b>39.66</b>	<b>60.34</b>
<b>New Brunswick and its regions</b>		
North	82.40	17.60
Centre and southwest	32.79	67.21
Southeast	75.38	24.62
<b>Total New Brunswick</b>	<b>69.78</b>	<b>30.22</b>
<b>Ontario and its regions</b>		
Northeast	59.93	40.07
Ottawa	46.76	53.24
Other	N.D.	N.D.
Southeast	72.76	27.24
Toronto	N.D.	N.D.
<b>Total Ontario</b>	<b>42.56</b>	<b>57.44</b>
<b>Quebec and its regions</b>		
Estrie and south	77.89	22.11
East	73.38	26.62
Montréal	74.00	26.00
West	80.17	19.83
Quebec City region	47.30	52.70
Other	71.01	28.99
<b>Total Quebec</b>	<b>73.77</b>	<b>26.23</b>



## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study reveals more similarities than differences between the OLMCs in terms of the enrolments of children in minority-language institutions. For each of the official-language minorities, fewer than half of children receive minority-language child care services, and more than six children out of ten participate in majority-language preschool activities. A significant number of parents, however, would have preferred that their child receive minority-language child care services and preschool activities, with higher rates in the sample of francophones outside Quebec than among the anglophone respondents in Quebec. In addition, parents in areas in which the minority population is less demographically concentrated, are more likely to wish the situation were different for their children. In other words, it appears that when there is less of a choice or more restrictions, parents are less satisfied with the fact that their children are receiving services in the language of the majority.

Kindergarten registrations in the language of the minority are higher among francophones outside Quebec (approximately six children out of ten) than among anglophones in Quebec (36% of school-aged children who had attended kindergarten and 24% of those currently enrolled in a kindergarten program at the time of the survey). Anglophone parents were less numerous in percentage to indicate that they regretted this situation (approximately three out of ten) than francophone parents (between 40 and 52%, depending on the age of their children).

As for school enrolments, those of children in the sample of francophone parents who

attend French-language schools are relatively low (50.45%), but they are higher than those of children of parents in the anglophone sample (38.20%). This probably reflects a greater heterogeneity in the English-language community in Quebec; a significant proportion of this group is not entitled under section 23 to attend minority-language schools. It is interesting to note that when the two communities are compared on the basis of the same criterion, that of having at least one parent who speaks the language of the minority as a first language, the percentage of school enrolments in the minority language are identical: 49% (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007). Nevertheless, the two communities are very different in terms of the choice of language at different levels of education. While 56% of children with francophone parents are registered in French elementary schools and only 44% in secondary schools, the opposite is true of children with anglophone parents: 44% at the elementary level and 55% at the secondary level. It seems that anglophone parents in Quebec place less importance on English-language schooling at the kindergarten and elementary levels, but more importance on it at the secondary and post-secondary levels. In Quebec, three students out of four (74%), according to their parents, plan to pursue post-secondary studies in English. The opposite is true of students with francophone parents outside Quebec: 62% are enrolled in French-language kindergarten programs, 50% in French schools (more at the elementary than the secondary level) and only 40% plan to continue their studies in French. Thus, the attraction of English has similar effects in the two communities: it increases with the age of the children and especially when



it comes time to choose educational programs leading to careers.

It is not easy to compare the choices of child care services and schools in the two official-language minority groups in Canada. Section 23 of the *Charter* is the main judicial instrument common to both groups. It allows members of minority language communities to attend schools in their language (English-language schools in Quebec and French-language schools in other provinces and in the Territories). However, even this basic right is not the same in the two groups. Outside Quebec, a parent need only state that she or he has French as a first language in order for children to be eligible to attend a French school. School districts have admission committees that can broaden the criteria to include the mother tongue of the children's grandparents, and can even admit allophones or Francophiles who are not entitled under section 23. In Quebec, on the other hand, the criterion of having a parent with English as mother tongue is not recognized. Francophones, allophones and anglophones, with the exception of those who have rights under section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* based solely on the language of schooling of the parent or that of their children, must attend French-language schools.

Another factor which differentiates the OLMCs is the fact that the official-language populations are becoming more and more heterogeneous. Because of the high levels of immigration by allophones, that is, those whose mother tongue is neither official language, it has become necessary to use more inclusive definitions to identify official-language populations. For this reason, it is becoming customary to use the

term “first official language spoken” (FOLS), a derivative variable that makes it possible to assign an official language to the vast majority of allophones, or to combine this variable with that of the mother tongue (Forgues, Landry and Boudreau, 2009). However, the FOLS shows very marked demo-linguistic differences between the two official-language minorities. Outside Quebec, given the fact that a large majority of immigrants are attracted to the English language, the FOLS adds only 2%, or 22,000 people, to the francophone minority as defined by mother tongue. In Quebec, the situation is very different. The FOLS adds 64% to the anglophone minority as defined by mother tongue (Lachapelle and Lepage, 2010). Even if *Bill 101* in Quebec resulted in the emigration of many anglophones from the province (Corbeil, Chavez and Pereira, 2010), contributing to a drop in the anglophone population, the strong attraction of English in North America has fostered a high rate of language transfer to English among allophones in Quebec. The ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity of the English-language population in Quebec makes leading and governing the community difficult (Jedwab, 2005 and 2006) and, in addition, only a portion of allophones who feel they belong to the anglophone community are allowed to enrol their children in English schools, because of the more restrictive manner in which section 23 is applied in Quebec.

The two OLMCs are governed by the same regulatory framework at the federal level. The *Official Languages Act* (which recently celebrated its 40th anniversary—see Jedwab and Landry, 2011 for an analysis of its effects on the vitality of OLMCs) and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (sections 16 to 20 and section 23) are aimed



at ensuring the equality of Canada's two official languages. But the OLMCs, in their respective social and political contexts, experience this common legal framework very differently. The strong attraction of English in Canada, across the North American continent, and even in the entire world (de Swaan, 2001; Crystal, 2004; Steger, 2009), makes the vitality of francophone and Acadian communities outside Quebec very fragile, in spite of the support of federal legislation and protective measures in place in the provinces and Territories. The same force of attraction has the effect of favouring the English language in Quebec, despite the protective measures offered by the *Charter of the French Language* that creates obstacles for the use of English (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2013). In fact, because of the gravitational force that draws both communities to English, Quebec and its francophone majority established their own legal framework to protect the French language (Corbeil, 2007) so much so that some researchers have seen this as contributing to a gradual minoritization of the English-language community in Quebec (Bourhis, 2013).

These complex power dynamics, called by Proulx (1989) “le choc des Chartes” (the clashes of the Charters), have made the two OLMCs similar in respect to enrolment in schools in the minority language. That is the principal conclusion of our research. In each of the OLMCs, when the community is defined without considering section 23, approximately half of children who have at least one minority language parent attend minority-language schools. Were it not for the *Charter of the French Language* in Quebec, which has resulted in restricting the scope of section 23, the number of

enrolments in English schools would be significantly higher (Corbeil, Chavez and Pereira, 2010), leading to the likelihood that the demographic base of the French language in Quebec would be weakened, especially in the area of Montreal. Because of the *Charter of the French Language*, the status of French in Quebec is now much stronger (Bouchard and Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 2013). English-language speakers in Quebec who are protected by section 23 tend to exercise their right by enrolling their children in minority-language schools, but many of them want their children to speak both languages and choose French immersion programs, or even French schools (Lamarre, 2007 and 2013). However, when anglophones make up a small minority in Quebec, outside of Montreal, children in English schools are subjected to the greater demographic power of the majority—as are francophone children outside Quebec—and often relate more closely with the francophone than the anglophone community (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2013).

Among members of the francophone minority, the attraction of the English language is so strong that, even with a broader definition of section 23, only half of parents who have the right to French schooling for their children exercise it. Only a major social marketing campaign highlighting the positive effects of French schooling on a child's bilingual development might be able to somewhat mitigate this phenomenon (Landry, 2006; 2010)

While the English-language minority in Quebec is hindered in its educational aspirations and its growth by an intentional societal movement of language planning, the French-language minority outside



Quebec is hindered in its overall development by a societal movement that is seen to be less structured and intentional. The latter is reflected in the power of numbers and the dominance of the English language in the economy and the media. To increase the number of enrolments in minority-language schools in Quebec, it would be necessary to convince legislators that the French language would not be jeopardized by broadening the scope of section 23. It would be difficult to do so, given that the

force of gravity exerted by the English language is still a major challenge across the country. To increase enrolment in French minority-language schools, the parents who are entitled under section 23 must themselves become convinced of the importance of French in their own lives and those of their children. Given the global context, in which English continues to play a leading role in the country and the world, this, too, is a major challenge.

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# **CHAPTER 3**

## **UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE: COMPARISON OF CANADA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES**

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## CHAPTER 3

# UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE: COMPARISON OF CANADA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES

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### SUMMARY

This chapter analyzes and compares university attendance among minority francophones outside Quebec and among anglophones in Quebec. It comparatively examines university attendance within Canada's two official language communities, based on an analysis of data contained in the Survey of the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities (SVOLM) conducted by Statistics Canada in 2006. The sample was made up of 20,067 adults belonging to Canada's official linguistic minorities. The main variables studied were the following: university attendance rates, the university language instruction and the sense of belonging to the linguistic groups.

### 1. CONTEXT

To what degree does university attendance vary among Canada's official language minorities? A study conducted by Statistics Canada takes stock of the evolution of the education levels of linguistic groups between 1971 and 2001 (Corbeil, 2003). Generally speaking, this study revealed that all linguistic groups experienced an increase in their education levels during this timeframe. When one compares the percentage of individuals holding a university diploma, one observes that the rate increased more among francophones in Canada than among anglophones in Canada. But what was the situation among minority

anglophones and francophones, that is to say anglophones living in the province of Quebec and francophones living in the Canadian provinces outside Quebec? During this period, the study revealed that in Quebec, anglophones continued to have higher education levels than francophone Quebecers, despite major catch-up efforts made by francophones following changes made to the education system beginning in the late 1960s. Among francophones outside Quebec, we observed a reversal of the situation in the 25 to 34-year old group. In fact, the study revealed that while young anglophones in Canada were more likely to hold a university diploma than their francophone counterparts in 1971, francophones outside Quebec were more likely to hold a university diploma than their anglophone counterparts in 2001. According to Corbeil (2003), the increase in the percentage of francophones holding a university diploma outside Quebec can partially be explained by the migration of Quebec francophones to Western Canada during this period.

While the two official linguistic minority communities are generally more educated than the linguistic majority groups with whom they live, the fact remains that few studies to date have examined post-secondary education choices actually made by the members of these groups (Labrie, Lamoureux & Wilson, 2009). Research has



consistently shown that the linguistic continuity of official minority language communities is closely connected to the language of instruction of its members, in addition to linguistic socialization in the family environment (Pilote, Magnan & Vieux-Fort, 2010; Vieux-Fort, 2009; Landry & Rousselle, 2003; Landry & Allard, 1997; Tardif, 1995). The importance of education in the language of the minority was also reaffirmed by the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages “As education is the institution with the greatest impact on the transmission of language and culture, francophone communities in a minority setting should be able to take control of this institution from early childhood to the post-secondary level” (Corbin & Buchanan, 2005, p.v). In terms of scientific research, it is important to note however that most studies concentrated on primary and secondary education as opposed to postsecondary education (Pilote & Magnan, 2008).

It is important to mention, however, that a few quantitative and qualitative studies have been undertaken recently on post-secondary education among francophones in a minority setting. Firstly, a Canada-wide study conducted by Allard, Landry & Deveau (2009) examined the aspirations of grade 12 students attending a minority French-language school. This study revealed that young people attending these schools have very high academic aspirations: 90% of these students indicated they intended to pursue postsecondary education, and the majority of these intended to enrol in university. This study showed that the proportion of students indicating they would likely study in French varies by region. While those students wishing to pursue postsecondary studies in French are

in the majority in New Brunswick (71.4%) and in Ontario (57.2%), they are in the minority in the Western and Northern region (42.7%) as well as in the Atlantic region (35.6%) (Allard, Landry & Deveau, 2009). But what about their actual choices? To what extent do students from minority French-language schools actually pursue postsecondary studies and do so in French?

With regards to this topic, a study conducted by Labrie, Lamoureux & Wilson (2009) provides some answers, but only in the Ontario context. Their analysis of data compiled by the Ontario College Application Service and the Ontario Universities’ Admission Centre indicate that while there was a slight increase in Franco-Ontarians’ postsecondary education attendance rates between 1998 and 2006, they were more likely to attend college than university. Their study also revealed that while a majority of Franco-Ontarians pursue postsecondary education in French, a significant proportion of them choose to study in English. Unfortunately, no comparable studies have been done on francophones living in the other Canadian provinces. When it comes to Quebec, data indicate that in 2003, the vast majority (94.5%) of anglophone students pursue their university education in English (Office québécois de la langue française, 2008). A small minority of anglophones in Quebec choose to pursue their university education in French.

Several qualitative studies were also conducted with university students belonging to Canada’s official linguistic minorities. These studies looked primarily at how students construct their identity based on various aspects of their university experience. A study conducted by Lamoureux (2005, 2007) examined the

transition to university as experienced by young Franco-Ontarians. A study conducted by Magnan (2010) looked primarily at the construction of identity among youth having attended English-language schools and who are transitioning to university and who are experiencing migration. Other studies examined the construction of identity among francophone students having migrated and pursued their education (Pilote & Richard, 2012), with specific attention paid to the dynamics between linguistic and cultural factors and professional aspects (Garneau, Pilote & Molgat, 2010; Pilote & Magnan, 2012). In her upcoming doctoral thesis, Desabrais studied linguistic insecurity experienced by women pursuing graduate studies.

In a “knowledge-based society”, it is critical to acquire knowledge on college and university attendance rates of members of official language minorities in order to ensure that all linguistic groups can contribute to the development of the country’s economic prospects, while at the same time contributing to their respective linguistic community’s development. However, the challenges confronting Canada’s two official language minorities are not the same (Pilote & Magnan, 2008). For francophone minorities, the main challenge is that of ensuring intergenerational language and identity transmission. In the case of the English-speaking minority in Quebec, however, the challenge is rather one of retaining students in the province (or bringing them back) at the end of their studies (Magnan, 2005) and of ensuring their successful professional integration in a French-speaking Quebec. In both cases, however, postsecondary education is critical to the linguistic and demographic continuity of the official linguistic minority com-

munities. In fact, these communities must be able to count on the contribution of highly educated young people able to play a leadership role in the development of their respective linguistic communities. That is why this chapter will seek to analyze and compare university attendance among the francophone minorities outside Quebec and the anglophone minority in Quebec, while paying particular attention to the preferred language of instruction and to the sense of belonging to the linguistic groups. However, non-university postsecondary studies were excluded from analysis for the following reason. In the study questionnaire, a wide variety of training is encompassed by the “non-university studies” category under the question pertaining to the highest level of education. This category includes attendance at a trade school, a professional training centre, a CÉGEP, a college, etc. As the category’s heterogeneity may be problematic for the interpretation of results, this analysis will be limited to university studies, representing a more homogeneous and similar category among provinces.

The descriptive analyses presented in this chapter bring a unique contribution to our understanding of official linguistic minority education in Canada. First of all, the analysis compares the university attendance of Canada’s two official language minorities. Secondly, the analysis takes into consideration the language of instruction in secondary school (i.e. secondary schooling completed in the minority language, secondary schooling partially completely in the minority language, secondary schooling not completed in the minority language). This targeted look at the language of instruction in secondary school allows us to have a better understanding of the choices made by the graduates of these school



systems with regard to university education. By choosing this methodology, we also wanted to remove all ambiguity concerning census data indicating high levels of education among francophones in a minority setting. In fact, one could wonder if the high levels of education encountered among francophones in a minority setting is reflective of a strong commitment towards postsecondary education on the part of the minority communities or if, as suggested by Corbeil (2003), the high levels of completed university education encountered in these communities are not partially linked to interprovincial migration of highly-educated francophones from Quebec – and in particular, to the interprovincial mobility from Quebec towards provinces where the number of francophones is not very significant. Finally, the analysis presented in this chapter also examines the relation between the language of instruction in university and the sense of belonging to the linguistic minorities – an aspect that has never been studied through quantitative studies conducted within these populations in general. A study conducted by Gingras (2005) with a sample of francophone and anglophone students at the University of Ottawa revealed, among other things, that the sense of belonging to a linguistic community was more important for francophone students than their anglophone peers, but it did not examine the links between identity and the choices made with regard to university education. In addition, the study conducted by Gingras does not systematically take into consideration the minority aspect, since the sample also included francophone students from Quebec.

In the following section, we present a descriptive portrait of university attendance

among francophones and anglophones in a minority setting. First of all, we compare the education levels of francophones outside Quebec and of anglophones in Quebec. The following section presents the results with regards to the language of instruction in university for the two linguistic groups. Finally, the results reflect the cross-tabulation of the “sense of belonging” and “language of university instruction” variables. When required, particular attention will be given to the language of instruction in primary and secondary school, in order to better understand choices made by individuals with respect to their academic paths.

## **2. ANALYSIS**

### **2.1 Highest Education Level Achieved**

When we compare the two linguistic minorities based on the highest education level achieved, we observe that the percentage of francophones outside Quebec <sup>1</sup> having completed university education (with a certificate or diploma) is lower (21%) than the percentage of anglophones in Quebec having done so (24.9%) (see Table 1). The gap between the two linguistic minorities is slightly larger if we take into consideration both completed university education and partially-completed university education (no diploma or certificate received). When looking at the

francophone minority, the data revealed that francophones in New Brunswick (19%) and Ontario (20.3%) are less likely than those in the “other provinces and territories” category (28.4%) to have completed a university program (with a certificate or diploma) – the rate of francophones in the other provinces and territories (28.4%) surpassing even that of anglophones in Quebec (24.9%).

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<sup>1</sup> In order to exclude individuals originating from the province of Quebec and having migrated to another province, the “Francophone” category here excludes respondents having done their secondary schooling in Quebec.



**TABLE 1. LINGUISTIC MINORITIES BASED ON THE HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED (%)**

Highest education level achieved	Linguistic minorities	
	Francophones outside Quebec	Anglophones in Quebec
University education (with a diploma or certificate)	21.0	24.9
University education (without a diploma or certificate)	5.9	8.2
Non-university education (with a diploma or certificate)	20.4	17.7
Non-university education (without a diploma or certificate)	4.0	8.3
Secondary education (with a diploma or proof of equivalency)	28.3	25.5
Partial secondary education	20.3	15.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities, Statistics Canada, 2006.

The data on the highest education level achieved is similar when we look specifically at francophones having received their primary and secondary education in French and anglophones having received their

primary and secondary education in English. In fact, 20.9% of francophones indicate having attended university (with a certificate or diploma), compared to 23.5% of anglophones (see Table 2).

**TABLE 2. LINGUISTIC MINORITY MEMBERS HAVING COMPLETED ALL OF THEIR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE, BASED ON THE HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED (%)**

Highest Education Level Achieved	Linguistic Minorities	
	Francophones Outside Quebec	Anglophones in Quebec
University education (with a diploma or certificate)	20.9	23.5
University education (without a diploma or certificate)	6.1	6.7
Non-university education (with a diploma or certificate)	21.1	17.7
Non-university education (without a diploma or certificate)	4.4	7.6
Secondary education (with a diploma or proof of equivalency)	29.4	27.2
Partial secondary education	18.1	17.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

It is interesting to note, however, that data on the highest education level achieved varies when we factor in francophones having only done part of their primary and secondary schooling in French and anglophones having only done part of their primary and secondary schooling in English. Among francophones outside Quebec having only completed part of their primary and secondary schooling in French, we notice a decrease in the rate of university education (with a diploma or certificate)

(18.2%). Inversely, we observe an increase in the rate of university education (with a diploma or certificate) among anglophones in Quebec (32.7%) having only completed part of their primary and secondary education in English<sup>2</sup>. The gap between the two groups is even greater when we factor in both university education with a diploma or certificate and university education without a diploma or certificate.

<sup>2</sup> The sample of anglophones having completed only part of their elementary and secondary education in the minority language includes both those who attended French-speaking schools and those who participated in a French immersion program within the English-speaking school system.



**TABLE 3. LINGUISTIC MINORITY MEMBERS HAVING COMPLETED PART OF THEIR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE, BASED ON THE HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED (%)**

Highest Education Level Achieved	Linguistic Minorities	
	Francophones Outside Quebec	Anglophones in Quebec
University education (with a diploma or certificate)	18.2	32.7
University education (without a diploma or certificate)	5.5	17.5
Non-university education (with a diploma or certificate)	14.2	17.3
Non-university education (without a diploma or certificate)	1.2	4.8
Secondary education (with a diploma or proof of equivalency)	28.0	23.1
Partial secondary education	32.9	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

## 2.2 Language of Instruction in University

The results regarding the preferred language of instruction in university also reveal differences between the two linguistic minorities. This section will analyze the choices made regarding the language of instruction for all minority francophones and anglophones having attended university, whether they completed their studies or not. The data on francophones will be presented first, followed by data on anglophones.

Among francophones outside Quebec having attended university, 51.8% said they had received their entire university education in French, 26.8% said they had received part of their university education in French, while 21.4% said they had received their university education in another language (see Table 4). It is important to

note, however, that there were significant differences between the provinces. For example, the province having the highest percentage of francophones having attended university in French is New Brunswick, where 80.2% of francophones indicated they had received all of their university education in French, while another 11.3% indicated having received part of their university education in French. The rates in New Brunswick are significantly higher than in Ontario, where only 43.0% of francophones received their entire university education in French and 30.8% received part of their university education in French. It is important to note that the percentage of francophones having received their entire university education in a language other than French<sup>3</sup> is higher in

<sup>3</sup> In the survey questionnaire, the available choices in answer to the question concerning the language of education included either the official language of the





Ontario (26.2%) than in New Brunswick (8.5%). Finally, francophones in the “other provinces and territories” category were more likely to have received their university education in a language other than French (29.2%) than in Ontario and New Brunswick. Among anglophones in Quebec having attended university, 88.5% indicated they had received their entire university

education in English, while another 6.5% indicated they had received part of their university education in English. Among anglophones in Quebec, only 5% indicated they had received their university education in a language other than English. This data allows us to conclude that anglophones in Quebec are more likely than francophones outside Quebec to receive their university education in the minority language.

**TABLE 4. FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC HAVING ATTENDED UNIVERSITY BASED ON THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION AND THE CURRENT PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE (%)**

Regions	Language of Instruction in University		
	Entirely in French	Partially in French	Other Language
Ontario	43.0	30.8	26.2
New Brunswick	80.2	11.3	8.5
Other provinces and territories	30.7	40.2	29.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>51.8</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>21.4</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

minority to which the respondent belongs or another language. It is highly probable that English is the other language for members of the francophone community outside Quebec as opposed to French for anglophones outside Quebec; however, this may not be confirmed without a doubt using the data collected in this study. This is a limitation of the study.



The percentage of individuals having received their university education in the minority language increases when we look specifically at francophones having received their primary and secondary education in French and at anglophones having received their primary and secondary education in English. For example, 62.8% of these francophones indicated they had received their entire university education in French, 22.9% said they had received part of their university education in French, and 14.4% said they had received their university education in a language other than French. This increase is also observed among anglophones having received their primary and secondary education in English, since 91.8% of them indicated they had received their entire university education in English, 4.2% said they had received part of their university education in English, while 4% indicated they had received their university education in a language other than English.

It is worthwhile noting, however, that the proportion of individuals receiving their university education in the minority language decreases when we look at francophones having completed only part of their primary and secondary education in French and anglophones having completed

only part of their primary and secondary education in English. For example, only 20.7% of francophones indicated they had received their entire university education in French compared to 42.6% who indicated they had received their university education in a language other than French. Among anglophones having indicated they had received part of their primary and secondary education in English, the rate decrease was less significant, since 86% indicated they had received their entire university education in English, compared to 8.5% who said they had received their university education in a language other than English.

However, when we look at francophones who received part of the primary and secondary education in French, it is interesting to note that the proportion of those having received their entire university education in French varies between the different provinces. For example, in New Brunswick, 65.3% of these francophones indicated they had received their entire university education in French, compared to 24.9% in Ontario and 8.4% in the “other provinces and territories” category (see Table 5).

**TABLE 5. FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC HAVING RECEIVED PART OF THEIR PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN FRENCH, BASED ON THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN UNIVERSITY AND THE CURRENT PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE (%)**

Current Province of Residence	Language of Instruction in University		
	Entirely in French	Partially in French	Other Language
Ontario	24.9	35.9	39.2
New Brunswick	65.3	21.4	13.4
Other provinces and territories	8.4	40.6	51.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>20.7</b>	<b>36.8</b>	<b>42.6</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

Among francophones outside Quebec and anglophones in Quebec having received their entire university education in the minority language, there are a high proportion of individuals having linguistically endogamous parents. In fact, 90,6% of francophones outside Quebec having received their entire university education in French have endogamous francophone parents, while 83,7% of anglophones in Quebec having received their entire university education in English have endogamous anglophone parents. We can note that a slightly larger proportion of anglophones pursuing their entire university education in English have linguistically

exogamous parents (16,3%) than francophones from an exogamous couple who study entirely in French (9,4%).

It is also interesting to note that 54,4% of francophones outside Quebec with linguistically endogamous parents receive their entire university education in French, compared to 34,3% of francophones outside Quebec with linguistically exogamous parents. New Brunswick francophones having linguistically endogamous parents are more likely to receive their university education in French (81,6%) than their peers in Ontario (44,6%) and in the other provinces and territories (34%) (see Table 6).



**TABLE 6. FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC HAVING RECEIVED THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN FRENCH, BASED ON THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR PARENTS AND THE PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE (%)**

Parents of the Respondent	Current Province of Residence	Language of Instruction in University	
		Entirely in French	Partially in French
<b>Linguistically endogamous</b>	Ontario	44.6	31.6
	New Brunswick	81.6	10.5
	Other provinces and territories	34.0	40.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>54.6</b>	<b>26.4</b>
<b>Linguistically exogamous</b>	Ontario	34.9	25.3
	New Brunswick	60.9	21.9
	Other provinces and territories	18.0	40.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>34.3</b>	<b>29.0</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

As well, 89.8% of anglophones in Quebec having linguistically endogamous parents receive their entire university education in

English compared to 82.5% of anglophones having linguistically exogamous parents (Table 7).

**TABLE 7. ANGLOPHONES IN QUEBEC HAVING RECEIVED THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ENGLISH, BASED ON THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR PARENTS (%)**

Parents of the Respondent	Language of Instruction in University	
	Entirely in English	Partially in English
Linguistically endogamous	89.8	6.2
Linguistically exogamous	82.5	7.7

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

In short, when all is said and done, we observe differences between the official language minorities when it comes to the language of instruction in university.

Significant gaps are also observed within the French-speaking minority depending on the province of origin. But what about the sense of belonging of individuals from the two

linguistic minorities who attended university? Is the sense of belonging to the linguistic minority the same if the individuals received their education in the minority language or the majority language?

### 2.3 Sense of Belonging to the Linguistic Groups

First of all, let's examine the situation of francophones in a minority setting. Those who received their entire university education in French have a high rate of sense of belonging to the francophone group. In fact, 72.1% of them identify with the francophone group ("exclusively" or "primarily"), while 26.5% of them identify with "both francophone and anglophone groups", and 1.3% identify "primarily with the anglophone group". We do, however, notice

differences depending on the current province of residence. New Brunswick is the province which has the highest proportion of francophones having a sense of belonging to the francophone group: 32% of them feel they belong "exclusively" to the francophone group and 46% of them feel they belong "primarily" to this group, for a total of 79%; that is a relatively higher proportion than in Ontario (68.3%) and in the "other provinces and territories" category (57.4%). Francophones in New Brunswick are also the least likely to identify with both anglophone and francophone groups, while francophones from the other provinces and territories category are the most likely to identify either "with both groups equally" or "primarily with the anglophone group" (see Table 8).

**TABLE 8. FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC HAVING RECEIVED THEIR ENTIRE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN FRENCH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (%)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of Belonging to the Linguistic Groups			
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To Both Groups Equally	Primarily to the Anglophone Group
Ontario	26.8	41.5	29.8	1.8
New Brunswick	32.0	47.0	20.5	0.2
Other provinces and territories	17.2	40.2	38.8	3.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>28.2</b>	<b>43.9</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>1.3</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.



If we look at francophones outside Québec who did not receive their university education in French, we notice a significant increase in the sense of belonging to “both linguistic groups” (43.3%) and “primarily to the anglophone group” (26.1%). When we look at these results based on the current province of residence, we observe that

francophones in New Brunswick who did not receive their university education in French are the least likely to identify “primarily to the anglophone group” (1.6%), compared to Franco-Ontarians (30.1%) and francophones in the “other provinces and territories” category (28.2%) (see Table 9).

**TABLE 9. FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC WHO DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN FRENCH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (%)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of Belonging to the Linguistic Groups			
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To Both Groups Equally	Primarily to the Anglophone Group
Ontario	11.7	15.1	40.9	30.1
New Brunswick	14.1	43.0	41.2	1.6
Other provinces and territories	4.6	16.4	49.3	28.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>10.1</b>	<b>18.8</b>	<b>43.3</b>	<b>26.1</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

If we analyze francophones outside Quebec who did not receive their university education in French but who received their entire primary and secondary education in French, we also observe a higher proportion of individuals identifying “to both linguistic groups equally” (50.7%) as well as a decrease in the proportion of individuals identifying “primarily to the anglophone group” (13.3%) (see Table 10).

By contrast, still among those who did not receive university education in French, the sense of belonging to the francophone group is much weaker when only part of the elementary and secondary studies were

completed in French (see Table 11). Results show that, in fact, only 6.2% identify solely with the francophone group and 4.9% mostly with the francophone group. The majority (54.8%) of these francophones identify mostly with the anglophone group.

**TABLE 10. FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC WHO RECEIVED THEIR ENTIRE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN FRENCH BUT WHO DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN FRENCH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (%)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of Belonging to the Linguistic Groups			
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To Both Groups Equally	Primarily to the Anglophone Group
Ontario	9.6	20.5	52.7	17.3
New Brunswick	8.8	49.5	41.6	0.0
Other provinces and territories	10.6	23.7	52.7	11.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>26.1</b>	<b>50.7</b>	<b>13.3</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

**TABLE 11. FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC WHO RECEIVED PART OF THEIR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN FRENCH BUT WHO DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN FRENCH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (IN %)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of Belonging to the Linguistic Groups			
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To Both Groups Equally	Primarily to the Anglophone Group
Ontario	15.5	–	24.2	60.3
New Brunswick	–	–	55.4	44.6
Other provinces and territories	0.9	8.1	38.9	52.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>6.2</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>34.1</b>	<b>54.8</b>

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

Let's examine now the sense of belonging of anglophones in Quebec who received a university education. Among anglophones in Quebec who received their entire university education in English, 72.7% identify

“primarily to the anglophone group” or “exclusively to the anglophone group”, 25.2% identify “to both groups equally”, while 1.3% identify “with the francophone group” (see Table 12).

**TABLE 12. ANGLOPHONES IN QUEBEC HAVING RECEIVED THEIR ENTIRE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ENGLISH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (%)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of belonging to the linguistic groups				
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To Both Groups Equally	Primarily to the Anglophone Group	Exclusively to the Anglophone Group
Québec	0.2	1.1	25.2	57.7	15.0

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

When we look at anglophones in Quebec who did not receive their university education in English, we observe a larger proportion of individuals identifying “with both groups equally” (66%), compared to those identifying either “primarily to the anglophone group” or “exclusively to the anglophone group” (31.4%) (see Table 13).

And when anglophones in Quebec who received their primary and secondary education in English but did not pursue their university studies in English are compared to the anglophones in Table 12, we note that fewer individuals identify “with both groups equally” (52.2%) and more individuals identify “primarily to the anglophone group” (43.5%) (see Table 14).

**TABLE 13. ANGLOPHONES IN QUEBEC WHO DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ENGLISH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (%)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of Belonging to the Linguistic Groups				
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To Both Groups Equally	Primarily to the Anglophone Group	Exclusively to the Anglophone Group
Quebec	0.3	1.4	66.0	23.7	7.7

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.



**TABLE 14. ANGLOPHONES IN QUEBEC WHO RECEIVED THEIR ENTIRE PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ENGLISH AND WHO DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ENGLISH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (%)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of Belonging to the Linguistic Groups				
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To both groups equally	Primarily to the anglophone group	Exclusively to the anglophone group
Quebec	–	2.3	52.2	43.5	–

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

In addition, when individuals received only part of their elementary and secondary education in English but did not receive their university education in English, multi-linguistic identification prevails with 98.6%

identifying equally with both linguistic groups. None of these respondents claimed to identify mostly or exclusively with the anglophone group (see Table 15).

**TABLEAU 15. ANGLOPHONES IN QUEBEC WHO RECEIVED PART OF THEIR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN ENGLISH BUT WHO DID NOT RECEIVE THEIR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN ENGLISH, BASED ON THEIR SENSE OF BELONGING TO THE LINGUISTIC GROUPS (IN %)**

Current Province of Residence	Sense of belonging to the linguistic groups				
	Exclusively to the Francophone Group	Primarily to the Francophone Group	To Both Groups Equally	Primarily to the Anglophone Group	Exclusively to the Anglophone Group
Quebec	–	1.4	98.6	–	–

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let us summarize the most important elements of comparison. The results presented here confirm first of all that anglophones in Quebec have a higher education level than francophones in a minority setting, especially with regards to

university education. It bears mentioning, however, that the targeted population for this study includes 45% of allophones having English as their first spoken official language, including many immigrants. The high levels of education of Canadian immigrants must therefore be taken into



account when interpreting these results. However, a closer examination of francophones in a minority setting reveals certain differences between the provinces. Our observations also indicate that the francophones in minority setting populations outside New Brunswick and Ontario have the highest rates of completed university education – their rates surpassing even those of anglophones in Quebec. How can we explain these differences? While the theory of Corbeil (2003) concerning the migration of highly educated Quebecers towards Western Canada is not entirely excluded, the data analyzed in this chapter suggest the possibility that these higher education levels may be the result of the migration of university diploma bearing francophones from Quebec, but also from New Brunswick and Ontario.

Another result that is noteworthy with regards to education levels observed concerns the language of instruction during primary and secondary education. Among francophones, those having completely only part of their primary and secondary education in the minority language (that is to say in French) are less likely than other francophones to have attended university. However, the opposite is observed among anglophones in Quebec, since anglophones having completed part of their primary and secondary education in English are more likely than other anglophones to have attended university. How can we explain these differences? First of all, we could hypothesize that changes in the language of instruction in primary and secondary school among francophones could be related to difficulties at school, which could explain why these students are less likely to attend university. In addition, we could ask ourselves: What characterizes Quebec

students who are likely to have studied in both English and French? Do these youths come from privileged social categories or from families wishing to promote social mobility through the development of bilingual capabilities, something which is sought out by some anglophone parents (Lamarre, 2008) and extremely valued in the context of a globalized economy? In light of the higher education levels observed among allophones in general (Corbeil, 2003), another explanation could be related to immigrants partially schooled in English in their country of origin (or elsewhere in Canada) but obligated to attend the French-language school system in Quebec.

When it comes to the language of instruction in university, we also observed differences between the two linguistic minorities, but also between the provinces of residence. Firstly, we note that anglophones in Quebec are more likely than francophones in a minority setting to pursue a university education in their language. Among francophones in a minority setting, we note significant variations based on the current province of residence – residents of New Brunswick being much more likely than those in other provinces to have received their university education exclusively in French. This data is difficult to interpret since they concern the current province of residence rather than the place of origin. For this reason, we cannot assume there is a connection between the chosen language of instruction and the university programs offered, since we do not know the province of residence of the students when they made their decision about which university to attend. To better examine this issue, it would be interesting to conduct statistical analyses of academic paths, something which was not possible in this study.

Generally speaking, we observe a certain degree of linguistic continuity between the language of instruction in primary and secondary school and the language of instruction chosen in university for both linguistic groups. Francophones and anglophones having completed their entire primary and secondary education in the minority language were more likely to receive their university education in the same language. Differences were primarily observed among individuals having completed part of their primary and secondary education in the minority language. In this regard, anglophones in Quebec having completed part of their primary and secondary education in English are more likely than francophones in the other provinces to study in their official language in university.

In conclusion, what should we make of the cross-tabulations using the variables “sense of belonging to the linguistic groups” and “language of instruction”? First of all, we observed that similar proportions of francophones and anglophones having studied in the minority language in university identify “exclusively” or “primarily” with the minority language group (approximately 72%). A closer examination of the data shows that francophones in a minority setting are more likely than anglophones in Quebec to indicate a sense of belonging exclusively to the linguistic minority group: 28.2% of francophones, compared to 15% of anglophones. The gap is even greater with francophones in New Brunswick, who are almost twice as likely as anglophones in Quebec to indicate a sense of belonging exclusively to the minority linguistic group.

The results are different for francophones and anglophones who didn't receive their university education in the minority language<sup>4</sup>. First of all, we observe a lower sense of belonging to the linguistic minority (“exclusively” or “primarily”) in these two groups than in the groups of francophones and anglophones having received their university education in the minority language. The rate drops by more than half in both groups, dropping from 72.1% to 28.9% among francophones in a minority setting and from 72.7% to 31.4% among anglophones in Quebec. However, there is also an increased sense of belonging equally to both linguistic groups; this increase is greater among anglophones in Quebec receiving their university education in French than among francophones in other provinces receiving their university education in English. The main difference, however, concerns the sense of belonging to the majority linguistic group. In fact, among respondents who did not receive their university education in the language of the minority, francophones are considerably more likely to indicate a sense of identifying primarily to the majority linguistic group (26.1%) than anglophones in Quebec are likely to indicate a sense of identifying primarily with the francophone group (1.7% indicated a sense of identifying exclusively or primarily with this group). A closer examination, however, reveals similar proportions of francophones in New Brunswick and anglophones in Quebec identifying primarily with the linguistic majority (1.6%). We cannot avoid

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<sup>4</sup> Even though we cannot affirm with certainty that individuals who did not receive their university education in the minority language received it in the majority language, it is highly likely that that was the case for the vast majority of them, considering the university programs offered in Canada.



wondering if these results are partly a reflection of the vitality of the linguistic minority communities; the Quebec and New Brunswick environments are more conducive to allowing members of the linguistic minorities having received a university diploma to maintain their sense of belonging to their linguistic community. According to these results, the attractiveness of the linguistic majority community seems greater in Ontario and in the “other provinces and territories” category.

Finally, we conclude with an interesting observation concerning the early schooling of individuals having received their university education in a language other than that of the linguistic minority. The results indicate that among individuals who completed their entire primary and secondary education in the minority language but who did not receive their entire university education in this language, the proportion of those identifying with the minority group as higher than among those who did not receive their entire primary and secondary education in the minority language. This observation is valid for both anglophones in Quebec and francophones in the other provinces. Among minority francophones, we also note a drop in the proportion of individuals identifying with the linguistic majority group. These results allow us to hypothesize that early schooling in the minority language could possibly have

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an effect on the sense of belonging to the minority group, regardless of the choices made regarding language of instruction in university. Once again, conducting quantitative analyses of academic paths and logistical regressions would be extremely useful to measure the relationship between different factors and the sense of belonging to the linguistic groups. More detailed analyses would allow us to measure the strength of the relationships between the sense of belonging and the chosen language of instruction in university. These are promising research avenues which could contribute to our understanding of the links between education and the sense of belonging to the official language minorities in Canada.

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# CHAPTER 4

## IN WHICH OFFICIAL LANGUAGE DO WE USE MEDIA IN CANADIAN MINORITY SETTINGS?

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## CHAPTER 4

# MEDIA AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE USE IN CANADIAN MINORITY SETTINGS

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### INTRODUCTION

A contemporary collectivity cannot reproduce itself without a relationship with the media. It is in the media and through the public messages directed to it that it is presented and represented to itself and to others. For official-language minorities in Canada, access to media in their language is all the more important since they are flooded by broadcast messages coming from the majority culture – Canadian or Quebec culture, depending on the province – and the American, and even globalizing, cultures (Laflamme, 1992).

Thanks to the Internet and cable, the postmodern societies we live in offer various radio stations, television channels, newspapers and books in several languages. In this context, we could think that francophones and anglophones would be in a position to access media in the minority language, i.e. French outside Quebec, and English in Quebec. As bearers of culture these media are of crucial importance to these minorities. Without sustained access and regular exposure to media that speak to them and speak of them, minority language and culture could be relegated to the private sphere, its only impact being that of a partial self-expression through close relationships, in families as well as in ever tightening circles outside of the home,

aggravating their precariousness in the present context of globalization.

In that regard, it seems important to us to examine the use of the various media by minorities in Canada, not only to understand the variations in their use, but also to map the language chosen for those media<sup>1</sup>. The data analysed come from the Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities (SVOLM) that examined five different media: television, radio, Internet, newspapers and books.

### 1. METHODOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

The SVOLM adult sample is made up of 12,376 French-speaking adults living outside of Quebec (represented population: 932,040 individuals) and 6,969 English-speaking adults living in Quebec (represented population: 866,950 individuals)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> In the present text, we will alternately use the expressions *language chosen for the media*, *language of use* and *media consumption*.

<sup>2</sup> In the present document, we will use the terms *Francophones* or *francophone minorities* and *anglophones*, *anglophone minorities* or *Quebec anglophones* interchangeably but in the inclusive sense given to the terms “French-speaking adults living outside of Quebec” and “English-speaking adults living in Quebec” found in the context of the survey.





The frequency of media consumption is based on the answers to the following questions:

- how many hours per week do you spend: watching television; listening to the radio<sup>3</sup>;
- how often do you read: newspapers<sup>4</sup>; books<sup>5</sup>;
- how many hours per week (in your free time) do you spend on the Internet<sup>6</sup>.

The chosen language for these five forms of media has been measured according to a scale that allows us to process the data as cardinal<sup>7</sup>.

The results of these frequency distributions will be displayed according to the provincial variations, but also based on correlations between the different media as to the language of use (for example, the relationship between the language of use for television and the language of use for radio).

In addition to the conclusions these results lead to, which we present here in a first

part, we wanted to verify the impact of certain socio-demographic variables – age, the level of education and the language in which the highest level of education was achieved – on the language of use. The hypotheses state that the level of education will have a positive effect – and even more so when that level has been achieved in the minority language – on media consumption in that language, but on the other hand, the younger the users are, the less they expose themselves to that language.

We draw these hypotheses from recent analyses, based on the Survey results that demonstrate how predominant the English language is with regards to media consumption, equally among Quebec anglophones (Statistics Canada, 2010b) and Franco-Ontarians (Statistics Canada, 2010a).<sup>8</sup> These studies also show that language choices vary depending on the density of population in the area of residence: indeed, the higher the proportion of the minority group in a municipality, the more the minority group tends to choose media in the minority language. When we look at all francophones outside of Quebec, we can see an increase in media consumption in French in areas with a high concentration of francophones, for example in New Brunswick and in Eastern Ontario. Similarly, higher tendencies of media consumption in English can be found in areas of Quebec with a higher proportion of anglophones like in Gaspésie and in the Eastern Townships.

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<sup>3</sup> The scale is as follows: 1 = 4 hours or less; 2 = 5 to 14 hours; 3 = 15 to 29 hours; 4 = 30 hours or more; 5 = doesn't listen to the radio, doesn't watch television.

<sup>4</sup> The scale is as follows: 1 = every day; 2 = a few times a week; 3 = once a week; 4 = less than once a week; 5 = rarely or never.

<sup>5</sup> The scale is as follows: 1 = every day; 2 = at least once a week; 3 = at least once a month; 4 = a few times a year; 5 = never.

<sup>6</sup> The scale is as follows: 1 = less than 1 hour; 2 = 1 to 5 hours; 3 = 6 to 10 hours; 4 = 11 to 20 hours; 5 = 21 hours or more; 6 = doesn't use the Internet.

<sup>7</sup> The scale is as follows: 1 = in French only; 2 = more in French than in English; 3 = in French and English equally; 4 = more in English than in French; 5 = in English only.

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<sup>8</sup> See also our article "Exposition aux médias en milieu minoritaire au Canada. Une comparaison entre Franco-Ontariens et Anglo-Québécois", in Ali Reguigui and Julie Boissonneault (Eds.) "Langue et territoire".

In view of these empirical findings, it seems important to us to introduce new analyses through which we can observe the effect of age<sup>9</sup> and instruction<sup>10</sup> in the light of the issues we have raised.

Language of study for the highest level of education is a dichotomous variable that indicates whether or not these studies were conducted in the minority language. For

example, if the highest level of education is a college degree, we want to know if the collegial studies were entirely or partly completed in the minority language<sup>11</sup>.

## 2. PRIMARY RESULTS

### 2.1 Use and Language of Use

As Table 1 indicates, out of the five forms of media included in this study, television is by far the most popular: the rates of use are

**TABLE 1. PROPORTION (%) OF USERS OF THE VARIOUS MEDIA PER GROUP, SVOLM (2006)**

Media	Outside of Quebec Francophones	Quebec Anglophones
Television	97	97
Radio	85	86
Books	80	81
Newspapers	78	76
Internet	66	72

identical for minorities outside of Quebec and in Quebec. With regards to radio, books and newspapers, the two groups seem to have similar rates.

<sup>9</sup> The age variable is used in whole, i.e. without grouping.

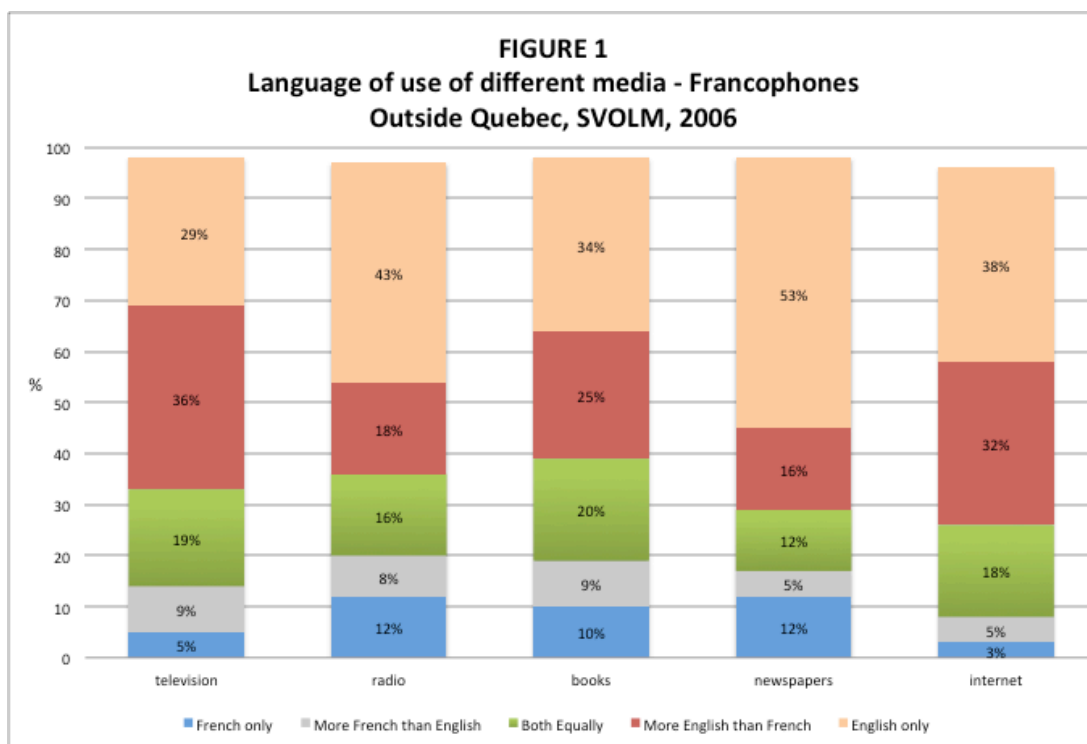
<sup>10</sup> The scale is as follows: 1=university; 2=college; 3=secondary school or less.

<sup>11</sup> The significance tests were calculated using coefficients of variation (CV), which is a method of overlapping confidence intervals (Statistics Canada, 2007). According to this method, the CV of two estimates are calculated and compared: if the two confidence intervals overlap, the two estimates cannot be reported as being different. We have estimated the confidence intervals with confidence levels of 99% and 95%.

We can see however that the Internet is the least popular form of media out of the five: 66% of francophones and 72% of Quebec anglophones indicated using it.

A simple glance at the language of use confirms that, as Figures 1 and 2 illustrate, the predominance of English for each one of the five forms of media is a reality as much outside of Quebec as in Quebec.

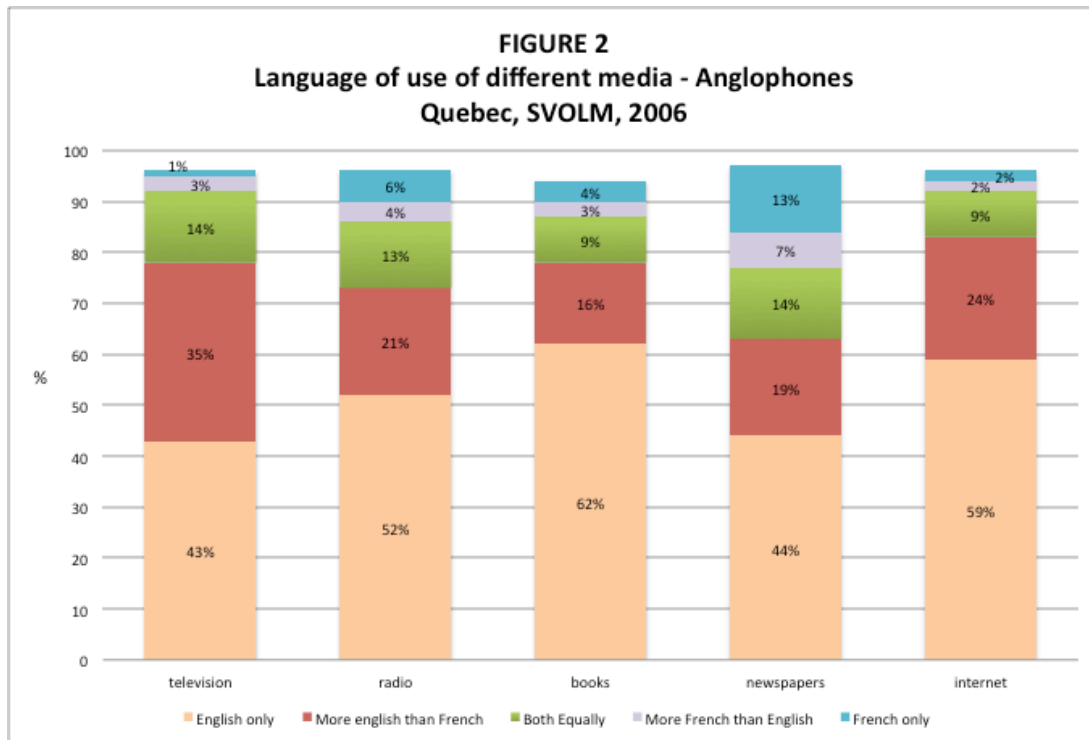
Among francophones, if we break down the outcomes based on the answers “French only” and “more French than English”, we notice higher proportions for the use of radio, newspapers and books compared to the two other forms of media ( $p < 0.01$ ). The use of the Internet represents the lowest proportion.



Among Quebec anglophones, the Internet is the form of media that has the highest proportion of exposure only or mainly in English with 83% of users ( $p < 0.01$ ). Books and television follow with 78%. It is

interesting to note that approximately 7% of Quebec anglophones declare also reading books in “French only” and “more French than English”.





When comparing the results of both official-language minorities, we can see that reading books in the minority language is fairly important for both groups. However, it seems clear that the use of the minority language is proportionally higher in Quebec than it is among francophones in other areas, and that for all five forms of media included in the study. Actually, the fact is that even if the proportion of francophones using *only English* in their exposure to the media is lower than that of Quebec anglophones for all forms of media except newspapers, the proportion of individuals using *more English than French* surpasses it when it comes to books, newspapers and the Internet. However, there are no significant differences between the two groups in the language they expose themselves to when watching television and listening to the radio. So overall (*only English + more English than French*), we can see that francophones read newspapers in English more than Quebec anglophones and

that it is mostly books that encourage them to use French.

Furthermore, even though provincial and regional comparisons (for Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario) go beyond the parameters set for this study, we believe it is important to highlight certain facts that were revealed, during the analysis, in comparing francophones and anglophones. While 78% of anglophones watch television only and more in English, that proportion reaches 84% in Alberta among francophones ( $p < 0.05$ ) and stays high in all other provinces and territories. However, Ontario and New Brunswick are the exception with 66% and 42% of francophones respectively exposing themselves to television only or more in English ( $p < 0.01$ ). The same applies to the radio: the proportions among francophones, except in New Brunswick and Ontario, are mostly higher than they are in Quebec. Again, Alberta is where the proportion is the greatest with 85%, i.e. a

percentage much higher than among Quebec anglophones (73%) ( $p < 0,01$ ).

Considering what we mentioned earlier about past analyses that take into account the density of population in the municipality of residence, it is not surprising to see that New Brunswick clearly stands out from its provincial counterparts, outside of Quebec, with regards to the use of French. Indeed, that is where we notice the highest proportion of francophones, at 30%, who report watching television only in French or more in French than in English. In other provinces that proportion does not exceed 10%, except in Ontario where it reaches 12%. The difference between New Brunswick and Ontario is significant ( $p < 0.01$ ), whereas between Ontario and the other provinces it is not.

The same trends can be observed for all the other forms of media. In New Brunswick, francophones expose themselves to the radio only or more in French with a proportion of 43%, compared to 17% in Ontario ( $p < 0.01$ ); as for the difference with regard to books, 41% and 17% respectively ( $p < 0.01$ ); for newspapers, the proportions are close to 50% and approximately 11% ( $p < 0.01$ ), and less than 10% in the other provinces.

We should, however, mention that New Brunswick has the lowest proportion of Francophones who read books daily in any language (19%). Actually, a larger proportion of them “never” read (25%) than read “every day” ( $p < 0.01$ ). francophones living in the Territories (43%) and in British Columbia (37%) have the highest percentages for reading books every day.

## **2.2 Frequency of Use and Exposure to the Minority Language**

This observation on the frequency of reading in New Brunswick raises another issue related to the use of the media, namely the frequency of use of media. This factor could be important since it could, in a way, be used to quantify exposure to the minority language through the media. For example, we know that 97% of French-speaking adults outside of Quebec have indicated they watch television. We also know that English prevails as the language of choice when it comes to television. However, if we want to quantify this exposure to English through the different media, we can see that the highest proportion of francophones (46%) watch between 5 and 14 hours of television per week. The same applies for radio: the highest proportion of francophones outside Quebec (32%) listen to the radio 4 hours or less per week while that percentage reaches 33% among Quebec anglophones. As for the Internet, the highest proportions, i.e. 26% among francophones and 28% among anglophones, use the Internet approximately one to five hours per week.

The analyses regarding television and books do not reveal any significant differences, neither outside of Quebec, nor in Quebec. In other words, individuals who read books daily are not inclined to choose one language over another. However, outside of Quebec, certain differences can be noted for newspapers, radio and the Internet, indicating a different exposure to the minority language according to each form of media.

Thus, it seems that francophone minorities are the most exposed to the French language through the use of the radio: the



proportion of the ones who listen to the radio only or more in French is higher for those who listen to it 30 hours or more per week than for those who listen to it 4 hours or less, i.e. 25% compared to 19% ( $p < 0.05$ ). As for the Internet and newspapers however, a more frequent use seems to correspond with greater exposure to English. Therefore, 74% of francophones who read newspapers every day choose English compared to 64% of those who read them less than once a week ( $p < 0.05$ ).

As a result, there seems to be slight differences in the exposure to the minority language according to the frequency of use of the different media.

### 2.3 Combined Use of the Media

In view of the above-mentioned variations in the frequency and the language of

exposure, it is important to examine the combined use of the different media, namely to verify if the trends change according to the media. For example, we can ask ourselves the following question: if we watch more television in French, do we do other things more in French? Indeed, the results show that there is a correlation between the language used for different media, in Quebec as well as outside of Quebec. The correlations are all positive and inferable ( $p < 0.001$ ).

Thus, outside of Quebec, (see Table 2), among francophones, the more English is used for watching television, the more it tends to be used for listening to the radio ( $r_G = 0.62$ ), reading newspapers ( $r_G = 0.59$ ), reading books ( $r_G = 0.66$ ) and using the Internet ( $r_G = 0.60$ ).

**TABLE 2. INTERCORRELATIONS (G) OF THE LANGUAGE USED FOR THE DIFFERENT MEDIA – FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE OF QUEBEC, SVOLM (2006)**

Media	Radio	Newspapers	Books	Internet
Television	0.622	0.586	0.660	0.595
Radio		0.598	0.561	0.495
Newspapers			0.630	0.528
Books				0.634

Scale: 1 = only in French and 5 = only in English  
The differences are all significant at  $p < 0.001$

The same applies for Quebec (see Table 3): the more English is used when watching television, the more that language is used for all the other media. The coefficients vary between 0.48 and 0.55 and are inferable

( $p < 0.001$ ). Among Quebec anglophones, the highest correlation can be found between Internet and books ( $r_G = 0.63$ ), while outside of Quebec, it appears between books and television ( $r_G = 0.66$ ).

**TABLE 3. INTERCORRELATIONS (G) OF USE OF LANGUAGE WITH THE DIFFERENT MEDIA – ANGLOPHONES IN QUEBEC, SVOLM (2006)**

Media	Radio	Newspapers	Books	Internet
<b>Television</b>	0.483	0.511	0.550	0.540
<b>Radio</b>		0.500	0.454	0.450
<b>Newspapers</b>			0.591	0.520
<b>Books</b>				0.633

Scale: 1 = only in French and 5 = only in English

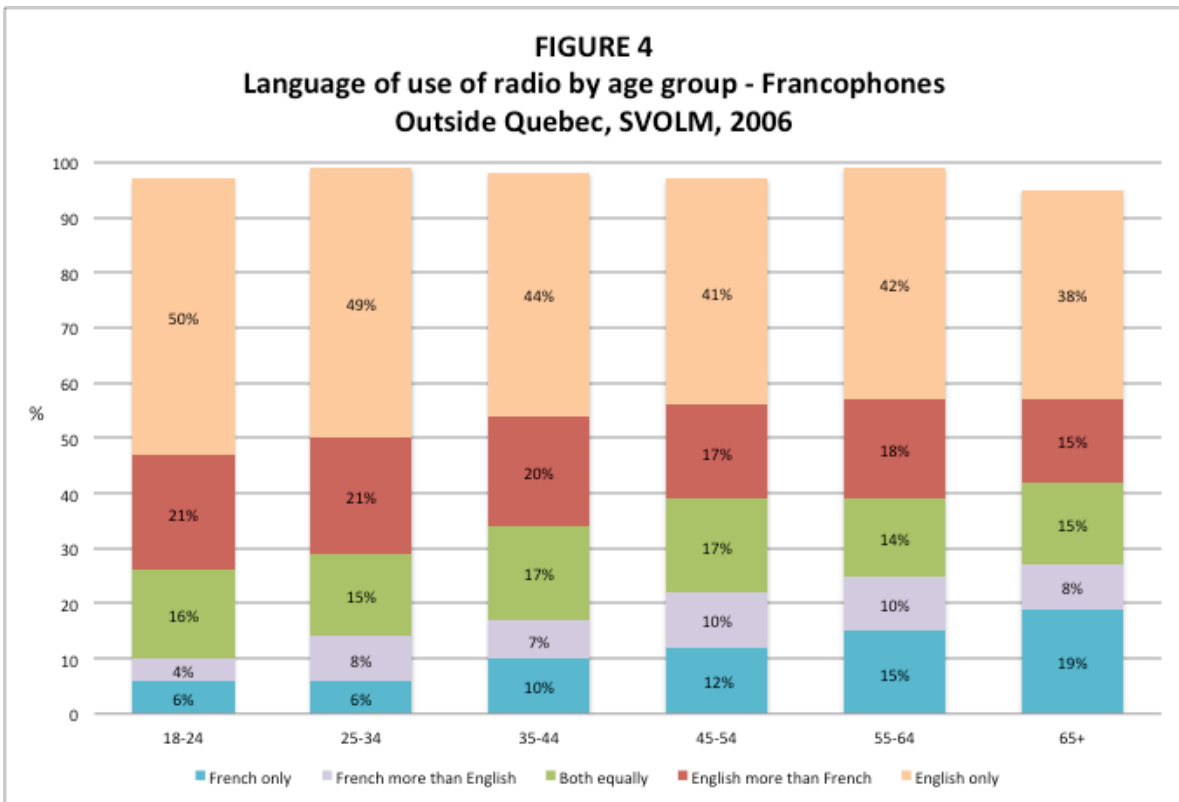
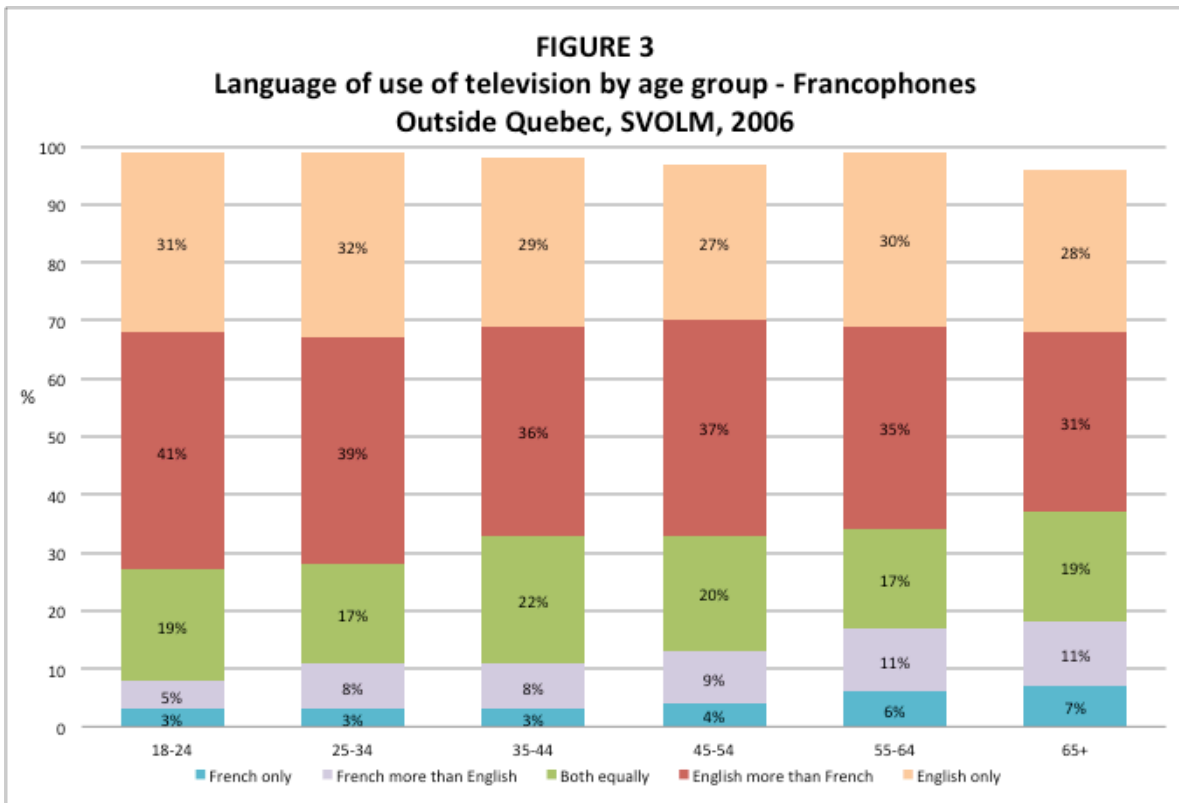
The differences are all significant at  $p < 0.001$

## 2.4 The Effect of Age

According to our assumption, age would have a positive effect on the language of use of the media: the older the individual, the more they would be inclined to use the minority language. However, the results are not so simple and the assumption is only partially confirmed. No significant differences were noted between the age groups for the choice of language with

regard to television in Quebec and the Internet outside of Quebec. In both cases, young people aged 18 to 24 use the minority language as much as older individuals do. Also, no significant differences were noted in the other age groups.

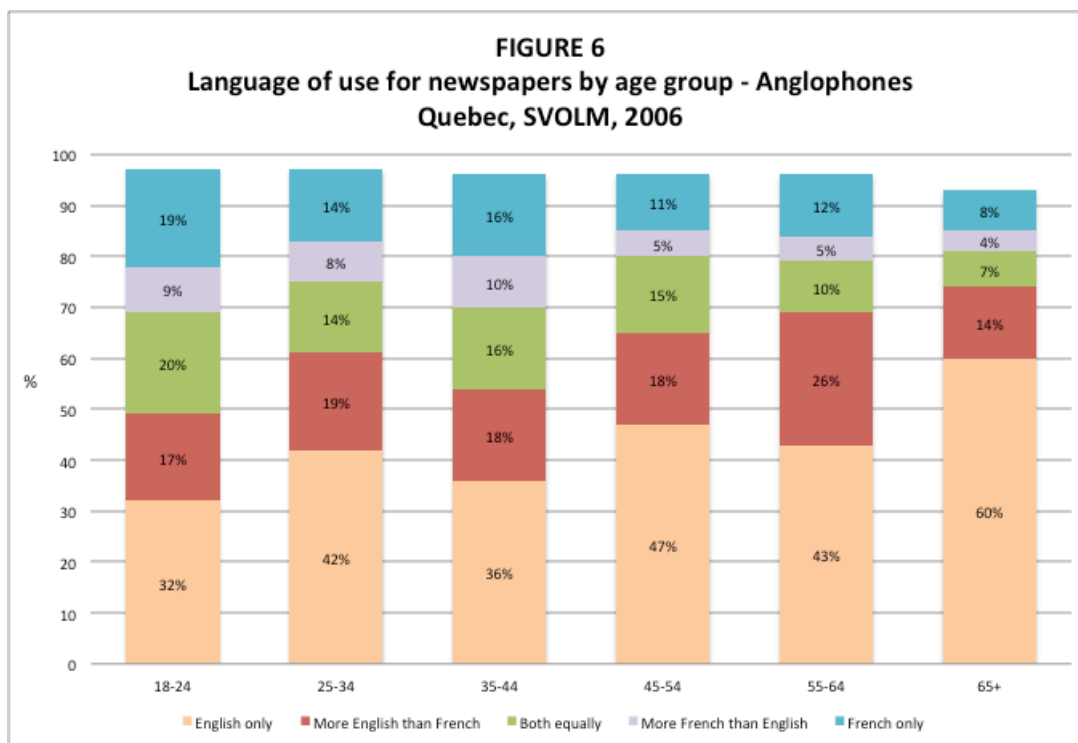
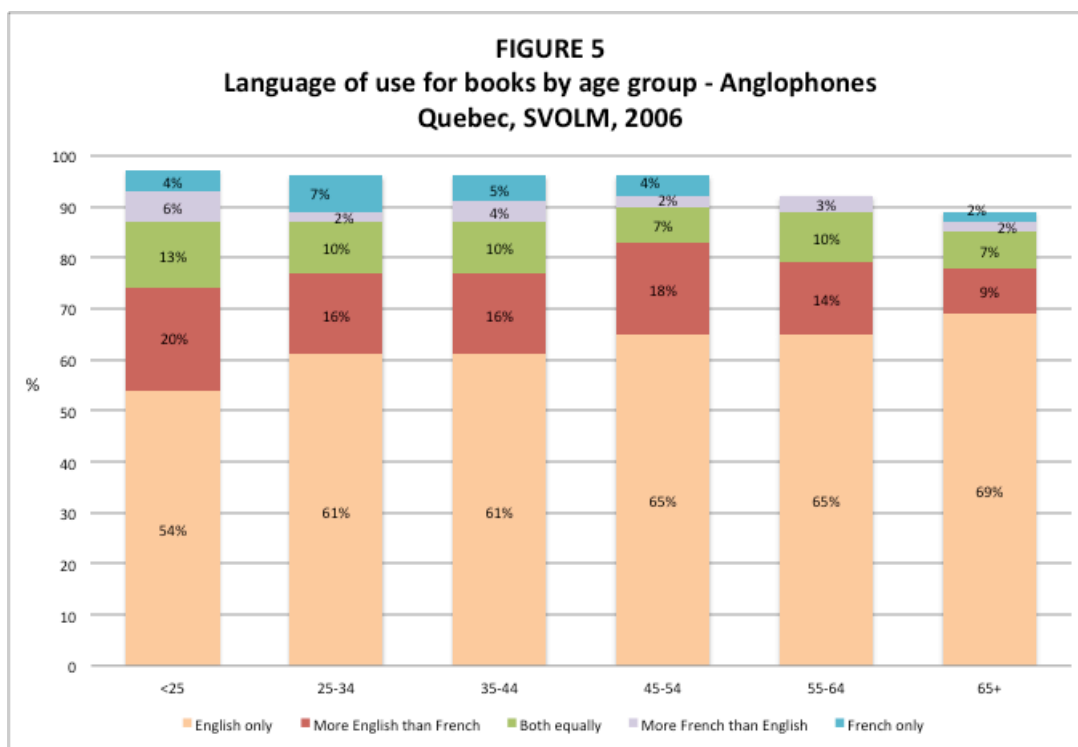
Our assumption is however confirmed outside of Quebec with regards to television (see Figure 3) and radio (see Figure 4).





It is also confirmed among Quebec anglophones with regards to books (see Figure 5) and newspapers (see Figure 6). In

each of these cases, the proportion of individuals in a minority group using the language of the minority increases with age.



Among francophones, 8% of young people aged 18 to 24, watch television only or more in French compared to 18% of seniors aged 65 or more ( $p < 0.01$ ). As for the radio, the data indicate that 6% of the youngest and 19% of the most senior individuals listen to it only in French ( $p < 0.01$ ).

In Quebec, 54% of young anglophones aged 18 to 24, compared to 69% of seniors 65 years of age or more, read books only in English ( $p < 0.01$ ). When it comes to reading newspapers, the proportions for these groups are 32% and 60% ( $p < 0.01$ ).

In some other cases, the data indicate slight variations based on age groups, even

though they are not linear. Outside of Quebec for example, with regards to the language used to read books, 19% of young individuals aged 18 to 24, as well as 19% of individuals 65 years of age or more read books only or more in French. There is however a difference in the proportions of francophones who read books in “French and English equally” according to age: 24% of young individuals aged 18 to 24 read books in both languages equally compared to 16% of seniors ( $p < 0.01$ ) who are more inclined to reading books only or more in English. This contradicts the hypothesis.

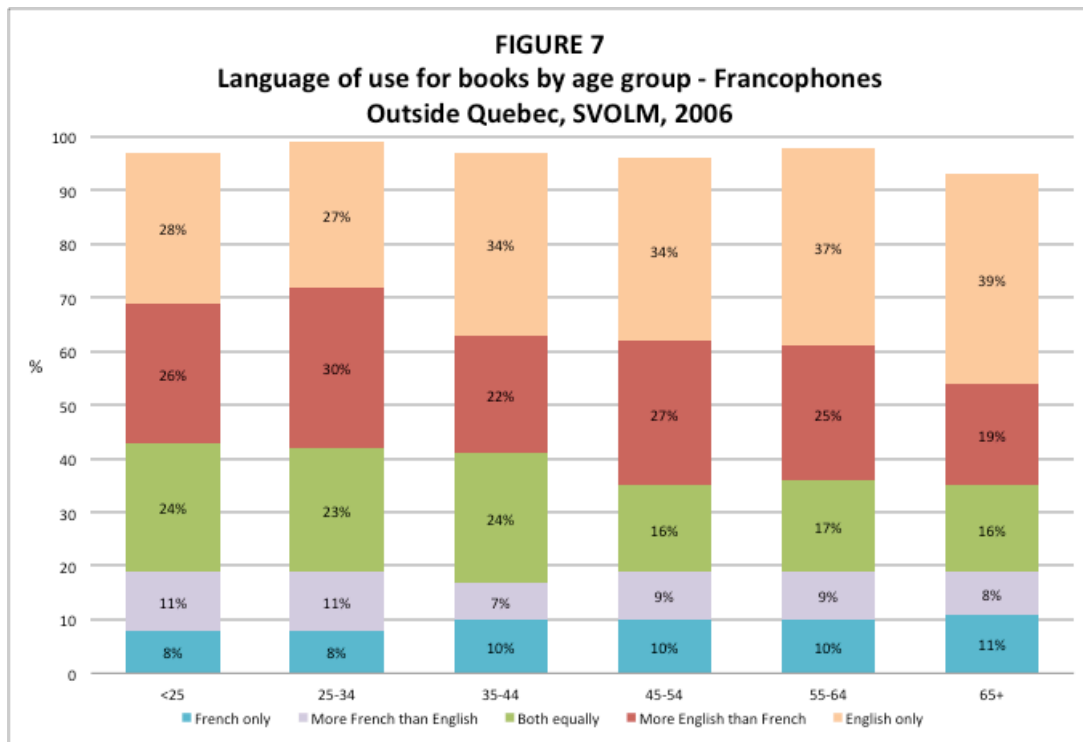


Figure 7 indicates that despite slight differences between the reading of books only or more in French, francophones that are less than 35 years of age seem to read more in French, all categories combined, than individuals aged 65 or more do.

Another result (not presented) serves to weaken our assumption: in Quebec, young individuals aged 18 to 24 have a higher percentage (83%) of Internet use in English than seniors aged 65 years or more (74%) ( $p < 0.05$ ).



Overall, however, the effect of age can indeed be acknowledged, even though it is not as pronounced as we first thought it would be, notably because the variations between the age groups seem more and more unpredictable.

## 2.5 The Effect of Schooling

The data on education reveal different behavioural patterns between anglophones and francophones.

Among the francophone minorities outside of Quebec, results show that the level of schooling does indeed impact the language in which they use media. This would tend to

confirm the hypothesis. However, the results also indicate that the relationship is not linear and therefore not simple.

As indicated in Table 4, francophones who have a college diploma or certificate as their highest level of schooling are always least to turn toward French. The phenomenon is particularly obvious for television, where numbers are higher among high school and university graduates. Furthermore, it is important to stress that in the case of television, the individuals whose highest level of schooling is at the high school level are more likely to choose French in their association with media.

**TABLE 4. EDUCATION LEVEL AND EXPOSURE TO MEDIA  
PROPORTION (%) OF USERS  
EXPOSURE TO MEDIA ONLY OR MAINLY IN FRENCH.  
FRANCOPHONES – OUTSIDE OF QUEBEC, SVOLM (2006)**

Media	High School	College	University
Radio	21**	14**	
		14**	22**
Television	17**	8**	
		8**	13**
	17**		13**
Internet	9	6	8
Newspapers	20**	14**	
	20**		14**
Books	21**	15**	19

\*The differences are significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\* The differences are significant at  $p < 0.01$

Interpretation of table: Non-shaded areas contain too unreliable to be reported.

The higher proportions linked to high school suggest an age effect on which we cannot report in the framework of this analysis. One might think that the elderly are more likely to have high school education only as their highest level of education and that

French is their main language. These two characteristics could explain the non-linearity of the effect of education and deserve to be further examined in the context of multivariate analyses.



The situation is completely different among English-speaking Quebecers (see Table 5). The highest level of schooling does not have a significant impact on the choice of language for four out of the five media in

the study, Internet being an exception: 86% of anglophones with a university degree tend to surf only or more in English, compared to 78% of those whose highest level is high school ( $p < 0.05$ ).

**TABLE 5. EDUCATION LEVEL AND EXPOSURE TO MEDIA  
PROPORTION (%) OF USERS  
EXPOSURE TO MEDIA ONLY OR MORE IN ENGLISH  
ANGLOPHONES, QUEBEC, SVOLM (2006)**

Media	High School	College	University
Radio	74	73	72
Television	77	80	79
Internet	78*		86*
		84	
Newspapers	61	62	63
Books	79	75	79

\*The differences are significant at  $p < 0.05$

Interpretation of table: Non-shaded areas contain too unreliable to be reported.

## 2.6 The Effect of Schooling in the Minority Language

It is possible, with data from the SVOLM, to further the analysis by taking into consideration the language in which respondents obtained their highest diploma, which allows for the verification of its effect on the language of exposure to media. In fact, results indicate that, overall, the language in which the highest diploma was obtained has an influence on which language is selected for media consumption. There are, however, a few exceptions (see Tables 6 and 7).

This influence is especially evident among francophones outside of Quebec. In fact, the proportion of francophones who indicated that they use only or more French as the language of media interaction is

greater when studies were conducted in French. On the other hand, college education constitutes an exception: the language of study seems to have no effect on the language of use for television and

**TABLE 6. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED AND LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE DIPLOMA WAS OBTAINED  
PROPORTION (%) OF USERS  
EXPOSURE TO MEDIA ONLY OR MORE IN FRENCH  
FRANCOPHONES – OUTSIDE OF QUEBEC, SVOLM (2006)**

Media	University**		College		High School**	
	In French	Not in French	In French	Not in French	In French	Not in French
Television	18	13	15	14	21	9
Radio	30	18	24	20	27	17
Internet	12	7	13**	7**	13	7
Newspapers	21	16	25**	16**	26	12
Books	27	17	28**	18**	28	15

\*\*Differences are significant at  $p < 0.01$

radio, as shown in Table 6<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Multivariate analyses help to determine the differences more precisely. These outcomes can be found in our article “Dissociation entre perceptions et pratiques. De la langue officielle d’exposition aux médias en milieu minoritaire canadien”, in *Revue du Nouvel-Ontario*.



A positive effect also appears among anglophones on their exposure to media in the minority language when the highest degree was obtained in English (Table 7). All

differences between levels are significant with the exception of the use of the Internet, a media on which the language of education has no effect.

**TABLE 7. HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED AND LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE DIPLOMA WAS OBTAINED  
PROPORTION (%) OF USERS  
EXPOSURE TO MEDIA ONLY OR MORE IN ENGLISH  
ANGLOPHONES, QUEBEC, SVOLM (2006)**

MEDIA	University**		College**		High School	
	In English	Not in English	In English	Not in English	In English	Not in English
Television	87	75	88	76	83**	76**
Radio	79	70	83	71	80**	70**
Internet	93	77	93	80	86	82
Newspapers	73	57	74	60	68*	60*
Books	90	73	90	75	90*	74*

\* The differences are significant at  $p < 0.05$

\*\*Differences are significant at  $p < 0.01$

Thus the level of education, as well as the language in which the highest diploma was obtained, are variables which influence the language of exposure to media as was hypothesized, although studies at the college level convey a specific logic.

when they are exposed to media. It is therefore important for these minorities to consider the manner in which their members make use of the media.

## CONCLUSION

Media are essential to the reproduction of linguistic minorities in postmodern society. There is no ethno-linguistic minority more vulnerable than that which does not have media, than that whose individual members cannot reproduce their collective being

The relationship with media is not independent of the relationship that citizens of a given community can maintain with the other dimensions of sociality, in the way, for example in which they are provided schooling, in which they constitute their families, and in which they exercise their occupations. In addition, this entire praxis is linked to the community's political situation and to the socio-symbolic dimensions that correspond to that community in a societal whole.

It is in this reflexive context that research is implemented on the topic of media and minorities in Canada. These studies show that the English language really calls out, as much to anglophones in Quebec as to francophones elsewhere in the country. They also show that the density of minorities in a given area affects the language of use in such a way that the more important the density, the more hesitant the minority will be to use the language of the majority. Based on these findings, we questioned the impact of age and schooling, believing that the elderly would be more attracted by the minority language and that education, when given in the minority language, would encourage the use of this language.

Our results confirm the strong attraction to the English language among English-speaking Quebecers as well as francophones elsewhere in Canada, but with variations relative to the distinctiveness of the media: books, notably, are more strongly rooted in the minority language than are the other media. But if English entices the media users, it does not eliminate French, neither in Quebec, nor elsewhere. Likewise, results indicate that our hypothesis on age is only partly correct:

it is sometimes true for a particular media, sometimes wrong for another, sometimes valid for Quebec or for other provinces, sometimes not. Our results do reveal that education has somewhat of an influence, particularly among francophones, but that this influence is not clear-cut: sometimes university graduates turn most toward French, other times high school graduates do; what is clear however is that a college education tends to move the francophone minority away from French. In Quebec, the anglophones turn to English for their media use, almost regardless of their schooling, much more so than francophones do toward French. In francophone minority regions, having studied in French encourages francophones to use this language in their association with media. However, the same does not hold true for college education.

As a result, age and education do not draw a well-defined system. The francophone minority differs from the anglophone minority. On the one hand, language and education do not have the same effect: French ("*francité*") is threatened if it is not supported by education, particularly French education, while English ("*anglicité*") seems beyond this logic. On the other hand, the effects of age, without being random, are not clearly definite, in either English or French.

Of course, we are dealing with differences attributable to the linguistic groups' positions in society. But we also find the presence of a pluralistic dynamic in the reports with media, whose characteristics belong as much to the media themselves as to the way in which society as a whole creates the conditions for these reports, in relations to, among other things, age.



Thus, the entire logic of the manner in which a population positions itself in relation to its media system cannot be reduced to its linguistic dimension.

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# **CHAPTER 5**

## **ACCESS AND USE OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE**

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## CHAPTER 5

# ACCESS AND USE OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE

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### 1. CONTEXT

According to Canadian Heritage, official language minority communities (OLMC) represent the Canadian francophones who live in the provinces and territories located outside Quebec, as well as the anglophones who live in Quebec<sup>1</sup>. Given their linguistic minority situation, communication between these communities and health care professionals, as well as their access to services, may become hindered. Studies carried out in Canada and elsewhere have shown that the presence of linguistic barriers can limit the access to health services<sup>2-4</sup>, including preventive care<sup>5,6</sup>, and impact patient satisfaction, the quality of medical care, and health<sup>5-11</sup>. Linguistic barriers represent a hurdle to providing adequate follow-up care to patients<sup>12</sup>, especially when these services are largely based on communication<sup>9</sup>.

Access to health services by official language minority communities has been investigated in some Canadian studies. For the francophone communities, a 2001 study by the *Fédération des Communautés Francophones et Acadiennes du Canada* (FCFA) showed that access to health services in English was three to seven times

higher than access to health services in French throughout the country. Data from this non-scientific study were compiled following roughly 300 interviews and group sessions with francophones working in the health care sector, selected from 71 Canadian communities<sup>11</sup>.

Studies based on secondary analyses of data from the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) revealed that in Ontario, only 27.8% of francophones aged 65 or over communicated with their regular family physician in French<sup>13</sup>. In comparison with their English-speaking counterparts, Bourbonnais *et al.* found that the French-speaking elderly were less satisfied with the accessibility and quality of provincial and community health services<sup>13</sup>. A study conducted by Bouchard *et al.* on the health profile of the linguistic minority showed that 9.9% of francophones living outside Quebec and 24.6% of anglophones living in Quebec do not have a regular family physician<sup>14,15</sup>.

As for the anglophone minority community in Quebec, the 2008-2013 Action Plan of the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) ranks anglophones from the province behind francophones when it factors in the following key indicators:

having a regular family physician, being satisfied with the quality of health services, having access to hospital care, and having access to information pertaining to health, diagnostic testing, and medical specialists<sup>16</sup>.

In 2005, a survey conducted by the *Centre de recherche sur l'opinion publique* (CROP) for the CHSSN revealed that 45.9% of English-speaking Canadians in Quebec are unsatisfied with their access to social and health services provided in English in their region. The survey, which focused on 3,126 anglophones and 1,312 francophones in Quebec, also showed differences regarding access to various types of health services that were offered in English. Specifically, 86% of English-speaking respondents were served in English by their regular family physician. Proportions dropped to 74% for services provided in hospitals, including overnight admissions, 70% for hospital emergency care, 67% for CLSC services, and 63% for *Info-Santé* services. Significant interregional differences were also measured with regards to the degree of satisfaction for accessing health services in English. In Montreal West, which is home to a high concentration of anglophones, the results showed a high level of satisfaction, whereas this level dropped significantly in the regions of Abitibi-Témiscamingue and Northern Quebec<sup>17</sup>.

The issue surrounding the use of health services by OLMC is closely tied to their access to these services, since health services that are provided by the regular physician constitute the type of service that is used the most by the general Canadian population, as well as by francophone and anglophone communities in minority settings<sup>17, 18</sup>. While studies carried out in Quebec showed that apart from the family

physician, anglophones in the province mostly seek services from hospitals, health clinics and the CLSC<sup>17, 18</sup>, results regarding the use of health services by OLMC in other provinces and territories remain unknown for the most part. This chapter is the first to set out comparative provincial and, in some instances, intra-provincial statistics on the access to, and the use of, health services by francophones in linguistic minority communities.

## **2. DATA AND METHODOLOGY**

This chapter focuses on the section regarding access to health services from the Survey on the Vitality of Official Language Minorities (SVOLM), conducted by Statistics Canada in 2006. The health component of the SVOLM includes variables of categorical nature that address access to health services (in general and in the minority language) and the use of health services by OLMC. The variable of self-perceived health is the only indicator included in the survey which gives an indication of the health status of respondents.

The population targeted by the SVOLM includes the two official language minority communities as identified by the variables of mother tongue, the understanding of official languages, as well as the language most often spoken at home. In Montreal, three subgroups of allophones were created in order to take into account their particular situation with regards to official languages. Given the specific topic of this chapter and to simplify the presentation of results for the respondents of Quebec, these subgroups were not included in the statistical analyses.

The survey response rate is 70.5%, for a total of 20,067 adults taking part in the



survey. Excluding the subgroups of allophones from the metropolitan region of Montreal, the final sample for analysis includes 17,576 adults, comprised of 12,376 francophones living outside Quebec and 5,200 anglophones living in Quebec. Participants were stratified by province or territory of residence, as well as by sub-provincial region for OLMC of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec (which were the only provinces that contained large enough samples to allow for such breakdowns.)

The descriptive analyses include the calculation of proportions from frequency distributions of the selected variables. Survey weights were applied during the calculation of the proportions to ensure that results be representative of the target population. Some variables needed to be recategorized for theory or practical

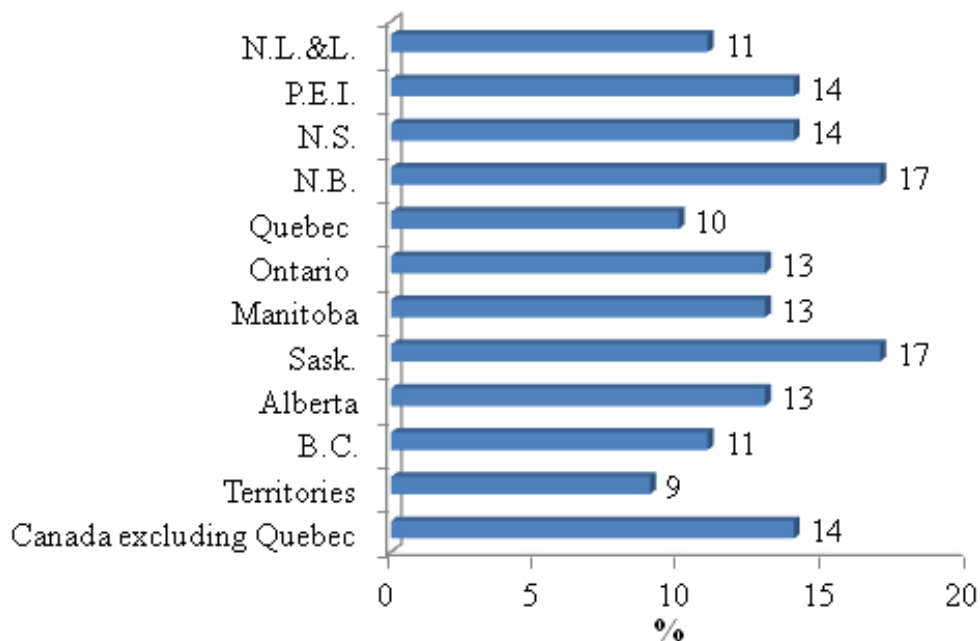
purposes. In conformity with Statistics Canada regulations regarding the disclosure of results, proportions calculated from samples that are too small are not published.

### 3. FINDINGS

#### 3.1 Self-Perceived Health

Depending on the context, perception of one's health varies widely. For Canada in general, the proportion of francophones (14%) who consider themselves in poor health is higher than for anglophones of Quebec (10%). Both New Brunswick and Saskatchewan (see Graph 1) have the highest proportion (17%) of poor self-perceived health.

**GRAPH 1. FAIR OR POOR SELF-PERCEIVED HEALTH BY OLMC (PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES)**

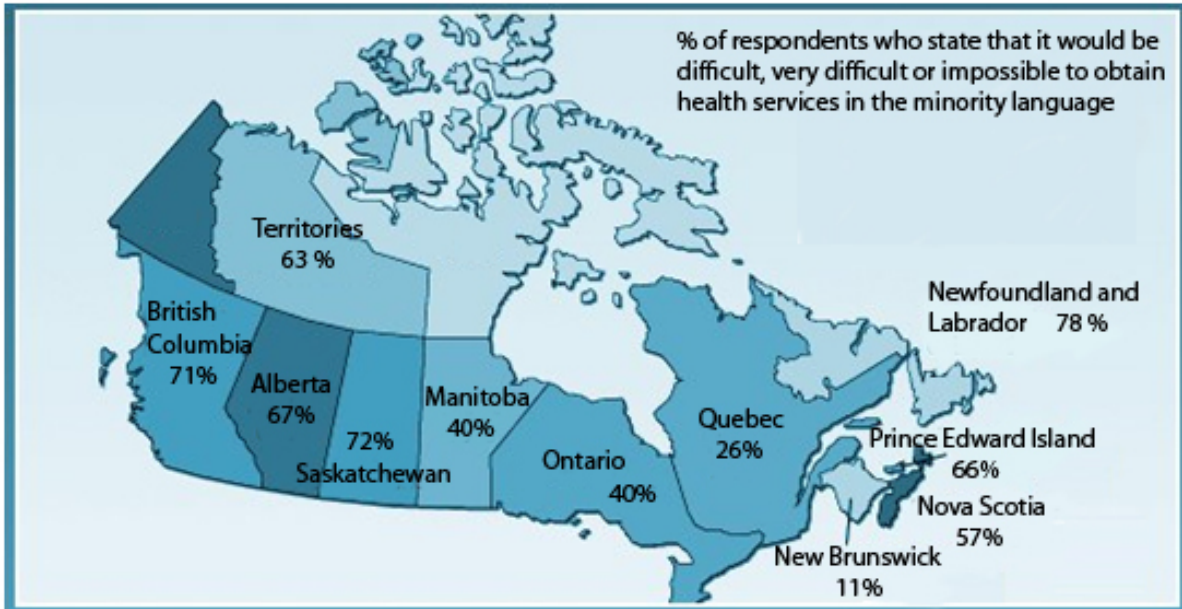


### 3.2 Difficulty in Receiving Health Services in the Minority Language

The difficulty in obtaining health services in the minority language reflects the perceptions of OLMC toward their access to health services, and constitutes an indicator of the provision of services. Figure 1 shows that 78% of francophones in Newfoundland and Labrador have difficulty receiving health services in the minority language, whereas proportions are 72% in Saskatchewan, 71%

in British Columbia, and 67% in Alberta. As for Ontario and Manitoba, the proportion is 40%, whereas Quebec falls to 26%. It is in New Brunswick, the only officially bilingual province, that the rate of respondents claiming to have difficulty receiving health services in a minority language is the lowest (11%).

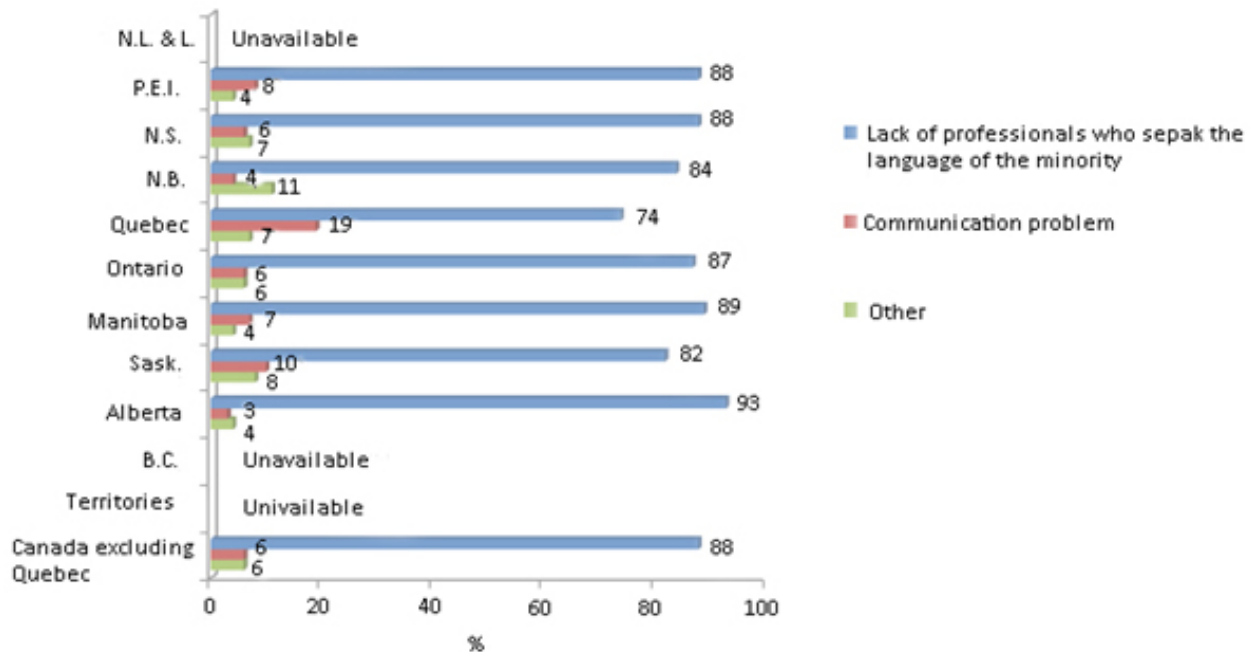
**FIGURE 1. PERCEIVED DIFFICULTY TO RECEIVE HEALTH SERVICES IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE BY PROVINCE AND TERRITORY**



Respondents who felt it was difficult, very difficult or impossible to receive health service in the minority language were further questioned on the main reason of this difficulty. Graph 2 shows that the lack of professionals speaking the minority language was identified as the main reason by the majority of OLMC. This statement is

unanimous among francophone minority respondents (88%), whereas the proportion is 74% for the anglophone minority in Quebec. 20% of respondents in Quebec stated communication barriers; however, this issue is rare in other provinces and territories.

**GRAPH 2. MAIN REASON WHY IT IS DIFFICULT, VERY DIFFICULT OR IMPOSSIBLE TO ACCESS HEALTH SERVICES IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE BY PROVINCE AND TERRITORY**



### 3.3 Perception of Health and Access to Health Services

To establish a relation between the offer and potential demand of services, we took a closer look at the group of respondents who felt their health was poor in relation to finding it important to receive care in the minority language, feeling comfortable asking for these services, and finding it difficult to obtain services. Table 1 shows these results by provinces and regions within Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. A reminder that poor self-perceived health is highest in New Brunswick (17%), and is more noticeable in the North (18%) and Southeastern regions (17%). Proportions were high in Quebec’s Eastern Region (19%), as well as in Northeastern Ontario (16%) and in Saskatchewan (17%). The proportion of people who felt it was “important, very

important, or fairly important” to have access to health services in the minority language was highest in Quebec (92%) and in New Brunswick (92%). Runners up were Ontario (75%) and Prince Edward Island (74%), followed by Newfoundland and Labrador (68%), Manitoba (67%), Nova Scotia (67%), and finally the remaining provinces and territories. Therefore, there seems to be a link between this variable and OLMC’s desire to receive health services in the minority language, which indicates a demand for linguistically concordant services to be offered.

Feeling comfortable asking for health services to be delivered in the minority language is linked to both the demand and the offer of these services. This is more widely confirmed by respondents in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario, although major regional differences have been



identified within these three very provinces. Provinces in Western Canada and the Maritimes (with the exception of New Brunswick) are ranked far lower when it

comes to being comfortable requesting health services in the minority language.

**TABLE 1. SELF-PERCEIVED HEALTH AND GENERAL ACCESS TO HEALTH SERVICES IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE BY CANADIAN REGION**

Geographic Region (n=17,576)	Fair or Poor Self-Perceived Health (%)	Finds it Important to Receive Health Services in the Minority Language (%)	Feels Comfortable Requesting Health Services in the Minority Language (%)	Feels it Would Be Difficult, Very Difficult, or Impossible to Receive Health Services in the Minority Language (%)
<b>Newfoundland and Labrador</b>	11	68	44	78
<b>Prince Edward Island</b>	14	74	47	66
<b>Nova Scotia</b>	14	67	49	57
<b>New Brunswick (total)</b>	17	92	91	11
North	18	94	96	6
Southeast	17	90	91	8
Centre and Southwest (other)	13	84	65	45
<b>Quebec (total)</b>	10	92	77	26
Estrie and South	15	87	77	31
East	19	92	78	37
Montreal	8	95	79	23
Ouest	12	92	76	26
Quebec & surrounding area	9	69	48	57
Quebec (other)	14	82	63	50
<b>Ontario (total)</b>	13	75	71	40
Northeast	16	80	77	30





Ottawa	11	80	79	30
Southeast	14	89	85	17
Toronto	9	65	56	69
Ontario (other)	14	65	51	64
<b>Manitoba</b>	13	67	65	40
<b>Saskatchewan</b>	17	56	43	72
<b>Alberta</b>	13	55	52	67
<b>British Columbia</b>	11	52	46	71
<b>Territories (all)</b>	9	59	*	63
<b>Canada excluding Quebec</b>	14	74	73	35

\*Not available due to a small sample.

### 3.4 Accessing Health Services in the Minority Language According to the Type of Professional

Quebec is ranked the highest when it comes to accessing a regular family physician who speaks the minority language, with 81% of anglophones stating they have communicated in English with that health care professional. Apart from Quebec, New Brunswick stands out with 79% of francophones stating they communicate in French with their physician. Ontario is far behind with 33%, followed by the other Canadian provinces and territories whose proportions range from 3% to 17% (whenever data is available).

During the 12 months prior to the survey, New Brunswick had the greatest proportion of respondents saying they have communicated in the minority language with a nurse (85%), a telephone health line professional (87%) and other health care professionals (82%). As for services provided by these three types of health care professionals in a minority language, Quebec ranks second, followed by Ontario in third place. In Western Canada and in the Maritimes (with the exception of New Brunswick), the number of people who used the minority language to communicate with health care professionals was often too low to be disclosed.



**TABLE 2. ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE SERVICES IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE PROVIDED BY DIFFERENT TYPES OF HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS DURING THE 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO THE SURVEY, BY CANADIAN REGION**

Geographic Region (n=17,576)	Used the Minority Language With the Family Physician (%)	Used the Minority Language With the Nurse (%)	Used the Minority Language with a Telephone Health Line Professional (%)	Used the Minority Language With Health Care Professionals (Other Services) (%)
<b>Newfoundland and Labrador</b>	9	*	*	6
<b>Prince Edward Island</b>	*	5	*	7
<b>Nova Scotia</b>	17	11	*	11
<b>New Brunswick (total)</b>	79	85	87	82
North	92	97	94	97
Southeast	82	88	87	81
Centre and Southwest (other)	27	30	56	24
<b>Quebec (total)</b>	81	60	48	59
Estrie and South	75	46	31	50
East	68	67	31	61
Montreal	89	67	53	64
Ouest	78	54	50	60
Quebec & surrounding area	15	8	*	9
Quebec (other)	51	37	13	26

<b>Ontario (total)</b>	33	36	37	22
Northeast	37	42	38	31
Ottawa	49	50	45	26
Southeast	76	70	75	59
Toronto	6	*	8	2
Ontario (other)	8	8	15	2
<b>Manitoba</b>	16	16	25	14
<b>Saskatchewan</b>	*	*	*	*
<b>Alberta</b>	3	*	*	*
<b>British Columbia</b>	*	*	8	8
<b>Territories (all)</b>	8	*	8	8
<b>Canada excluding Quebec</b>	41	51	53	41

\* Not available due to a small sample.

Besides differences in accessing health care services in the minority language, there are interprovincial variations regarding general access to certain types of services, such as those provided by a family physician. Table 3 shows that 31% of francophones living in the territories and 26% of anglophones in Quebec do not have a family physician, compared to 7% of francophones from Nova Scotia. Similarly, the proportion of OLMC without a family physician is low in New Brunswick (7%), in Manitoba (11%), in Saskatchewan (11%), and in Ontario (12%), followed by Prince Edward Island (16%), and Newfoundland and Labrador (17%).

Francophones in New Brunswick and the territories and anglophones in Quebec proportionally outnumber those living in

other provinces in terms of having a regular place to go (aside from the regular physician's office) when they are sick or require medical advice. The majority of francophones living in the Maritimes and the territories identified the hospital as the most common place to go when they are sick, whereas francophones living in the western provinces of the country mostly identified the health clinic as their preferred choice. Anglophones living in Quebec also favored the health clinic over the hospital. This reflects differences in the organization of health care services found between Canadian provinces. For example, community health clinics have been established for several years in Quebec, whereas they are newer in New Brunswick.



**TABLE 3. ACCESS TO HEALTH SERVICES BY A FAMILY PHYSICIAN AND HAVING A REGULAR PLACE TO GO WHEN SICK OR REQUIRING MEDICAL ADVICE, BY CANADIAN REGION**

Geographic Region (n=17,576)	Does Not Have a Family Physician (%)	Has a Regular Place to Go (Apart From the Physician's Office) (%)	Primary Place to Go: Hospital (%)	Primary Place to Go: Health Clinic (%)
<b>Newfoundland and Labrador</b>	17	50	71	19
<b>Prince Edward Island</b>	16	50	56	30
<b>Nova Scotia</b>	7	53	61	29
<b>New Brunswick (total)</b>	7	67	61	30
North	6	66	73	17
Southeast	6	71	44	49
Centre and Southwest (other)	7	64	*	*
<b>Quebec (total)</b>	26	61	30	42
Estrie and South	18	64	44	29
East	24	73	44	23
Montreal	28	60	24	47
Ouest	25	63	37	37
Quebec & surrounding area	27	55	37	33
Quebec (other)	25	65	45	27



<b>Ontario (total)</b>	12	54	39	53
Northeast	11	60	47	46
Ottawa	13	55	30	62
Southeast	6	58	57	33
Toronto	15	42	*	*
Ontario (other)	12	53	32	59
<b>Manitoba</b>	11	43	37	52
<b>Saskatchewan</b>	11	33	31	54
<b>Alberta</b>	16	42	40	47
<b>British Columbia</b>	16	42	*	*
<b>Territories (all)</b>	31	65	56	23
<b>Canada excluding Quebec</b>	11	54	46	45

\* Not available due to a low level of respondents.

### 3.5 Accessing Health Services in the Minority Language According to the Type of Professional

Same as for the general Canadian population, health services provided by the regular family physician are by far the services most used by the official language minorities across all provinces and territories. In the 12 months prior to the survey, the proportion of OLMC that used this type of service at least once ranges from 78% to 85% (see Table 4). Within this same 12-month period, less than a quarter

of francophones living outside Quebec and anglophones living in Quebec used services offered by a nurse, while this proportion increased to 33% in the territories.

In the 12 months prior to the survey, roughly one out of five francophones used services of a telephone health line professional. In Nova Scotia, however, only 5% of francophones mentioned using this type of service. Services provided by other health care professionals were utilized by 32% of francophones living outside Quebec and 35% of anglophones living in Quebec.



**TABLE 4. USE OF HEALTH SERVICES PROVIDED BY DIFFERENT TYPES OF HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONALS WITHIN THE 12 MONTHS PRIOR TO THE SURVEY, BY CANADIAN REGION**

Geographic Region (n=17,576)	Received Services From a Regular Family Physician (%)	Received Services From a Regular Family Physician (%)	Received Services From a Telephone Health Line Professional (%)	Received Services From Other Health Care Professional (%)
<b>Newfoundland and Labrador</b>	84	30	*	28
<b>Prince Edward Island</b>	82	25	*	27
<b>Nova Scotia</b>	84	22	5	31
<b>New Brunswick (total)</b>	82	28	21	41
North	80	29	21	40
Southeast	83	25	23	44
Centre and Southwest (other)	85	33	18	37
<b>Quebec (total)</b>	81	23	23	35
Estrie and South	79	24	19	35
East	83	37	17	43
Montreal	81	23	23	36
Ouest	82	24	27	31
Quebec & surrounding area	82	22	23	32
Quebec (other)	82	17	21	35

<b>Ontario (total)</b>	82	21	20	31
Northeast	83	25	20	35
Ottawa	83	23	20	34
Southeast	82	21	19	31
Toronto	85	17	18	24
Ontario (other)	81	20	20	29
<b>Manitoba</b>	84	20	16	22
<b>Saskatchewan</b>	81	26	15	21
<b>Alberta</b>	84	25	27	23
<b>British Columbia</b>	82	22	19	29
<b>Territories (all)</b>	78	33	*	34
<b>Canada excluding Quebec</b>	82	23	20	32

\*\*Not available due to a small sample.

\* Not available due to a low level of respondents.

## 4. DISCUSSION

### 4.1 Self-Perceived Health

A small number of studies have been conducted on the health of OLMC in Canada, especially at the provincial, territorial or regional levels. A secondary data analysis of four cycles of the Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS), conducted by Bélanger *et al.*, reveals that 16.7% of francophone men and 16.4% of francophone women in New Brunswick have a poor self-perceived health<sup>19</sup>. These numbers coincide with those from the present study, which shows that 17% of New Brunswick francophones have a poor perception of their health.

As for anglophones living in Quebec, our analysis of data collected through the SVOLM shows that 10% of them report poor health. This result is almost identical to findings from the *Institut national de santé publique du Québec*, that established the prevalence of poor self-perceived health among anglophones in Quebec at 10.5%, through a secondary analysis of cycle 4.1 of the CCHS<sup>20</sup>. Although the prevalence is low, our analysis of the SVOLM indicates that there are significant regional differences within the province of Quebec. For example, 8% of anglophones from the Montreal region have a poor perception of their health, compared to 19% of anglophones from Quebec's eastern region.



Significant differences in the prevalence of poor self-perceived health are noticeable between Canadian provinces/territories, as well as between some sub-provincial regions. This could be attributable to an actual difference in health status of people, or to other confounding factors such as age distribution, organization of health services and the presence of unfavorable social determinants in some regions. For example, 9% of francophones living in the territories perceive themselves in poor health, compared to 17% of francophones in Saskatchewan. This gap may be related to the fact that the francophone population of the territories is highly transitory and therefore inevitably younger, while 34% of francophones in Saskatchewan are aged 65 years or more<sup>15</sup>. However, this explanation remains hypothetical as it has not been analyzed in depth.

Self-perceived health is the only variable from the SVOLM pertaining to the health status of OLMC, which limits the interpretation of the results. Nevertheless, this variable is considered very relevant since its subjectivity may be linked to the fact of living in a minority situation and to the linguistic group's social status. In *La santé en situation linguistique minoritaire*, Bouchard *et al.* look at the possible link between the differential health of francophones living outside Quebec and their status of official language minority in Canada<sup>21</sup>. A multivariate logistic regression analysis using cycles 1.1 and 2.1 of the CCHS combined, showed that after adjusting for important determinants of health, francophone men are more inclined to have a lower self-perceived health than their anglophone counterparts. The study thus showed that the minority/majority relationship could influence the social

determinants among francophones living in an official language minority situation in Canada<sup>21</sup>.

## 4.2 Access to Health Services in the Minority Language

Data from the SVOLM show that OLMC from the majority of provinces and territories have a lot of difficulty receiving health services in the minority language. As expected, provinces with a greater proportion of OLMC, such as New Brunswick and Quebec report greater access to health services offered in the minority language. In addition to having an important concentration of OLMC, these two provinces stand out with regards to legislative and legal recognition of their official language minority group, which also have established infrastructures and resources available for actively offering services in the minority language. Francophones living in Ontario and Manitoba demonstrate a level of access qualified as “fair”, whereas those living in the territories, in the western provinces and the Maritimes (with the exception of New Brunswick) identify their access to health services in French being low to very low. Once again, please note that there are important sub-provincial differences within New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec.

Few studies have attempted to measure the access to health services in the minority language, especially on a provincial or regional scale. In 2001, a national study conducted by the FCFA revealed that 50 to 55% of francophones living in an official language minority community had little to no access to health services in French in their province<sup>11</sup>. According to the SVOLM, the percentage of people who felt it was difficult to obtain health services in French





ranges from 11% in New Brunswick to 78% in Newfoundland and Labrador. Drawing an average on a national or even provincial scale masks the extremely varying realities of OLMC living in regions that are often very different. For example, in New Brunswick, the only officially bilingual province in the country, this statistic ranges from 6% in the North, where francophones are the majority, to 45% in the central and southwestern regions, where francophones are very much in a minority situation. This implies that the regional context has a strong influence on the accessibility of services in one's language, and this, irrespective of the provincial jurisdiction.

In Quebec, 26% of anglophones claimed that it would be difficult to receive health services in English. According to a survey conducted by the CROP for the CHSSN<sup>17</sup>, 45.9% of Quebec's anglophones are unsatisfied with their access to health and social services offered in English in their region. Although this particular variable is different, results from the SVOLM point towards a more positive situation than results published by the CHSSN when it comes to the access to health services in English in Quebec. However, it is important to specify that the study carried out by the CHSSN measured the degree of satisfaction in terms of accessing health services, whereas the variable of the SVOLM mentioned above does not explicitly address the notion of satisfaction. The comparison and interpretation of the variable that addresses the difficulty in receiving health services in the minority language is limited due to a lack of previous studies that measured this indicator.

Information on the offer of services in the minority language is also obtained from

variables pertaining to the language used when communicating with health care professionals. New Brunswick and Quebec stand out significantly in this area, since both provinces have a very large proportion of people who say they communicate with their regular family physician in the minority language. However, a great degree of variation is once again observed within these provinces in terms of the regional concentration of OLMC. The situation is a lot less favorable elsewhere in Canada, with the exception of the Ottawa region and southeastern part of Ontario, where a fairly large proportion of francophones speak French with their regular family physician. OLMC in New Brunswick and Quebec were also proportionately more numerous to express that they had communicated in the minority language with a nurse, a telephone health line professional, and with other types of health care professionals.

In New Brunswick, the larger concentration of francophones and the province's bilingual status certainly contribute to greater accessibility of services offered in French. The critical mass of francophones likely helps in better serving the minority language population. Further, the rise in postsecondary education offered in French in the health sciences, especially in the medical field, in New Brunswick certainly had a positive impact on the availability of a francophone workforce in health care<sup>19, 22</sup>. Other factors that may have played in favor of an adequate access to health services in French for New Brunswickers include the creation of the *Société santé et mieux-être en français du Nouveau-Brunswick* and the appointment of an associate deputy minister, Department of Health, for services in French.



Quebec also has a relatively large proportion of anglophones and large public institutions, such as English universities and hospitals. This increases the potential pool of health care professionals who can communicate in the minority language and provide services to the province's anglophone community. Furthermore, a greater number of francophones living in Quebec are bilingual and can thus offer services in the minority language, compared to anglophones from other Canadian provinces and territories whose bilingualism rates are relatively low<sup>23</sup>.

Aside from health services offered in the minority language, the SVOLM provides important information with regards to the demand from OLMC for linguistically concordant services. The proportion of people who find it important to receive health services in the minority language is high throughout Canada: 74% for francophones living outside Quebec and 92% for anglophones living in Quebec. However, the proportions drop to around 50% in the western provinces (except for Manitoba). Still, the large proportion of OLMC who find it important to obtain health services in the minority language proves that there is a strong demand for such linguistically concordant services throughout the country.

### 4.3 Access and Use of Health Services by OLMC

Many people have access to a regular family physician across the country, except for those living in Quebec and the territories. The situation is particularly different in the territories because its francophone residents are highly transitory, which poses a challenge regarding access to a regular family physician. For Quebec, studies have

exposed a shortage of physicians across the province, affecting both the anglophone and francophone population<sup>14, 15, 24</sup>. On the other hand, a large proportion of people within OLMC who live in the territories and Quebec say they have a regular place to go (aside from the family physician's office) when they are sick or require health care advice. It is therefore possible that the difficulty in finding a regular family physician is compensated by securing an alternative place for receiving health care.

These results have serious implications since access to a regular family physician is linked to positive consequences, such as better access to preventive care<sup>25-28</sup>, better observance of medication by patients<sup>29,30</sup>, higher degree of satisfaction from patients<sup>25,31</sup>, and less discomfort and dissatisfaction from chronically ill patients<sup>32</sup>. It is therefore likely that better access to a regular family physician could have a positive impact on the health and satisfaction OLMC living in the territories and Quebec.

Across the country, the use of services by OLMC provided by the regular family physician is higher than the use of other types of services. More specifically, 78% to 85% of respondents who took part in the SVOLM and who said they have a regular family physician also indicated having consulted the same physician within the 12 months prior to the survey. Two studies that entailed a secondary analysis of CCHS data; one conducted by the *Institut national de la statistique du Québec*<sup>18</sup> and the other by Nabalamba and Millar<sup>33</sup> produced similar results. As demonstrated by Bouchard *et al.*, health services provided by the regular family physician represent the type of services most used by the francophone and

anglophone minorities, as well as by the Canadian population in general<sup>17, 18</sup>.

Nevertheless, these results should be interpreted with caution as they are purely descriptive in nature and focus solely on questions included in the SVOLM. Thanks to this study, we were able to paint a picture of the access to and the use of health services in the minority language by OLMC. An inherent limitation of the study is that it does not allow comparisons with the linguistic majority. Results of important indicators, such as the perception of one's health, access to a regular family physician and the use of different types of health services, were therefore not directly compared with the situation of anglophones living outside Quebec and francophone living in Quebec.

As addressed previously, the presentation of statistics on a national or even provincial scale often masks significant differences between regions where OLMC evolve in differing socio-linguistic contexts. The issue is less relevant in New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec, where the results are available for intra-provincial regions, while the rest of OLMC are grouped by province or territory. The small number of francophones living in certain provinces outside Quebec often limits stratification within sub-provincial regions.

## **CONCLUSION**

The descriptive analysis of the SVOLM's health section allowed us to paint a general picture of the access to and use of health services in the minority language, and this for OLMC living in Canada and its provinces and territories, and sub-provincial regions in New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec. Generally speaking, for the majority of

Canadian provinces, the demand for linguistically concordant health services exceeds the provision of these services. According to OLMC across the country, a factor limiting the availability of these services is the lack of health professionals who can provide health services in the minority language. The situation seems much brighter in New Brunswick and in Quebec, where OLMC benefit from greater linguistic rights and well established health institutions. Nevertheless, there are substantial sub-provincial differences within these provinces. This suggests that, apart from provincial boundaries, local circumstances surrounding status as the minority or majority linguistic community greatly influences access to services in one's language.

This chapter also described the general health of OLMC, which seems better in the territories, Quebec, British Columbia, and Newfoundland and Labrador. Considering the absence of analyses which adjusted the outcomes for key health determinants, such as age and the level of education, these findings must be interpreted carefully. The access to and use of various types of health services by OLMC also varies between Canadian provinces, often reflecting the different organization of provincial health care systems throughout the country. As a result, this descriptive chapter contains important findings that are worth exploring in greater detail. In particular, SVOLM participants reported that it is very difficult to receive health services in their mother tongue and that this difficulty is linked to a shortage of professionals capable of communicating in their language. Results



also show that the highest level of discomfort regarding requests for health services in the language of choice is experienced in regions where speakers of the minority language are very low in concentration. Beyond action scenarios to improve services to OLMC, this descriptive analysis allows us to recommend studying

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the situation of OLMC on smaller geographic scales and developing survey tools adapted to the specific needs of minority communities.

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# **CHAPTER 6**

## **SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT OF MEMBERS OF FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE MINORITIES: A CANADIAN PANORAMA**

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## CHAPTER 6

# SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT OF MEMBERS OF FRANCOPHONE AND ANGLOPHONE MINORITIES: A CANADIAN PANORAMA

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### INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

If we had to characterize the extent to which social and political engagement in studies on the “official language minority communities” (OLMC) have been considered, we would be forced to recognize that such form of engagement is not high on the research agenda.

In the 1970s, researchers’ concerns with respect to OLMCs were actually rather historical or literary in nature (Harvey, 2002) and neglected the political and social dimensions. However, with the rapid development of the official languages legislation, the sociological and political aspects expanded. Now, all sectors are studied, widely integrating the sociopolitical situation of OLMCs, namely in the areas of health, education and justice, but always in a Canadian perspective (Aunger, 1999; Magord, Landry et Allard, 2002; Allain, 2003; Beaudin, 2005; Cardinal and Juillet, 2005).

The research seems to be dominated by three major perspectives (Traisnel, 2010-2011). A first perspective, of a vitality nature, which widely dominates research on OLMCs, attempts to discover the determinisms, whether they be social and even psychosocial, which have a direct influence on the linguistic choices of citizens in a diglossia situation (Landry, 2003; Gilbert *et al.*, 2005; Gilbert, 2010). A second

perspective, more of an identity nature, tries to grasp a better understanding of the language issue's place in the great identity debate which drives Canadian society, particularly in historical research on the foundations of those identities (Thériault, 1995 and 2007; Bock, 2004; Martel, 1997). Finally, a more legal-political perspective stems mainly from institutional, legislative and jurisdictional development brought about by official bilingualism and its implementation: it tries to assess the scope and limits of the solutions offered by the institutions to the challenge that is the full development of OLMCs, both in the anglophone community in Quebec and in the francophone minority communities (Woehrling, 2005; Kymlicka and Patten, 2003), this while analyzing governance practices (Johnson, 2003; Cardinal and Juillet, 2005; Forgues, 2010).

### The Central Dimension of Political and Social Engagement in the Vitality of Linguistic Minorities

A preliminary finding can be made with respect to those three dimensions in relation to studies of francophone communities: “*francophonisme*” (Traisnel, 1998), or the question of the political and social engagement of francophones, is sometimes touched on, but rarely analyzed except in the context of the identity perspective. Yet political dimension and,





specifically, social engagement are essential in linguistic minority community dynamics, as was shown by Raymond Breton (1983) and, more recently, Joseph-Yvon Thériault (2007), among others.

For Breton (1983), in fact, the community is not only a social, economic or cultural entity. It is also, mainly and perhaps even solely, a political entity. That is to say that it depends on the way that it structures and represents itself. What meaning would the French-speaking community have without such political dimension, without the existence of an argument on the necessity to ensure its vitality, on the importance of reflecting on its future, on the role of its history? Without the pursuit of a more or less satisfactory form of “institutional completeness”? Breton defines community not as a group of individuals *firstly*, but, through political dynamics, as “a set of fields or areas of political action” (Our translation. Breton, 1983: 25). For him, political action and institution lie at the heart of the analysis of communities.

In the case of communities lacking in institutionalized political representation mechanisms, which is the case for OLMCs, the political and social action of its members rapidly becomes crucial. It’s around this action that is defined the political space and civil society within which “faire société” becomes possible (Joseph-Yvon Thériault, 2007). Indeed, we may question how a political project may be defined without any political space to welcome it and civil society to debate it. To a certain extent, the existence or non-existence of a representative political space is the relevant question for OLMCs. In the absence of formal representative institutions, a community’s representative

environment is in a sense occupied, albeit informally, by militant life, through the organizations’ networks, actions, thinking and services to community members. One may ask how OLMCs may be discussed without considering the organizations and associational clusters that lend them meaning, and the stakeholders who dedicate their time, mobilize and reflect on the development of OLMCs and on the role of language as issues.

### Post-Census Survey on the Vitality of OLMCs

Now, it seems that when we propose to describe this political and social engagement in the OLMCs, not only one but several francophone political and social spaces appear, with their procession of variable engagements and actors with contrasting speeches on linguistic communities, revealing a plural civil society, a society which is broken up probably, which renders their integration problematic. Now, this integration is nevertheless necessary to the “faire société” in a minority setting. If this plurality in forms of engagement reveals a certain community vitality, the difficult integration of political spaces and francophone and anglophone civil societies may weaken the very existence of OLMCs in Canada.

The following analysis deals with parts of the post-census survey on the vitality of OLMCs devoted to the community participation and volunteer work of people who speak one of the two official languages in a minority situation. It offers general data on the level of social engagement of francophone and anglophone minorities. The analysis is thus essentially descriptive in nature. However, we will show through the various data collected that the picture of



francophone minorities and anglophone minorities social engagement outlines a commitment which greatly surpasses the boundaries of the linguistic community. Whereas language is the determining factor of their engagement for a segment of francophones and anglophones involved in social activities, engagement is motivated by other factors for another segment of these individuals.

We will start by presenting the data dealing mostly with the place of linguistic representation in social engagement: does language represent a cause for engagement? What place do agencies that defend the linguistic minority hold? Secondly, we will deal more generally, not with representations, but rather with linguistic practices and the space occupied by the minority language within the various social engagement spaces. Lastly, to complete this picture, we will address the more specific issue of volunteer work and the language spoken in this context.

## **1. LANGUAGE IN MINORITY SITUATIONS: A CAUSE FOR ENGAGEMENT**

### **1.1 Percentage of Respondents that have been Members of Organizations, Associations and Networks**

An initial finding with respect to the degree of engagement from francophone and anglophone minorities needs to be stated. While the questioning is very broad in terms of membership (including networks), the proportion of persons who are members (the minimum criteria of engagement simply being to obtain one's card or, in the case of networks to be a sympathizer,) is no more than a quarter of the adult population (see Table 1).

Not having the same historical data with respect to the rate of engagement nor any data on the political and social engagement in other countries, it is very difficult to proceed to a comparative study with other populations. However, data taken from the 2003 General Social Survey – Social Engagement shows that 4 to 5% of the minorities' population is involved with a political organization; however, the level of engagement is higher within professional (approximately one quarter of the population), sports (from 20 to 30%), cultural (from 12 to 23%), religious (from 10 to 24%) organizations, etc. (Forgues, 2005: 11). Variations were then observed between regions and with anglophone communities.

In the post-census survey, we also noticed notable interprovincial differences, the proportion of membership being high in

Saskatchewan, but appearing to be much lower in New Brunswick and Quebec (see Tables 1 and 2). In New Brunswick, the rate of social engagement in northern and southeastern regions is lower than in the rest of the province. Now, those two regions are mainly French-speaking. What factors would explain such differences? Does the language factor play a role? What about the economic and social factor: what is the scope of rural/urban distinctions, economic hardships, declining population, possible importance of other types of less formal social bonds?

For Ontario, the Ottawa region registers the highest proportion of social engagement. As the nation's capital, Ottawa remains the preferred location for the headquarters of a large number of associations that are in frequent contact with government institutions. The federal government has implemented a series of public policies aimed at directly helping certain community actors in specific areas (culture, health, education...). The proximity of Parliament and of government institutions, and the lobbying work make it essential to build on-site structures housing full-time employees as well as people who are more or less committed. For that matter, in Quebec, as in Ontario, the Quebec region (capitale nationale du Québec) also has a higher rate of social engagement.

**TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF ADULT RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS AND NETWORKS IN ALL OF THE PROVINCES**

Provinces	(%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	35.93
Prince Edward Island	26.67
Nova Scotia	27.36
New Brunswick	21.60
Quebec	19.85
Ontario	23.81
Manitoba	26.98
Saskatchewan	39.52
Alberta	29.10
British Columbia	30.71
Territories	36.75
<b>Total</b>	<b>24.81</b>



**TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF ADULT RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS AND NETWORKS IN SUB-REGIONS**

Regions	Yes (%)
Northern New Brunswick	21.23
Rest of New Brunswick	26.52
Southeastern New Brunswick	20.21
Northeastern Ontario	24.41
Ontario – Ottawa	25.67
Rest of Ontario	22.70
Southeastern Ontario	22.68
Ontario – Toronto	23.19
Quebec – Estrie and southern areas	26.04
Eastern Quebec	19.42
Quebec – Montreal	19.07
Western Quebec	23.82
Quebec and Surrounding Areas	26.69
Rest of Quebec	24.16

From the viewpoint of this geographical distribution of social engagement in those three provinces, there seems to be a significant anchoring between the community/association sector and the public/government sector. Can it be that in addition to the urban factor, the proximity to major public decision centers is related to the existence of a somewhat greater social engagement? This assumption could be reinforced by the idea that there exists in Canada an empowerment process which brings government institutions and the

association and community environment closer together.

### 1.2 The Language Cause

Within the committed population, in what proportion do people commit to defend the interests of the minority language group, their motivation being to defend a language cause, among other things (but not solely)? To find out, the following question was asked: Among [the associations or networks of which you were a member], were you a member in order to promote or defend the



interests of [francophones or anglophones, depending on the area]?

The series of answers which we obtained were very enlightening for our analysis of the linguistic vitality of the OLMCs. Among members of the official language minorities who are members of organizations, 29% are involved in organizations that defend or promote the interests of francophones outside Quebec and 12% are involved in organizations that defend or promote the interests of anglophones in Quebec.

We notice that the rate of respondents who were members of organizations that promote or defend the interests of

francophones is lower in Alberta, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan (see Table 3). Many factors can explain these variations, such as the existence of organizations that promote French interests or the importance of the *francophonie* to respondents. The regional variations between the provinces show that, in New Brunswick, it is in the other areas of the province, being the areas with a large majority of anglophones, that the rate is higher. In Ontario, the rate is higher in Toronto and in the northeast. In Quebec, the western part of the Province and Montreal have the lowest rate (see Table 4).

**TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT PROMOTE OR DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF THEIR LINGUISTIC COMMUNITY: ALL PROVINCES**

Provinces	Yes
	(%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	45.23
Prince Edward Island	49.41
Nova Scotia	22.29
New Brunswick	27.03
Ontario	30.56
Manitoba	31.44
Saskatchewan	27.51
Alberta	20.62
British Columbia	28.96
Territories	49.95
<b>Total (outside Quebec)</b>	<b>28.83</b>
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>12.02</b>



**TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE BEEN MEMBERS OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT PROMOTE OR DEFEND THE INTERESTS OF FRANCOPHONES OR ANGLOPHONES: SUB-REGIONS**

Regions	Yes
	(%)
Northern New Brunswick	24.48
Rest of New Brunswick	32.89
Southeastern New Brunswick	28.21
Northeastern Ontario	37.66
Ontario – Ottawa	29.55
Rest of Ontario	22.45
Southeastern Ontario	30.22
Ontario – Toronto	42.93
Quebec – Estrie and southern areas	14.98
Eastern Quebec	26.52
Quebec – Montreal	11.57
Western Quebec	9.72
Quebec and surrounding areas	20.95
Rest of Quebec	11.36



## Taking Action in Support of Language: First in Regions Marked by a High Level of Diglossia

If, for nearly half of francophones committed in the Territories and in PEI, their goal is to promote or defend the interests of francophones, it is only the case for approximately two francophones out of every ten in Alberta and Nova Scotia. The differences are therefore significant from one province to the next.

What, then, is the regional distribution of this linguistic engagement in the three provinces for which we have a regional distribution?

The proportion of francophones who are members of organizations that promote or defend the interests of francophones in New Brunswick and its regions varies significantly from one region to another. The highly francophone areas of the Northeast and Northwest (Acadian Peninsula, Madawaska), but also of the peripheral and more rural areas, seem less concerned with engagement based on language issues, unlike the “rest” of the province (Fredericton/Saint John area), which are more urban and more anglophone. As for the Moncton area, it is “in the middle”.

The finding is different for Ontario. The northeastern region and Toronto are two areas where the evocation of the language issue is the strongest to warrant social engagement, while in Ottawa and the other regions, the justification for engagement seems less based on the language issue.

And what about anglophones in Quebec? Two trends are noted: a trend towards an

engagement motivated by language is higher in the national capital area and is lower in Montreal, in Estrie or elsewhere.

The linguistic issue seems to have greater impact on MFCs than on English Quebecers.

The engagement based on language seems to be most mentioned in areas where it is worthwhile, that is to say in areas where the vitality of the linguistic minority is neither too weak nor too strong. In a way, there seems to be a relation between the degree of engagement in organizations which defend the *francophonie* and the higher or lower level of diglossia which characterizes each region.

Note, in the tables above, the difference in percentages between the issues of defending the interests of francophones mentioned by the MFCs and the motivation of anglophone Quebecer respondents.

Behind the social engagement of francophone minorities, the language issue appears to justify (wholly or in part) social engagement. In other words, this language issue contributes notably to the structure and the justification for social engagement (sometimes in proportions of one to two). It constitutes one of the influencing factors: this cause is important enough to call for action. Another interesting element calling for reflection: language in and of itself would be less of an engagement factor than the situation in which it finds itself, its status, its place in the community, the way it is perceived (if it is threatened or not). The *situation* of French as a minority language in the political and social space would in part determine the community engagement of members of MFCs.



As for anglophone respondents, their engagement seems less motivated by the language factor. The language issue would be less crucial in the anglophone Quebec community than in the MFCs. In that community, language does not represent a significant issue, so low is the proportion of respondents that use the language issue to justify their engagement.

### 1.3 The Notoriety of Organizations that Operate in the Language of the Minority

To the question: “Do you know of any organizations, networks or associations where activities are conducted in [language] in your municipality?”, the majority of francophones surveyed (56.19%) answered “No” (see Table 5). We notice that the notoriety of francophone organizations is higher in small communities (territories, for example) than in large ones (New Brunswick, Ontario). It is in the western provinces, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland and Labrador that we find the lowest rate of respondents who have knowledge of an organization which operates in their language.

**TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO KNOWLEDGE OF ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE RESPONDENT'S LANGUAGE: ALL PROVINCES**

Knowledge of organizations operating in the respondent's language	
Provinces	Yes (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	37.76
Prince Edward Island	46.56
Nova Scotia	37.55
New Brunswick	54.67
Ontario	42.92
Manitoba	43.19
Saskatchewan	37.35
Alberta	33.73
British Columbia	34.85
Territories	67.69
<b>Total (outside Quebec)</b>	<b>43.81</b>
Quebec	26.85





Two factors seem to play a role: 1. The size of the society at issue, small or large; 2. The size of the linguistic community at issue, small or large.

Thus:

- In small communities within small societies (territories: close to 68%), the notoriety of francophone organizations seems greater than elsewhere;
- In small francophone communities within large societies, the notoriety

seems really low (Toronto: only 27% of francophones have knowledge of a francophone organization);

- In communities which are mainly francophone, the notoriety seems relatively good (New Brunswick, northern region: close to 60%);
- In large communities within large societies, the notoriety is also average (Ontario, eastern region: between 50 and 60%) (see Table 6).

**TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE ACCORDING TO KNOWLEDGE OF ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING IN THE RESPONDENT'S LANGUAGE: ALL SUB REGIONS**

Knowledge of organizations operating in the respondent's language	
Regions	Yes (%)
Northern New Brunswick	58.60
Rest of New Brunswick	44.74
Southeastern New Brunswick	52.58
Northeastern Ontario	53.99
Ontario – Ottawa	47.39
Rest of Ontario	30.91
Southeastern Ontario	63.03
Ontario – Toronto	27.58
Quebec – Estrie and southern areas	34.46
Eastern Quebec	36.13
Quebec – Montreal	26.57
Western Quebec	27.20
Quebec and surrounding areas	27.74
Rest of Quebec	18.81



In Ontario, it seems that francophone associations benefit from a certain notoriety when the respondent is in an area where the *francophonie* is more important. For example, close to 70% of respondents state that they do not have knowledge of any francophone organizations in the rest of Ontario, while in the East régions, the percentages who assert that they do not have knowledge of any are 46% and nearly 37% (North and South).

In Quebec, the anglophone associations seem to suffer from a certain lack of notoriety amongst the Anglophones (nearly 3/4 of respondents), especially in regions outside the eastern and southeastern areas (Estrie).

This notoriety is a reliable clue of the anchoring of organizations within OLMCs. Those organizations have more and more means of action, in areas which often affect communities directly (education, health, culture, economic development). Yet the community seems to be very diversely concerned with this role. The weakness of this notoriety can sometimes be explained by the density of organizations in urban areas and the dilution therein of francophone organizations. It can also encourage us to question ourselves on the capacity of francophone organizations to reach the communities they represent.

## 2. CURRENT LINGUISTIC PRACTICES WITHIN SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT SPACES

We will deal here not with the linguistic dimension as a reason warranting engagement, but as a practice within

engagement activities: is the minority language present (and used) in social engagement activities with which members of MFCs are involved?

### 2.1 Language of Activities in Organizations

The question was worded as follows: “Usually, the activities were taken place in”. As for the responses offered, they were as follows: “English only; Much more in English than in French; French and English equally; Much more in French than in English; French only”. The question was put to respondents that were members of organizations, networks or associations in the past twelve months. The answers were grouped into three distinct categories: English only or much more in English; both languages; French only or much more in French.

Data shows that the language of communication with organizations is French to a greater extent in New Brunswick, on Prince Edward Island and in Ontario (see Table 7). But regional data present the greatest interest: in New Brunswick, it is in the northern part of the province that the rate of respondents communicating mostly in French with their organization is higher. In Ontario, it is in the southeastern and northeastern regions. In Quebec, it is in the southern part of the Estrie region and in the western region and Montreal where anglophones communicate the most in their own language with the organization of which they are members (see Table 8).

**TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE BASED ON LANGUAGE OF COMMUNICATION WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION: ALL PROVINCES**

Language of activities in organizations			
Provinces	English only or to a much greater extent than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French only or to a much greater extent than English (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	52.88	9.62	37.50
Prince Edward Island	39.98	9.09	50.93
Nova Scotia	71.31	7.63	21.06
New Brunswick	15.19	13.38	71.43
Ontario	44.09	13.64	42.26
Manitoba	49.10	16.90	34.00
Saskatchewan	72.08	3.62	24.29
Alberta	78.83	4.04	17.13
British Colombia	69.45	3.77	26.78
<b>Total (outside Quebec)</b>	<b>45.90</b>	<b>11.53</b>	<b>42.56</b>
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>52.71</b>	<b>20.43</b>	<b>26.85</b>



**TABLE 8. PERCENTAGE BASED ON LANGUAGE OF ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION: SUB-REGIONS**

Language of activities in organizations			
Regions	English only or to a much greater extent than French (%)	French and English equally (%)	French only or to a much greater extent than English (%)
Northern New Brunswick	5.94	13.50	80.56
Rest of New Brunswick	40.03	9.49	50.48
Southeastern New Brunswick	17.47	15.26	67.26
Northeastern Ontario	29.26	14.02	56.72
Ontario – Ottawa	40.95	16.33	42.72
Rest of Ontario	63.85	12.23	23.92
Southeastern Ontario	23.79	11.78	64.43
Ontario – Toronto	49.25	12.53	38.22
Quebec – Estrie and southern areas	59.31	17.21	23.48
Eastern Quebec	50.17	13.67	36.16
Quebec – Montreal	53.18	21.12	25.70
Western Quebec	53.70	22.81	23.49
Quebec and Surrounding Areas	35.85	6.95	57.20
Rest of Quebec	40.10	16.28	43.61



In a minority francophone situation, close to 46% of respondents indicate that the language spoken with the organization in which they participate is English only or to a much greater extent, 43% of respondents say it is French or mostly French, and, finally, approximately 11% say they use both languages. The distribution per province is thus marked by very large differences: while over 71% of respondents use mostly French in New Brunswick, only 17% do so in Alberta and 21% in Nova Scotia (Table 7). We also observe that, regardless of the province, the proportion of bilingualism in the spoken language used with the organization is very low.

### Little Bilingual Community Space

Two community sectors which are almost parallel appear here: an anglophone sector in which half of francophones involved live their association life, undoubtedly marked by a plurality of invested causes, but defended and promoted mainly in English, and a francophone sector, marked firstly by the defense of language issues, characterized by a very high use of French.

Between the two, a very low proportion of francophones state that they also communicate or have the opportunity to communicate in both languages. All in all, these figures convey the existence of a rather dualistic public space, marked on one side by the use of English and on the other, less important among francophones, marked by the use of French. They also reveal a francophone community whose social engagement does not, a priori, seem to be motivated by the linguistic factor, many francophones

speaking only or mostly English in their association and militant activities.

In New Brunswick, the language used within the organization follows the geographical distribution of the francophone community: the northern regions are marked by a very high use of French (80%), as opposed to a lower use in the Southeast (67%) and in the rest of the province (50%) (see Table 8). However, we notice that New Brunswick can clearly be distinguished from the other provinces. We could speak here of the influence of official bilingualism which allows us to find, even in mildly francophone regions, a rate of use of French in communications with organizations which is greater than elsewhere in the country.

In relation to what precedes, the numbers tend to show that in New Brunswick, two types of public spaces coexist on a regional level: a public space in which social engagement in French only is possible, but not exclusive (the North and Southeast), and a public space in which social engagement is in English only or to a great extent. As for bilingual spaces, they are reduced to the congruent portion in all areas.

In Ontario, as in New Brunswick, it seems that we are dealing with two types of distinct engagement spaces: a space where the social engagement of francophones is exercised in English, except for organizations for the defense of the French language, and a more mixed space (the Northeast and the Southeast), which is not bilingual but dualistic. In all cases, bilingual social engagement remains very low.



In terms of the situation in Quebec, a higher rate than elsewhere of bilingualism is observed in the association sector (see Table 7). The anglophones participate mainly in an association sector where the language of communication is English (52%) or bilingual (20%), with the notable exception of the Quebec region (57% of respondents state that they use French exclusively or mostly in their communications with the organization). However, proportionately, a greater number of people in Quebec participate in a bilingual community environment or use both French and English in their activities.

Two comments must be made at this point: 1) Quebec anglophones remain less integrated in the francophone community network than francophones outside Quebec are integrated in the anglophone community network; 2) The Quebec community network seems better able to ensure a satisfactory form of bilingualism in communication (with the notable exception of the Quebec area): the proportions of bilingualism are markedly higher everywhere than they are elsewhere in Canada.

## 2.2 Language Skills of Members of Associations and Networks in which the Respondent Participates

The next question asked was: “How many people in this organization were able to conduct a conversation in [language]?” and the answers offered were as follows: all of them? “Most of them? About half of them? Less than half of them? None of them.” The answers were divided into two categories: “All of them, most of them or about half of them” and “Less than half of them or none of them”<sup>1</sup>.

An additional step is made here with respect to knowledge of the linguistic landscape of social engagement: in the opinion of respondents, can the members of associations in which they participate express themselves in their language?

Note that it is not a matter here of the association environment of the provinces in question as a whole, but rather of the association network in which the respondents are integrated, which gives us no indication at all of the global linguistic landscape of each province, but reveals the association sector in which francophones participate.

Moreover, those numbers do not reveal that the association life is actually carried out in French, on the contrary. They simply show that if, within the association in question, it is *possible* (because the membership is able to, according to them) to speak French, nothing here indicates

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<sup>1</sup> Remember that the results presentation needed to take into account the research ethics standards with regard to dissemination of results and methodological requirements, which explains the groupings established.

that they actually speak it or that the members in question use their skills. Finally, the matter at issue here is solely the respondent’s perception of the linguistic skills of their peers, not the actual picture of these skills.

**There are Few Association Environments in which Participants’ Language Skills make the use of French Possible**

We notice that francophones (59.13%) are mainly involved in associations in which the majority or most of the members are able to hold a conversation in French, but

that 40% of respondents devote their participation to associations of which less than half of members are able to hold a conversation in French (see Table 9). If we compare this finding with the linguistic practices widely present in environments marked by a form of diglossia, « there is a probability » that the actual practice of French in an association activity within which a large number of participants do not speak French translates to the *de facto* use of English in everyday communications.

**TABLE 9. PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS BASED ON LANGUAGE SKILLS: ALL PROVINCES**

Members able to hold a conversation in their mother tongue		
Provinces	All, most or around half (%)	Less than half or none (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	50.92	49.08
Prince Edward Island	68.58	31.42
Nova Scotia	36.10	63.90
New Brunswick	87.74	12.26
Ontario	61.32	38.68
Manitoba	56.70	43.30
Saskatchewan	30.68	69.32
Alberta	25.05	74.95
British Colombia	33.12	66.88
Territories	53.25	46.75
<b>Total (outside Quebec)</b>	<b>59.13</b>	<b>40.87</b>
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>86.42</b>	<b>13.58</b>



New Brunswick has the largest proportion of francophones who experience a social engagement in a structure in which the majority of members are able to express themselves in French. Conversely, in Alberta, it is difficult for francophones to hold a conversation in French with another member of their association.

In New Brunswick and Ontario Regional disparities remain: 96.34% of francophones surveyed in the northern region of the province of New-Brunswick say that they are involved with an association of which

the majority of members are able to hold a conversation in French, while only 60% of respondents outside the northern and southeastern areas admit to the same (see Table 10). In Ontario, the figures show a clear difference between the eastern regions and the rest of the province. In the eastern regions, respondents indicate overwhelmingly (more than 80%) that they participate in an association in which they can converse in French with at least half of its members (see Table 10).

**TABLE 10. PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS BASED ON LANGUAGE SKILLS: NEW BRUNSWICK AND ITS REGIONS**

Members able to hold a conversation in French		
Regions	All, most or around half	Less than half or none (%)
Northern New Brunswick	96.34	3.66
Rest of New Brunswick	60.44	39.56
Southeastern New Brunswick	87.78	12.22
Northeastern Ontario	80.13	19.87
Ontario – Ottawa	69.56	30.44
Rest of Ontario	32.69	67.31
Southeastern Ontario	82.76	17.24
Ontario – Toronto	54.91	45.09
Quebec – Estrie and southern areas	82.29	17.71
Eastern Quebec	67.99	32.01
Quebec – Montreal	88.41	11.59
Western Quebec	83.89	16.11
Quebec and Surrounding Areas	59.61	40.39
Rest of Quebec	70.59	29.41
<b>Total</b>	<b>86.42</b>	<b>13.58</b>





In this area also, Quebec is set apart from the rest: everywhere, the great majority (over 70%) of anglophones surveyed state that they participate in activities of an association of which at least half of the members are able to hold a conversation in English (see Table 10). The lowest proportion is found, once again, in the Quebec region.

### 2.3 Does the Offer of Association Activities in the Minority Language Correspond to the Linguistic Preferences of Respondents?

Among the respondents who were members of associations or networks, we chose adults whose activities were usually conducted in the majority language (or in English in the case of Quebec allophones having mentioned they knew only French). The following question was asked: Would you have preferred that the activities be conducted in [French, outside Quebec, and English, in Quebec]?

Since the number of answers to this question was often low, the numbers were

aggregated, which does not allow for a reliable interregional comparison (for example, the North Pacific contains data for British Columbia and the three territories). It also excluded Quebec.

However, we notice that, for the great majority, respondents in all regions do not wish that the activities that are conducted in the majority language be conducted in the minority language (over 85% answered no to this question) (see Table 11). These results seem to confirm the notion that there would exist, within FCMC, two very distinct types of social and political engagement: one that is more *societal* in nature, characterized by the use of English to a great extent, if not solely, as the language used or the language in which association activities are conducted in general, and one which is more *community-based* and marked by the promotion and defense of the French language, activities which are declared to be carried out in the majority, if not in the great majority, in French.



**TABLE 11. LINGUISTIC PREFERENCES FOR ACTIVITIES: ALL PROVINCES (EXCEPT QUEBEC)**

Would have preferred that the activities was conducted in French	
Provinces	Yes (%)
Atlantic Region (Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick)	14.47
Ontario	18.05
West (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta)	6.64
North Pacific (British Columbia, Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut)	11.36
<b>Total</b>	<b>13.48</b>

Engagement in the francophone community is thus marked by an important form of dualism.

The question is whether this finding constitutes an indication that the francophone community is actually divided on the question of use of language: on the one hand, a portion of the community considering language as a linguistic issue and getting involved as a result, or structuring its engagement based on this linguistic issue; on the other hand, a portion of the community for which language does not constitute an issue motivating their engagement in an organization that defends or promotes the language and accepting that the activities of the organizations with which they are involved are conducted in English.

Therefore, it seems that the relationship between social engagement and linguistic practice gives us information on the linguistic representations of francophones, specifically on the very different status given to language: either as a heritage element that requires a degree of

engagement that is more or less high to ensure its promotion and defense, or, on the contrary, as an attribute the use of which is in no way problematic.

### 3. A CASE OF SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT: VOLUNTEER WORK

#### 3.1 Percentage Based on Volunteer Work

##### The Part of Volunteer Work and its Linguistic Dimension

To the question “In the past 12 months, did you do (unpaid) volunteer work for any organization?”, less than a third of francophone respondents answered yes. Table 12 shows a relatively contrasting picture of volunteer work and, notable fact, differences between Saskatchewan, where 47% of respondents state that they have done volunteer work, against only 28% in New Brunswick or 26% in Ontario. These numbers can be quite different against those we presented with respect to being a member of an organization, an association or a network. In fact, respondents can be members of an



organization without participating in its activities; they can also participate in an organization’s activities without considering them to be volunteer work; finally, they can

do volunteer work without being members of an organization.

**TABLE 12. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO VOLUNTEER WORK: ALL PROVINCES**

Volunteer work	
Provinces	Yes (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	31.45
Prince Edward Island	39.18
Nova Scotia	32.50
New Brunswick	27.90
Ontario	26.06
Manitoba	37.43
Saskatchewan	47.16
Alberta	36.67
British Columbia	33.60
Territories	43.12
<b>Total (outside Quebec)</b>	<b>28.95</b>
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>21.58</b>

In New Brunswick, we have a more detailed picture per region. The rate of volunteer work is lower in the northern regions of New Brunswick, regions where particularly serious employment issues exist. Is there a link to be made between those two

variables (see Table 13)? In Ontario, contrary to New Brunswick, the low rate of volunteer work affects mainly the non-francophone regions. The rate of volunteer work is also quite low with Quebec anglophones.



**TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO VOLUNTEER WORK: SUB-REGIONS**

Volunteer work	
Regions	Yes (%)
Northern New Brunswick	26.04
Rest of New Brunswick	29.84
Southeastern New Brunswick	30.08
Northeastern Ontario	29.88
Ontario – Ottawa	26.45
Rest of Ontario	22.63
Southeastern Ontario	27.69
Ontario – Toronto	26.03
Quebec – Estrie and southern areas	25.44
Eastern Quebec	31.88
Quebec – Montreal	20.56
Western Quebec	30.79
Quebec and surrounding areas	24.82
Rest of Quebec	25.63
<b>Total</b>	<b>21.58</b>

### 3.2 Linguistic Dimension of Volunteer Work

On the subject of the linguistic dimension of volunteer work, the following question was asked: "Was your (unpaid) volunteer work conducted ...". There were various possible answers: "In English only; Much more in English than in French; In French and English equally; Much more in French than in English; In French only; In English and another language; In French and another

language; In another language". The answers were grouped into two categories: 1: In English only; Much more in English than in French; In English and in another language; 2: In French only; Much more in French than in English; In French and English equally; In French and another language. The second category thus also includes "In French and English equally".

The use of French in the volunteer work of francophones is very contrasting. While



approximately half of respondents state that their volunteer work is conducted in French or in French and in another language, the numbers are 83% in New Brunswick and only 17% in Alberta. In all, close to one francophone for every two therefore speaks English or mostly English in their volunteer work within the OLMCs (see Table 14).

In New Brunswick as in Ontario, most respondents living in a francophone region (northern and southeastern New Brunswick,

eastern Ontario) say they use French more often in their volunteer work (see Table 15). The use of French seems more problematic in the rest of New Brunswick. There again, the use of French in the public space presents a contrasting picture. In Quebec, the use of English as that of French seems widespread within the anglophone community, with the exception of the Quebec region, where French dominates considerably (80%).

**TABLE 14. PERCENTAGE BASED ON VOLUNTEER WORK**

Provinces	Language of volunteer work	
	English* (%)	French* (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	55.45	44.55
Prince Edward Island	40.40	59.60
Nova Scotia	53.37	46.63
New Brunswick	16.97	83.03
Ontario	45.72	54.28
Manitoba	61.39	38.61
Saskatchewan	73.98	26.02
Alberta	82.94	17.06
British Columbia	77.94	22.06
Territories	61.85	38.15
<b>Total (outside Quebec)</b>	<b>48.18</b>	<b>51.82</b>
<b>Quebec</b>	<b>48.32</b>	<b>51.68</b>

\*The answers were grouped into two categories: 1: English only, English to a much greater extent than French or English and another language; 2: French only, French to a much greater extent than English, French and English equally or French and another language. Therefore, category 2 also includes “French and English equally”.



**TABLE 15. PERCENTAGE BASED ON VOLUNTEER WORK: SUB-REGIONS**

Regions	Language of volunteer work	
	English (%)	French (%)
Northern New Brunswick	5.64	94.36
Rest of New Brunswick	56.37	43.63
Southeastern New Brunswick	13.77	86.23
Northeastern Ontario	31.51	68.49
Ontario – Ottawa	35.01	64.99
Rest of Ontario	70.84	29.16
Southeastern Ontario	20.06	79.94
Ontario – Toronto	75.33	24.67
Quebec – Estrie and southern areas	43.69	56.31
Eastern Quebec	40.70	59.30
Quebec – Montreal	49.27	50.73
Western Quebec	58.51	41.49
Quebec and surrounding areas	19.80	80.20
Rest of Quebec	33.47	66.53
<b>Total</b>	<b>48.32</b>	<b>51.68</b>

\*The answers were grouped into two categories: 1: English only, English to a much greater extent than French or English and another language; 2: French only, French to a much greater extent than English, French and English equally or French and another language. Therefore, category 2 also includes “French and English equally”.

## CONCLUSION

The analysis gives a relatively satisfactory picture of the various forms of social engagement in minority settings in Canada, particularly with respect to geographical distribution.

It turns out, in fact, that important differences characterize the degree of engagement of francophones from one province to another as well as from one linguistic region to another. The territorial distribution of this engagement seems to

indicate, among other things, a degree of engagement that is higher than elsewhere around the large decision-making centres (the Quebec region for anglophones and the Ottawa region for francophones).

With respect to linguistic engagement, which is expressed within organizations, the goal being to promote or defend the interests of the linguistic community, the highest proportion can be found in the small francophone communities (the territories, the Toronto area) or in regions with a high rate of diglossia. In a certain way, the results



of the distributions with respect to Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec show that this linguistic engagement is especially present where it is the most worthwhile. In fact, we can think that, if they participate in such organizations, respondents must wish to improve the linguistic situation and must believe that they can do so. That is probably the case in areas such as northeastern Ontario and southeastern New Brunswick. We can also see a sign of a certain increased action in certain areas. Is it the case in the rest of New Brunswick, an anglophone environment for the great majority, but where francophone environments are experiencing an expansion? As for Quebec anglophones, those in the Quebec region seem, proportionately speaking, the most committed to the language cause.

When we compare the proportion of anglophones and francophones who are committed to the language cause, we find that language seems to constitute an engagement factor which leads to action for francophones in a minority context more so than for anglophones in the same situation. Anglophones participating more willingly in organizations whose mandate is not to defend the interests of the linguistic minority.

Several questions with respect to volunteer work, language spoken during association activities or language skills of persons met during association activities describe the actual linguistic landscape in which the person engaged evolves. The data collected reveals a trend: it seems that the social engagement of francophones tends to be dual in nature within, on the one hand, a sector in which engagement is motivated by various causes and where English dominates in great part and, on the other hand, within

a francophone association sector including, among other things, a defense and promotion of francophone community interests component.

It is somewhat as if the francophone community is divided into two large types of very distinct engagement spaces: a community engagement space in which the language issue is the cause that gathers people and warrants taking action, and an engagement space which is more societal in nature and in which the language factor does not represent an issue. Francophones seem to be divided between those who, considering that the language factor is indeed an issue, commit as a result, and the others who commit based on other issues. Quebec anglophones seem much less affected by any duality of social engagement spaces, as English seems to be spoken generally in all areas of association life, with the exception of the Quebec region. Therefore, these lines of thinking aroused by the results shown could be the subject of a more qualitative investigation on motivations and drivers of political and social engagement of official language minority Canadians.

The situation has to be qualified: the largely francophone regions of Ontario and New Brunswick have a more diversified engagement and a greater presence of French everywhere in association life. Generally, bilingual spaces do not seem to be very widespread, particularly with respect to the language spoken within association activities, especially outside of activities which are strictly community-oriented. Quebec anglophones do not seem to have the same difficulties. In all aspects of association life (language spoken during activities, assessment of linguistic level of



participants), the ability to speak English within association life or the possibility of speaking that language seems much greater than is the case for francophone minorities.

Other very surprising data highlight this duality of the francophone community with respect to social engagement of its members:

- on the one hand, with respect to “linguistic preferences”: they reveal that over 80% of francophones who participate in associations whose activities are usually conducted in English would not have wished that they take place in French;
- on the other hand, with respect to notoriety of associations that promote and defend language: they reveal that francophone respondents know very little about francophone associations locales, with the exception of small isolated communities (as in the territories) and large francophone communities (in Ontario and New Brunswick).

These last findings lead us to question ourselves on the relationship between the population and the francophone organizations. In fact, a large part of francophone respondents living in a minority situation participate outside of their community without feeling a particular linguistic need,

but the majority of them do not know of associative organizations that, nevertheless, reflect the representativeness of their community.

One again, this is merely a concise and statistical picture of a complex reality that can only be truly revealed through a more in depth research project. Additional analyses will need to be conducted to better understand and help nuance these results, namely more qualitative studies to better inform the missing relationships between the linguistic dimension of every engagement space and the actual linguistic practices of respondents. Also missing are data, which would certainly be precious, on linguistic representations and on the political and social meaning that respondents attribute to their linguistic practices: choosing to speak a minority language in a “bilingual” environment characterized by a strong diglossia is not a meaningless gesture. An analysis is currently underway to find out the factors which determine engagement with organizations which defend and promote language. In other respects, knowing the central role of engagement in the development and vitality of our minority communities, it seems appropriate to us to increase our understanding of what motivates individuals to commit socially, particularly with organizations which defend and promote language.



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## Appendix: List of Selected Variables

### Membership, Linguistic Cause and Knowledge of the Associational Environment

- adults who have belonged to organizations, associations and networks for every province
- adults who have belonged to organizations, associations and networks for every sub-region
- members of organizations that promote or defend the interests of francophones for every province
- members of organizations that promote or defend the interests of francophones for the sub-regions
- knowledge of organizations operating in the language of the respondent, in all provinces
- knowledge of organizations operating in the language of the respondent, in all sub-regions

### Linguistic Practices in the Associational Environment

- Language of communication with the organization for every province
- Language of communication with the organization for the sub-region
- Language of activities for every province
- Language of activities for the sub-regions
- Members based on their linguistic skills for every province

- Members based on their linguistic skills for New Brunswick and its regions
- Linguistic preferences for activities for every province (except Quebec)

### The Case of Volunteer Work: Linguistic Practices

- Respondents who take part in volunteer work for every province
- Respondents who take part in volunteer work for every sub-region
- Language of volunteer work
- Language of volunteer work for the sub-regions



# CHAPTER 7

## MOBILITY AND MINORITIES

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## CHAPTER 7

### MOBILITY AND MINORITIES

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#### INTRODUCTION

The geographic experience of official language minorities can be thought of in terms of mobility. A range of transformations—grouped within the concept of mobility—has led to a need to discard the image of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Canadians based on a sense of rootedness and belonging, and to replace it by minority spaces characterized by movement and flux. The recent Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities (SVOLM) shows this clearly: certainly, the scope of the phenomenon varies depending on which of the two official language minorities are considered; it is more obvious in particular regions; and it affects cities more than rural areas. It is, nonetheless, typical of most of the minority environments across the country.

The purpose of the short essay that follows is to present this particular dimension of the geographic experience of official language minorities based on the findings of the Survey. Although the mobility of the two groups is not a recent phenomenon, having driven both the destiny of French America (Louder and Waddell, 1983 et 2008; Morissonneau, 1979) and that of English-speaking Quebec (Rudin, 1984), it has, nonetheless, taken on unique and specific forms over the last few generations

(Magnan, 2004). This chapter will illustrate those forms. Three categories of movement will be considered: international mobility, inter-provincial mobility (with a particular focus on francophone migration from Quebec), and mobility among municipalities. The region, the presence of a minority, as well as the environment, in the case of mobility between municipalities, will be studied in order to describe the geographic paths travelled by members of minorities from the time of their birth on.

#### 1. DATA

The Survey is made up of two different worlds, that of adults aged 18 years and over, and that of children under 18 who have a parent who belongs to an official language minority. This portrait of mobility was sketched out based on a single sample of adults from selected responses to questions about language on the long questionnaire of the 2006 Census.

Essentially, we have used the responses from the Geographical Mobility module of the Survey, which includes questions on the town and province of birth, at 18 years of age and at the time of the Survey, as well as the reasons for moving or migration, if applicable. The presented data has not been processed in the initial analysis by Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière (2007).



## 2. REGION, CONCENTRATION, AND ENVIRONMENT

Geography is at the centre of our research. Different mobility profiles among regions, concentrations and living environments will be analyzed from this perspective. Our portrait of the mobility of francophone minorities will look at three large regions: Ontario, New Brunswick, and the other provinces and territories. The first two regions border on Quebec and form part of a “bilingual belt”. The third one is a larger area, which has sometimes been referred to as the “French archipelago” (Louder and Waddell, 2008). According to the Survey, 501,759 francophone adults live in Ontario, 197,148 in New Brunswick, and 233,135 in the rest of Canada, while there are 866 949 anglophones living in Quebec.

The impact of the concentration will be analyzed from the perspective of the minority presence. The Survey identifies strong, average and weak concentrations of minority populations, and takes into account both the proportion and the number of official-language minority people within a dissemination area<sup>1</sup>. It reveals that

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<sup>1</sup> The definition of concentration takes into account both the proportion and the number of official-language minority people within a dissemination area, a small, relatively stable geographic unit made up of 400 to 700 persons. A strong concentration of the minority group exists when the Francophone population within a dissemination area makes up at least 50% of the overall population or at least 200 persons. An average concentration refers to a situation where the proportion is at least 10% but less than 50% and the number of Francophones is equal to or more than 50 but less than 200. Finally, the concentration of Francophones is considered to be weak when their proportion within the dissemination area is less than 10% or their number is less than 50 persons. The minority population of each of the dissemination areas is considered. The

Franco-Ontarian adults are fairly evenly distributed among the three different classes of concentration. The situation is different in New Brunswick, where 88.1% of francophones live in areas of strong minority concentration. Elsewhere in Canada, we can see that the opposite is true, as 72.2% of members of the francophone minority live in areas of weak concentration. The anglophone population in Quebec is more prevalent in areas of strong minority concentrations; it is calculated that 74.9% of adult anglophones in the province live in these areas, while the rest are divided fairly evenly between areas of weak and average concentrations (Table 1).

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total, which represents the largest portion of the total Francophone population of the municipality, determines the concentration class. Thus, Toronto is classed as an area of weak concentration, and Ottawa an average concentration (Corbeil and Lafrenière, 2010)



**TABLE 1A. NUMBER OF FRANCOPHONES BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Francophones by Concentration Class								
Regions	Weak Concentration		Average Concentration		Strong Concentration		Total	% of Francophones
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
<b>Ontario</b>	199,051	39.7	174,225	34.7	128,483	25.6	501,759	53.8
<b>New Brunswick</b>	102,99	5.2	13,152	6.7	173,697	88.1	197,148	21.2
<b>Other provinces and territories</b>	168,300	72.2	45,641	19.6	19,194	8.2	233,135	25.0
<b>Total</b>	377,650	40.5	233,018	25.0	321,374	34.5	932,042	100.0

**TABLE 1B. NUMBER OF ANGLOPHONES ACCORDING TO CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Anglophones According to Concentration Class							
Quebec	Weak Concentration		Average Concentration		Strong Concentration		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
<b>Quebec</b>	83,929	9.7	133,943	15.4	649,077	74.9	866,949

Lastly, we describe the distinction between mobility patterns affecting rural and urban settings based on the information supplied by respondents about the type of municipality in which they live or have lived. Three types of urban settings are defined: fewer than 50,000 inhabitants (small city), between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants (medium-sized city) and 100,000 inhabitants and over (large city or metropolis). According to the Survey, 69.4% of adult Franco-Ontarians live in urban settings today, compared to 39.2% of francophones in New Brunswick<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>This is the percentage of people who responded to the question.

In Ontario, the majority of city-dwellers state that they live in a metropolis. In New Brunswick, most say they live in small cities. Elsewhere in the country, the percentage of urban francophones is 62.4%, and 58.8% of these live in a metropolis. The strongest concentrations are the three regions that have the highest percentages of people living in small cities. It is in Quebec that the proportion of adult anglophones who say they live in an urban setting is the highest; 75.3% of anglophones live in a city. Large cities are predominant here, as well; 55% of city-dwellers live in a large city, while the others are evenly divided between small and medium-sized cities. In the case

of Quebec, areas with strong minority concentrations coincide with larger cities

and metropolitan areas (Table 2 and Figure 1).

**TABLE 2A. FRANCOPHONES ACCORDING TO RURAL OR URBAN SETTING BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Regions	Concentrations	Francophones According to Rural or Urban Setting						Total
		Rural		Urban		Unknown		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Ontario	Weak	36,619	18.5	154,273	77.9	7,248	3.7	198,140
	Average	40,792	23.5	129,599	74.5	3,511	2.0	173,902
	Strong	64,007	50.1	62,761	49.1	966	0.8	127,734
	Total	141,418	28.3	346,633	69.4	11,725	2.3	499,776
New Brunswick	Weak	4,887	47.6	5,240	51.0	149	1.4	10,276
	Average	7,222	54.9	5,905	44.9	26	0.2	13,153
	Strong	104,537	60.5	65,802	38.1	2,406	1.4	172,745
	Total	116,646	59.5	76,947	39.2	2,581	1.3	196,174
Other Provinces and Territories	Weak	46,357	28.1	113,958	69.0	4,784	2.9	165,099
	Average	1,224	4.2	26,518	91.1	1,368	4.7	29,110
	Strong	16,687	87.8	1,956	10.3	352	1.9	18,995
	Total	79,268	34.7	142,432	62.4	6,504	2.9	228,204
<b>Total</b>		<b>337,332</b>	<b>36.5</b>	<b>566,012</b>	<b>61.2</b>	<b>20,810</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>924,154</b>



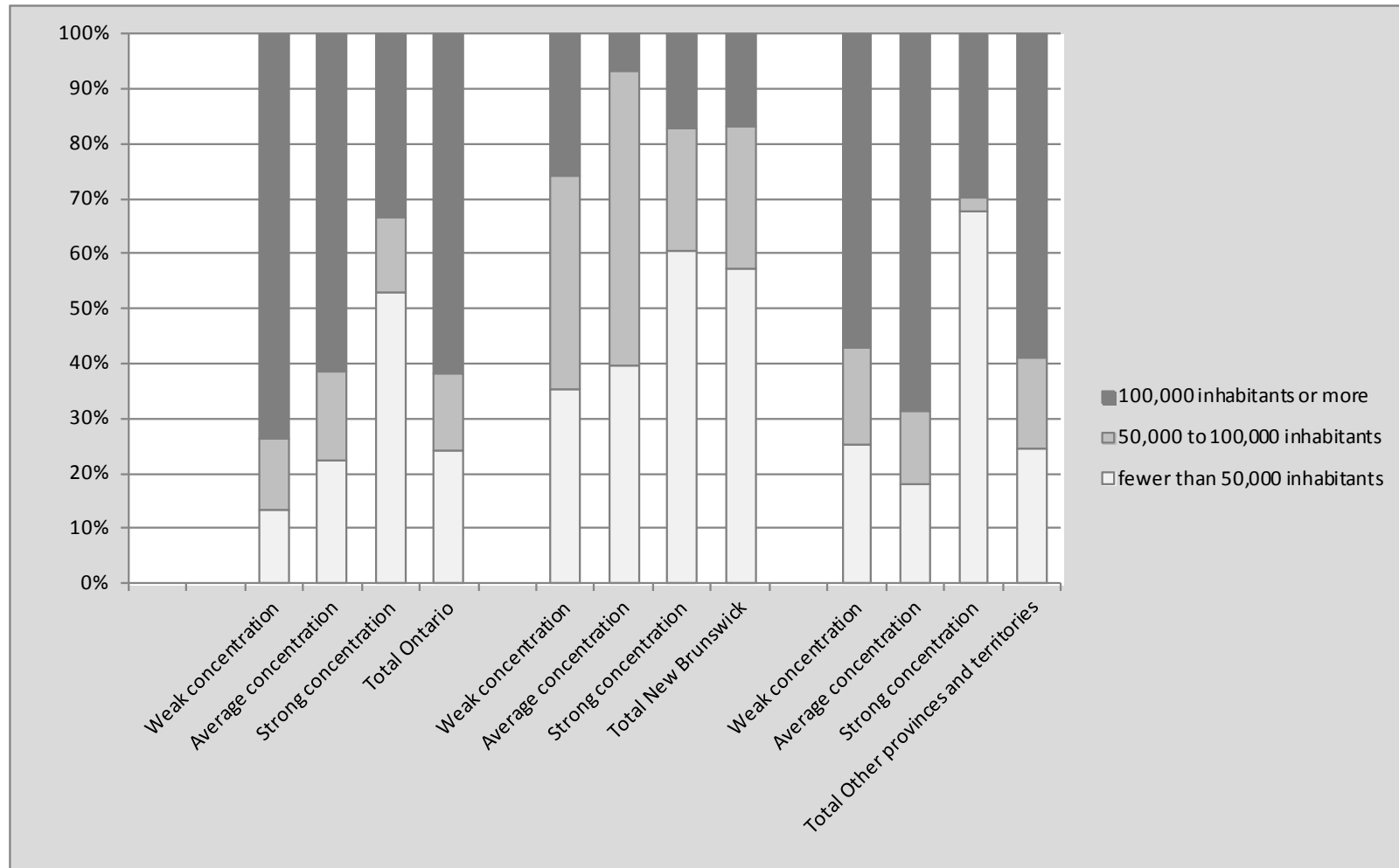


**TABLE 2B. ANGLOPHONES IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS ACCORDING TO CONCENTRATION CLASS**

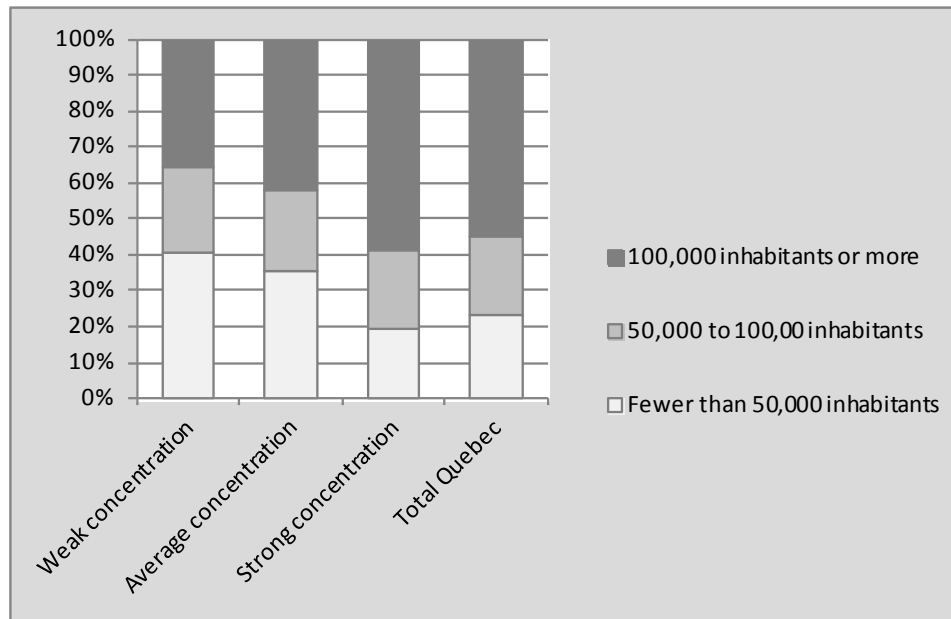
Regions	Concentrations	Anglophones According to Rural or Urban Setting						Total
		Rural		Urban		Unknown		
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Quebec	Weak	31,902	38.9	46,675	56.8	3,529	4.3	82,106
	Average	52,320	40.2	74,868	57.5	3,090	2.4	130,278
	Strong	97,830	15.8	503,847	81.5	16,890	2.7	618,567
	<b>Total</b>	<b>182,052</b>	<b>21.9</b>	<b>625,390</b>	<b>75.3</b>	<b>23,509</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>830,951</b>



**FIGURE 1A. FRANCOPHONES LIVING IN URBAN SETTINGS ACCORDING TO SIZE OF MUNICIPALITY BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**



**FIGURE 1B. ANGLOPHONES RESIDING IN URBAN SETTINGS ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF THE MUNICIPALITY AND CONCENTRATION CLASS**



Cross-referencing the geographic data (by province, concentration, and environment) provides us with unique information about the experience of mobility in different areas of minority territories across the country<sup>3</sup>. Questions about the place of birth and place of residence at 18 years of age complete the portrait of the geographic patterns of francophones. The essay that follows describes patterns in which are larger in scope than generally believed and influence, to different extents, all francophone communities. It confirms our belief that this dimension of the geographic experiences of official language minorities will have significant repercussions on their vitality, unless a thorough analysis of the effects of mobility on language practices and identities of minority population groups is conducted. Or if, to use the terminology of Roger Bernard, “migratory, continuous and

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the living environment was considered only in the cases of mobility between municipalities.

interconnected networks contribute to the maintenance or the disappearance of the communalization process” of members of the minority (1988, p. 47). Building on previous research (Cao, Chouinard and Dehoorne, 2005; Gilbert, 2010), the conclusion will present certain hypotheses in this regard.

### 3. INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY

International migration is the best-known aspect of the mobility of official language minorities in Canada. It represents one of the main factors of population growth and renewal, in a context in which minorities hold little attraction for their respective majorities (Jedwab, 2002; Belkhodja, 2008).

Quebec anglophones benefit particularly from the weight of immigration (Jedwab, 2004). Data from the Survey reveals that 43.5% of English-speaking Quebecers are immigrants. A total of 377,330 of anglophones were born outside Canada.

Significant portions of immigrants are from earlier waves; 42.9% of anglophones in Quebec arrived before 1980. Since the 1970s, the number of immigrants whose mother tongue is English has decreased due to the efforts of the Quebec government to increase the immigration from francophone countries. The period from 1971 to 1980

was definitely the most remarkable in this sense: only 12.9% of anglophone immigrants in Quebec arrived during this decade. Some measure of balance has been restored since that time. Thus, 47,974 anglophone immigrants arrived between 2001 and 2006, representing 12.8% of the total English-speaking immigrant population (Table 3).

**TABLE 3A. FRANCOPHONES ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Regions	Concentrations	Francophones According to Country of Birth				Total
		Canada		Outside Canada		
		N	%	N	%	
Ontario	Weak	134,823	32.5	64,228	73.4	199,051
	Average	151,374	36.5	22,851	26.1	174,225
	Strong	128,007	30.9	475	0.5	128,482
	<b>Total</b>	<b>414,204</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>87,554</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>501,758</b>
New Brunswick	Weak	10,077	5.2	222	6.1	10,299
	Average	12,476	6.4	676	18.6	13,152
	Strong	170,964	88.3	2,733	75.3	173,697
	<b>Total</b>	<b>193,517</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,631</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>197,148</b>
Other Provinces and Territories	Weak	141,063	69.7	27,237	88.5	168,300
	Average	42,477	21.0	3,165	10.3	45,642
	Strong	18,828	9.3	366	1.2	19,194
	<b>Total</b>	<b>202,368</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>30,768</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>233,136</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>810,089</b>		<b>121,953</b>		<b>932,042</b>

**TABLEAU 3B. ANGLOPHONES ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Regions	Concentration classes	Anglophones According to Country of Birth				
		Canada		Outside Canada		Total
		N	%	N	%	
Quebec	Weak	64,891	13.3	18,994	5.0	83,885
	Average	97,189	19.9	36,754	9.7	133,943
	Strong	327,460	66.9	321,582	85.2	649,042
<b>Total</b>		<b>489,540</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>377,330</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>866,870</b>

According to the Survey, French-speaking people who have immigrated to Canada number 121,953, or 13.2% of the total francophone population. In Ontario, there are 121,953 immigrants, who make up 13.2% of the total francophone population. New Brunswick has only 3% of the total number of Francophone immigrants; barely 3,621 francophones were born outside of Canada. There are obviously huge differences in the various regions of the country in terms of their ability to attract francophone immigrants.

Nearly half of these immigrants (49.6%) have arrived after 1991; this represents 14 percentage points more than in the case of anglophones in Quebec. The power to attract francophone newcomers remains quite strong in Ontario. More than 15,175 francophones who arrived in Canada during 2001 alone were living in Ontario at the time of the Survey. The rest of Canada, with the exception of New Brunswick, welcomed a total of 5007 francophone newcomers

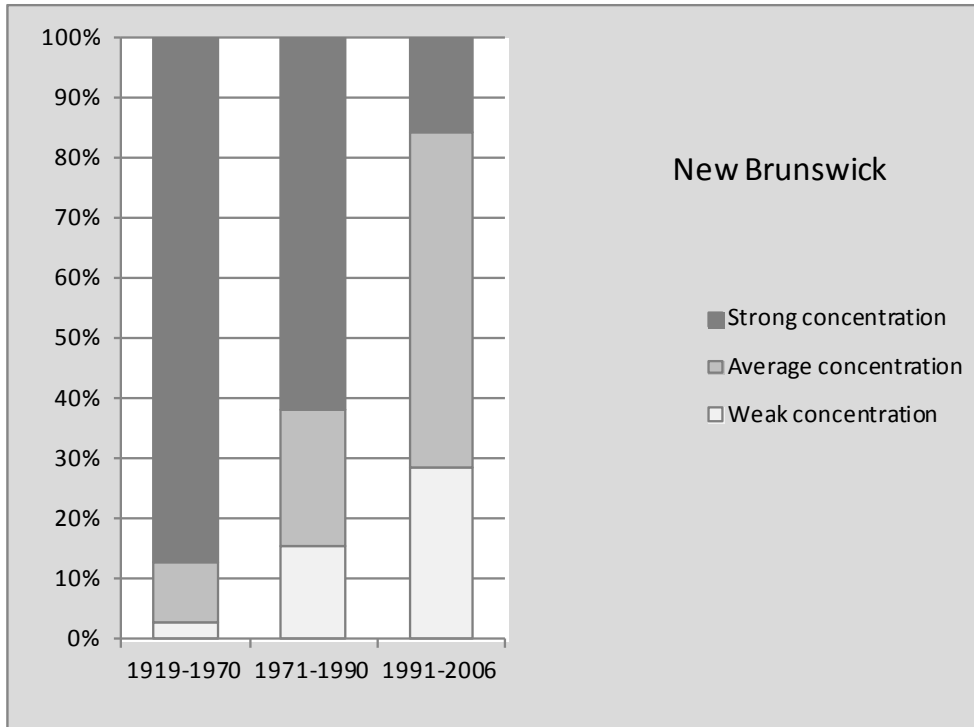
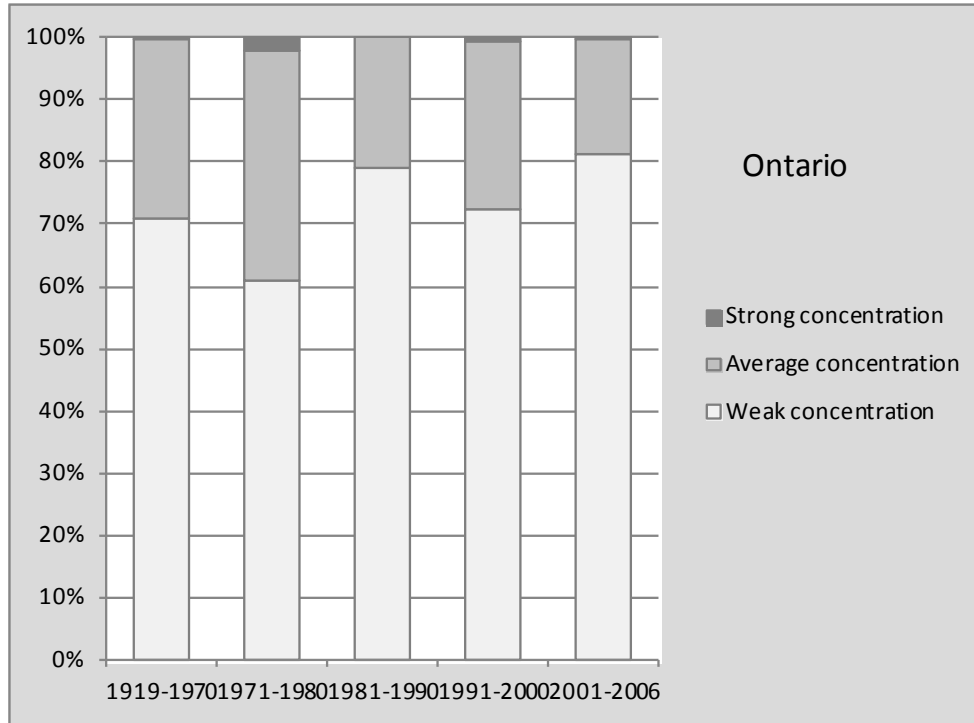
during the year, according to the Survey, while New Brunswick attracted only 309 francophone immigrants during the period between 1991 and 2006.

### 3.1 The impact of the Minority Concentrations

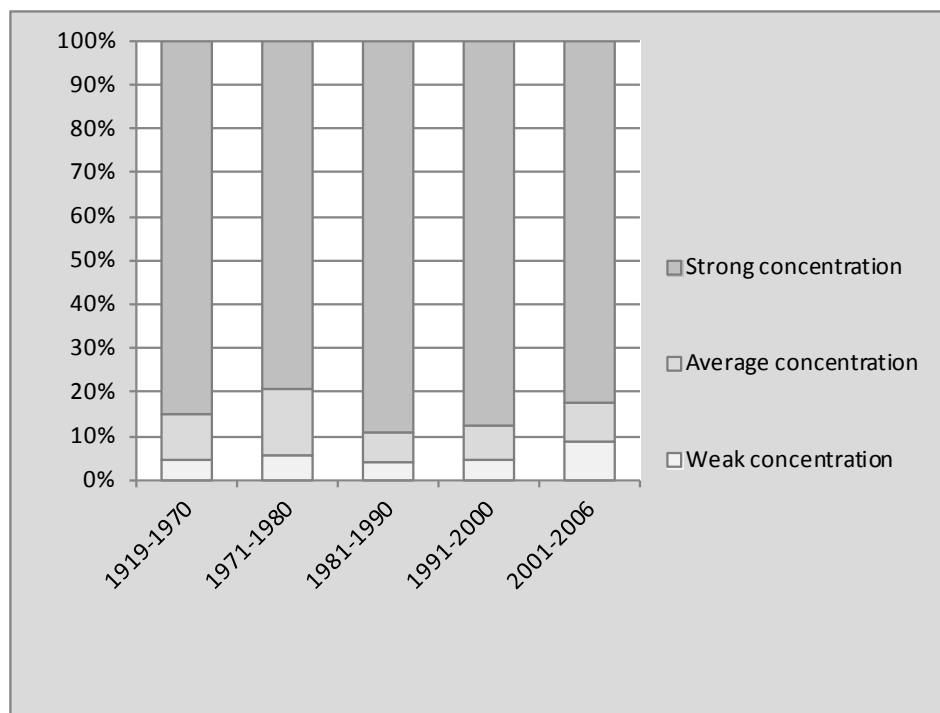
Table 3 illustrates how the concentration of minorities has a strong effect in English-speaking Quebec as well as in the francophone populations across Canada. In the case of Quebec, areas with strong concentrations of anglophones, where the English-speaking population makes up at least 50% of the overall population or at least 200 persons, attract nearly all English-speaking immigrants. Even immigrants who have lived in Quebec for the longest periods of time have rarely chosen to live outside of their comfort zone, which means the “most English” municipalities or areas of Quebec (Figure 2).



**FIGURE 2A. FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO YEAR OF IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**



**FIGURE 2B. ANGLOPHONES IMMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO YEAR OF IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**



In New Brunswick, immigrants live, for the most part (75.3%) in areas of strong francophone concentration. This is, however, less often the case for immigrants than for francophones born in Canada and living in New Brunswick (88.1%). In Ontario, the opposite is seen. Three-quarters of francophone immigrants in Ontario live in areas of weak concentrations of francophones, where they generally cause a swell in the francophone population. Only a little more than a third of Franco-Ontarians live in these areas. In the other provinces and territories, 88.5% of immigrants live in areas of weak francophone concentration.

The Survey reveals that the immigrant presence in the most francophone areas is minimal. Barely 2,733 people in New Brunswick and 841 in the rest of the country, including Ontario, migrated to areas of strong francophone concentration. This reduces the impact that this mobility has on their demography. Areas of weak francophone concentration are becoming

increasingly attractive, and eight francophones out of ten who have arrived in the fifteen years before the Survey was taken moved to these areas. New Brunswick is a slight exception to this pattern.

#### 4. INTER-PROVINCIAL MOBILITY

Inter-provincial mobility is another factor that enters into the geographic patterns of minority populations. Thus, several members of official-language minorities are born in other provinces and have migrated at various stages of their lives. French-speaking Canada has benefited the most from inter-provincial migration, which has increased its numbers. Oilfields and tar sands in the Prairies and the territories, as well as hydroelectric project sites in Newfoundland, have also experienced increases in minority populations. Census reports measure the migration over periods of one and five years. Forgues et al. (2010) have outlined an exhaustive portrait of inter-provincial migrations based on data



from the 2006 Census. The Survey also makes it possible to measure the patterns of inter-provincial mobility on the scale of individual life spans.

A proportion of 30.9% of the non-immigrant adult francophone population included in the Survey was born in another province. A total of 250,219 members of the minority had therefore moved since their birth, with all that this might entail in terms of the cultural evolution in the different areas that benefited from these migrations. The figures show that Ontario gained the most in numbers from this mobility, in which

146,864 francophones are represented. However, it is the other provinces and territories of Canada, with the exception of New Brunswick, that gained the most proportionately: 42.4% of their minority population was born in another province or territory (Table 4). In comparison, only 15.6% of adult anglophones in Quebec, or 71,416 people, who are not immigrants, were born in another province. This is a major difference between the two official language minorities in terms of the factors that contribute to the dynamics of demographic patterns.





**TABLEAU 4A. FRANCOPHONES BORN IN CANADA ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OF BIRTH AND CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Regions		Francophones According to Province of Birth								
		Concentrations	Francophones Born in Their Province of Residence		Francophones Born in Another Province of Territory Outside Quebec		Francophones Born in Quebec		Total	% of Francophones Born in Canada
			N	%	N	%	N	%		
Ontario	Weak	62,750	46.5	16,175	12.0	55,898	41.5	134,823	16.7	
	Average	103,844	68.7	8,415	5.6	39,068	25.8	151,327	18.7	
	Strong	100,602	78.7	2,084	1.6	25,224	19.7	127,910	15.8	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>267,196</b>	<b>64.5</b>	<b>26,674</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>120,190</b>	<b>29.0</b>	<b>414,060</b>	<b>51.1</b>	
New Brunswick	Weak	8,095	80.3	918	9.1	1,063	10.5	10,076	1.2	
	Average	10,021	80.3	752	6.0	1,704	13.7	12,477	1.5	
	Strong	157,507	92.3	3,175	1.9	10,018	5.9	170,700	21.1	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>175,623</b>	<b>90.9</b>	<b>4,845</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>12,785</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>193,253</b>	<b>23.9</b>	
Other Provinces and Territories	Weak	63,198	44.8	27,508	19.5	50,358	35.7	141,064	17.4	
	Average	36,247	85.3	2,588	6.1	3,642	8.6	42,477	5.2	
	Strong	17,200	91.3	765	4.1	864	4.6	18,829	2.3	
	<b>Total</b>	<b>116,645</b>	<b>57.6</b>	<b>30,861</b>	<b>15.2</b>	<b>54,864</b>	<b>27.1</b>	<b>202,370</b>	<b>25.0</b>	
<b>Total</b>		<b>559,464</b>	<b>69.1</b>	<b>62,380</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>187,839</b>	<b>23.2</b>	<b>809,683</b>	<b>100.0</b>	



**TABLEAU 4B. ANGLOPHONES BORN IN CANADA ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OF BIRTH AND BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Regions	Concentrations	Quebec		Outside Quebec		Total	% of Anglophones in Country
		N	%	N	%		
Quebec	Weak	49,333	76.0	15,559	24.0	64,892	14.2
	Average	71,142	73.3	25,980	26.7	97,122	21.2
	Strong	266,383	81.3	61,077	18.7	327,460	71.5
	Total	386,858	84.4	71,416	15.6	458,274	100.0

There is no doubt that the fact that they were born and raised in Quebec represents a geographic experience that marks certain members of francophone minorities across Canada. With the exception of New Brunswick, a very high proportion of Canadian francophones were born in Quebec: 29.0% of francophones in Ontario, and 27.1% of francophones in other provinces and territories. In New Brunswick the situation is completely different, because the migration from Quebec has brought small numbers of francophones: only 6.6% of adult francophones in this province were born in Quebec. Many of the francophones who migrate to francophone communities outside Quebec grew up in Quebec. For instance, 42,076 Franco-Ontarians, 6,616 New Brunswickers and 20,661 francophones in the rest of Canada were living in Quebec at the age of 18. No study exists on the possible consequences on their practices and identities of the fact that they were raised and educated in Quebec.

#### 4.1 Temporary Mobility

Moreover, many members of the minority population have lived in different provinces or territories than those where they were born, and had returned to their birthplace at the time the Census was taken. We believe this experience would have undoubtedly impacted on them, but it is difficult to evaluate to what extent, without further study of their types of engagement upon their return to their community. Here again, the francophone population outside of Quebec is different from the anglophones in Quebec of whom a small proportion (only 14.8% of the total) have lived in other Canadian provinces and territories (Table 5b). This translates into 110,112 people who have lived outside Quebec at one time or another in their lives, a group that is far from being insignificant, if we contend that such mobility will influence community vitality.

The proportion of temporary migrants, as this group might be called, is noticeably higher in the francophone population. While francophones in minority situations whom have always lived in the same province

represent a significant majority, a total of 24.6% of francophones live or have lived in another province or territory during their lives (Table 5a). The proportion of these migrants is particularly high outside Ontario and New Brunswick; in other areas, 31.3% of francophones have lived elsewhere as compared to 23.4% of francophones in Ontario and 22.6% in New Brunswick. Thus, 158,097 francophones

outside of Quebec have lived outside of the province of their birth at some point in their lives, and have later returned. Of this number, the majority does not reside in the municipality where they were born. This is a little-known fact (Table 5). There are more francophones who were born outside Canada (42.3%) who lived in another province than those who were born in the country (23.9%).



**TABLEAU 5A. FRANCOPHONES WHO HAVE LIVED IN ANOTHER PROVINCE  
ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BY CONCENTRATION  
CLASS**

		Francophones Who Have lived in Another Province According to Country of Birth <sup>(1)</sup>						
Regions	Concentrations	Canada		Outside Canada		Total		% of Francophones Who Have Lived in Another Province
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Ontario	Weak	13 127	21,3	23 683	38,1	36 810	29,7	23,3
	Average	24 746	24,0	8 688	41,3	33 434	26,9	21,1
	Strong	11 057	11,1	362	76,2	11 419	11,4	7,2
	Total	48 930	18,5	32 733	31,9	81 663	23,4	51,7
New Brunswick	Weak	2 126	26,8	166	74,8	2 292	28,1	1,4
	Average	3 493	34,9	283	41,9	3 776	35,4	2,4
	Strong	33 289	21,4	550	20,1	33 839	21,4	21,4
	Total	38 908	22,5	999	27,5	39 907	22,6	25,2
Other Provinces and Territories	Weak	11 774	30,3	14 681	57,5	26 455	41,0	16,7
	Average	6 851	21,2	773	24,4	7 624	21,5	4,8
	Strong	2 351	14,3	98	26,8	2 448	14,6	1,5
	Total	20 976	23,9	15 552	53,5	36 527	31,3	23,1
<b>Total</b>		<b>108 814</b>	<b>20,7</b>	<b>49 284</b>	<b>42,3</b>	<b>158 097</b>	<b>24,6</b>	<b>100,0</b>

1. The reference universe is that of people who live in their province of birth and who have lived in other provinces or territories during their lives. Immigrants who have also lived elsewhere are included.

**TABLEAU 5B. ANGLOPHONES WHO HAVE LIVED IN ANOTHER PROVINCE ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Anglophones Who Have Lived in Another Province According to Country of Birth <sup>(1)</sup>								
Regions	Concentrations	Canada		Outside Canada		Total		% of Anglophones Who Have Lived in Another Province
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
		Quebec	Weak	8,886	19,2	2,480	12,8	
Average	13,494		19.4	10,937	31.1	24,432	23.3	22.2
Strong	39,661		15.2	34,653	11.2	74,314	13.0	67.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>62,041</b>		<b>16.4</b>	<b>48,070</b>	<b>13.2</b>	<b>110,112</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>100.0</b>

1. The reference universe is that of people living in their province of birth and who have lived in other provinces or territories during their lives. Immigrants who have lived in places other than the province in which they live at present are also included.

The combination of these two types of inter-provincial mobility, permanent and temporary, means that minority communities include several people who have not been in the province where they were living at the time of the Survey for a long time. In Ontario, for example, 41,133 adult francophones had lived in their province of residence for less than 10 years in total. The number of francophones who had not lived in their current province for more than 10 years was also high in the other provinces and territories where, with the exception of New Brunswick, 35,238 people were included in this group. The francophone population in New Brunswick is much more firmly rooted; only 4,281 of francophones had been living in the province for less than 10 years.

## 4.2 The impact of Minority Concentrations

Areas with strong minority concentrations are, in every case, areas in which the proportion of francophone migrants is the lowest. These areas hold less attraction on people who were born in other regions of the country as well as on those who return to their home province after living elsewhere in Canada. This is not surprising. The majority of these communities are rural areas or small cities, which have much less to offer in terms of institutional support. Colleges and universities are located elsewhere, as are hospitals, cultural institutions, the media, and so on. Organizations are also based in medium-sized and large cities. In short, it is not easy to find opportunities to work in one's language, or to find work at all, in these areas compared to larger centres. The



impact of concentration is most obvious outside of Ontario and New Brunswick where differences between strong and weak concentrations have a clear impact on the presence of francophones who were born or who have lived in other provinces and territories. As Table 5a shows, four francophone residents out of ten from the least francophone areas of provinces and territories of the “archipelago” have lived in another province at some point during their lifetime. This constitutes an important aspect of their geographical experience. The areas of these provinces and territories, which are largely francophone, do not benefit as much from these contributions as only 14.6% of those in their communities have lived in other provinces or territories; this proportion is barely higher than the proportion in the most francophone areas of Ontario (11.4%).

In summary, in every part of Canada, the municipalities in which there are high concentrations of francophones attract the highest proportions of people who have lived in the same province for more than 10 years: in Ontario, the percentage is 91.7% in areas with a high concentration of francophones compared to 77.7% in areas with weak concentrations; in New Brunswick, 94.3% compared to 84.0%; in other parts of Canada, 84.3% compared to 75.1%.

The impact of concentration is less significant in Quebec, both in terms of inter-provincial migration since birth and temporary migration. The various municipalities are much closer to each other in this regard than outside Quebec. This is difficult to explain, given the fact that areas with stronger concentrations of anglophone offer many advantages, as do urban centres

(where, coincidentally, anglophones are represented in higher numbers).

### 4.3 Migration Patterns of Immigrants

Among both French-speaking Canadians and anglophones in Quebec, immigrants are much less stable in their geographical patterns than people born in Canada. In Ontario, for example, 31.9% of immigrants responded that they have lived in another province, compared to 18.5% of francophones who were born in Canada (Table 5a). Interestingly, areas in Ontario where the highest concentrations of francophones occur, in south-eastern and north-eastern regions of the province (Corbeil and Lafrenière, 2010), are the areas in which immigrants seem to have been the most mobility; only a quarter of them have always lived in Ontario. On the other hand, areas in which the concentrations of francophones are the weakest, such as Toronto and other municipalities in the rest of Ontario, are the areas that have welcomed the largest proportion of immigrants who have always lived in Ontario. Evidently, there are important differences in Ontario between immigrants who live in areas of strong or weak minority concentration. Their experiences are very different; those who live in areas with strong concentrations of francophones have more frequently lived in different locations and can enrich their community with these geographical experiences. Those who live in areas with weak concentrations of francophones do not have such experiences, but they are more firmly rooted in their regions. The situation is different elsewhere in the country where immigrants who live in the areas with weaker concentrations of francophones who are the most mobile, with all that this might entail in terms of



effects on the communities in which they live.

## **5. MOBILITY AMONG MUNICIPALITIES**

When we look at the changes of location that result in members of official language minorities living in a different municipality from the one in which they were born or raised, the number of migrants skyrockets. The Survey provides data on this subject, which has not been studied previously. It reveals a generalized tendency towards mobility within minority groups, a phenomenon that is not shown in the analysis of migratory networks based on the Census<sup>4</sup>.

The findings suggest that 418,654 francophones from outside of Quebec have not always lived in the municipality in which they currently reside. This means that a significant proportion of members of the minority group have moved at least once in their lifetime. Figures in Ontario show that 55.1% of the minority population, or 230,676 francophones, have experienced life in more than one community. In New Brunswick, the number is 70,620 or 16.9% of the total of people who have moved from one municipality to another. In Ontario, this represents a proportion that is higher than the proportion of francophones in the province within the total Canadian francophone population (53.8%). In the case of New Brunswick, it is a lower proportion (21.1%) (cf Table 1). Francophones in New Brunswick are by far the most stable in terms of geography. Those in the provinces

of the “archipelago” are the most mobile. Among francophones in other provinces and territories, 117,358 have lived in another municipality or area than their current place of residence and have carried with them ideas and lifestyles developed elsewhere (Table 6).

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<sup>4</sup> For an in-depth analysis of migration patterns in Ontario, see Langlois (1992). For a study of New Brunswick, see Cao, Chouinard and Dehoorne (2005).



**TABLEAU 6A. FRANCOPHONES WHO HAVE NOT ALWAYS LIVED IN THE SAME MUNICIPALITY BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

		Francophones Who Have Not Always Lived in the Same Municipality <sup>(1)</sup>					
Regions	Concentrations	Living in the Same Municipality as at 18 years of Age		Living in Another Municipality Than at 18 years of Age		Total	% of Francophones Who Have Not Always Lived in the Same Municipality
		N	%	N	%		
		Ontario	Weak	29,568	29.9		
Average	33,030		40.9	47,733	59.1	80,763	19.3
Strong	23,868		46.7	27,193	53.3	51,061	12.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>86,466</b>		<b>37.5</b>	<b>144,210</b>	<b>62.5</b>	<b>230,676</b>	<b>55.1</b>
New Brunswick	Weak	2,631	47.0	2,971	53.0	5,602	1.3
	Average	2,434	34.5	4,631	65.5	7,065	1.7
	Strong	26,788	46.2	31,165	53.8	57,953	13.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31,853</b>	<b>45.1</b>	<b>38,767</b>	<b>54.9</b>	<b>70,620</b>	<b>16.9</b>
Other Provinces and Territories	Weak	20,000	21.8	71,859	78.2	91,859	21.9
	Average	8,812	43.0	11,702	57.0	20,514	4.9
	Strong	2,806	56.3	2,179	43.7	4,985	1.2
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31,618</b>	<b>26.9</b>	<b>85,740</b>	<b>73.1</b>	<b>117,358</b>	<b>28.0</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>149,937</b>	<b>35.8</b>	<b>268,717</b>	<b>64.2</b>	<b>418,654</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

1. The reference universe is that of people born in Canada who have not always lived in the same municipality. Immigrants who arrived before the age of 18 years are also included.





**TABLEAU 6B. ANGLOPHONES WHO HAVE NOT ALWAYS LIVED IN THE SAME MUNICIPALITY ACCORDING TO CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Anglophones Who Have Not Always Lived in the Same Municipality <sup>(1)</sup>							
Regions	Concentrations	Living in the Same Municipality as at 18 Years of Age		Living in a Different Municipality Than at 18 Years of Age		Total	% of Anglophones Who Have Lived in More Than One Municipality
		N	%	N	%		
Quebec	Weak	10,913	27.6	28,602	72.4	39,516	10.9
	Average	19,583	34.5	37,176	65.5	56,760	15.6
	Strong	113,926	42.8	152,562	57.2	266,489	73.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>144,422</b>	<b>39.8</b>	<b>218,340</b>	<b>60.2</b>	<b>362,763</b>	<b>100.0</b>

1. The reference universe is that of people born in Canada who have not always lived in the same municipality. Immigrants who arrived before the age of 18 are also included.

A significant majority of these migrations (64.2%) took place during the adult years; mobility from age 18 on is particularly robust outside Ontario and New Brunswick. Provinces and territories where people move benefit from the contributions of people who have spent periods of their adult life in other geographical contexts and bring different experiences to their communities. English-speaking Quebec is not exempt from this tendency, as 362,762 members of the anglophone population have not always lived in the same municipality or area. Once again, areas with the weakest minority concentrations, outside of Quebec, are home to the largest number of migrants. It is also in areas with the weakest concentration of francophones that the gap between mobility during childhood and mobility in the adult years is the widest. In areas in Ontario, for example, with weak concentrations of Francophones

there is only 29.5% of people who had not always lived in the municipality where they resided at the time of the 2006 Census were there when they were 18 years old. All the others had arrived after the age of 18, in other words, after being raised and educated elsewhere not to mention those who pursued post-secondary education or had their first work experiences somewhere else. In Quebec, the numbers are reversed. Areas with the highest concentration of anglophones are, once again, those that have experienced an influx of migrants.

The reasons for moves from one municipality or area to another are provided in the Survey and are familiar ones. Family, employment and education account for the vast majority of reasons for leaving one's birthplace. Family reasons predominate in Ontario and in Quebec, and jobs and education in the other provinces and



territories. In other provinces, the most common reason is access to employment opportunities and to postsecondary institutions. Work is more often cited as a reason for leaving one's birthplace for areas with weaker concentrations of francophones, where, it seems, migrants are more likely to find work than in areas with higher concentrations of francophones. Since nearly all of the metropolitan centres in Canada fall into this category, this is not surprising. As far as reasons for leaving the place where one resided at the age of 18, work once more predominated, especially for francophones outside Quebec. Members of the anglophone minority in Quebec are, for their part, more likely to mention family reasons—marriage, divorce—as well as the desire to experience something different.

## 5.1 Changes in the Living Environment

The Survey allows us to determine to what extent mobility among municipalities is accompanied by a change in the living environment, no matter if it is actual or perceived.<sup>5</sup> The findings reveal important transformations in the type of lifestyle associated with the phenomenon of migration for the majority of members of the official language minority who moved during their lifetime.

Mobility resulted in a change in the living environment for 87,384 of the 268,717 francophones who did live in the same municipality at the age of 18 as they did at the time of the Survey. The majority apparently moved from an urban to a rural setting (52,937 people) while others moved

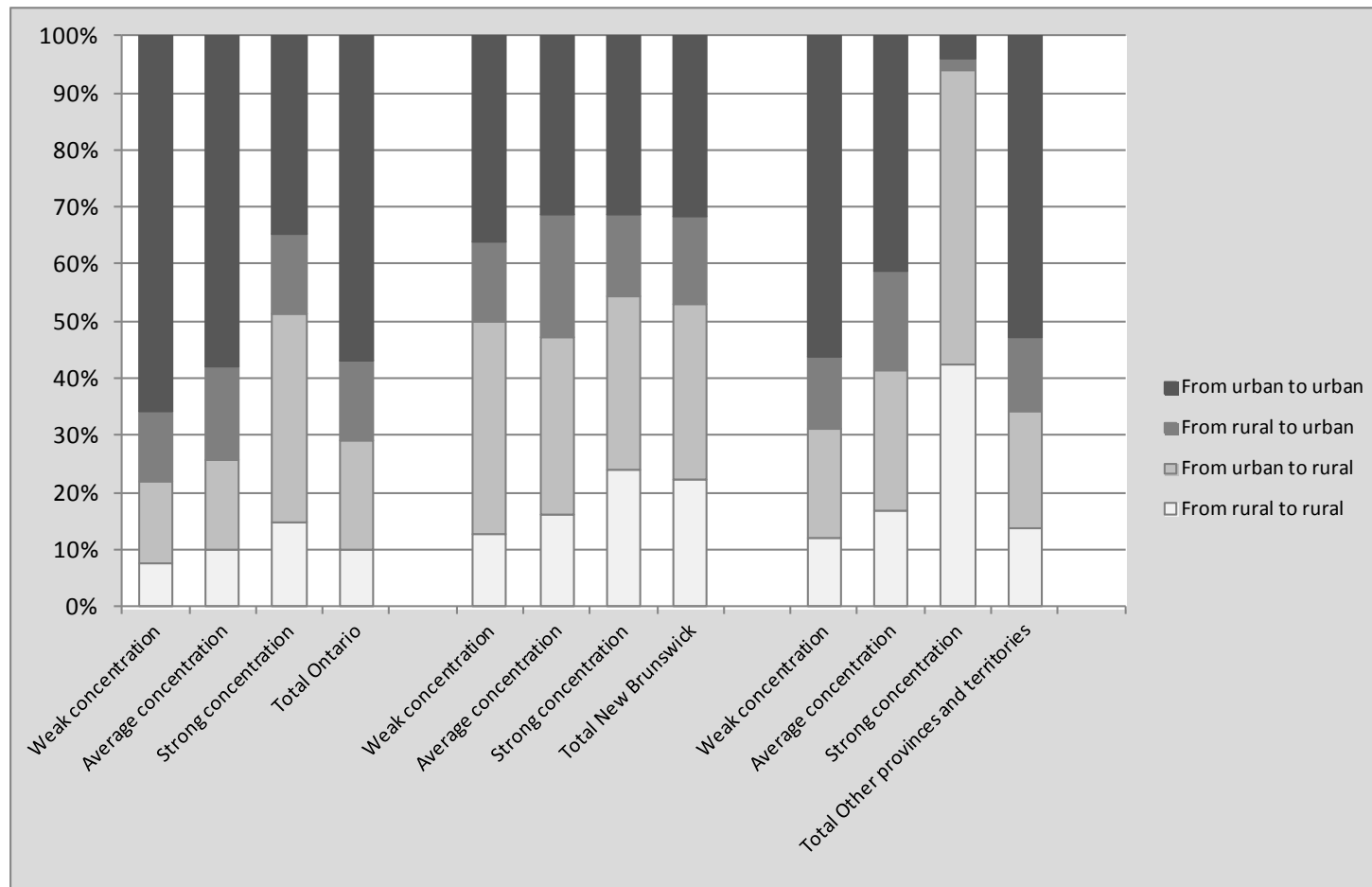
from a rural setting to an urban one (34,447). While these numbers may seem surprising at first glance, they are more easily understood if we remember that mobility from one environment to another includes numerous moves out of cities and suburbs to neighbouring rural areas. The explosive population growth in the western area of Russel county outside Ottawa is one example of this. (Gilbert, 2013) The increase in the population of municipalities around Moncton is another. The lower rates of urbanization in the Maritimes than in central or western Canada also contribute to movement of francophones to rural areas in New Brunswick (Figure 3).

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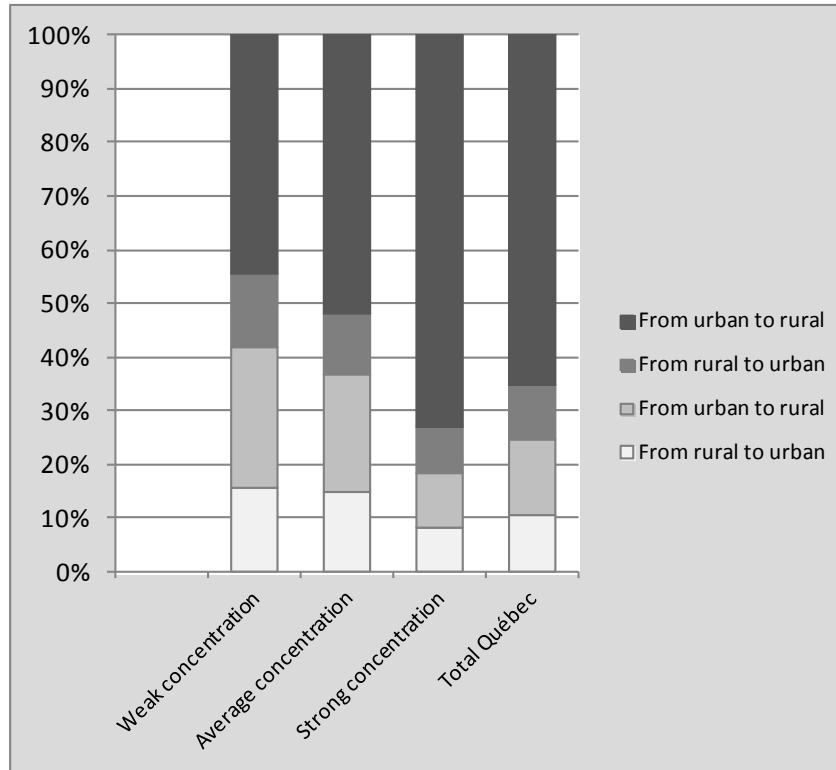
<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that information on the living environment was provided by the respondents.



**FIGURE 3A. FRANCOPHONES NOT RESIDING IN THE SAME MUNICIPALITY THAN AT AGE 18 ACCORDING TO CHANGE IN LIVING ENVIRONMENT BY CATEGORY FROM THE CONCENTRATION CLASS**



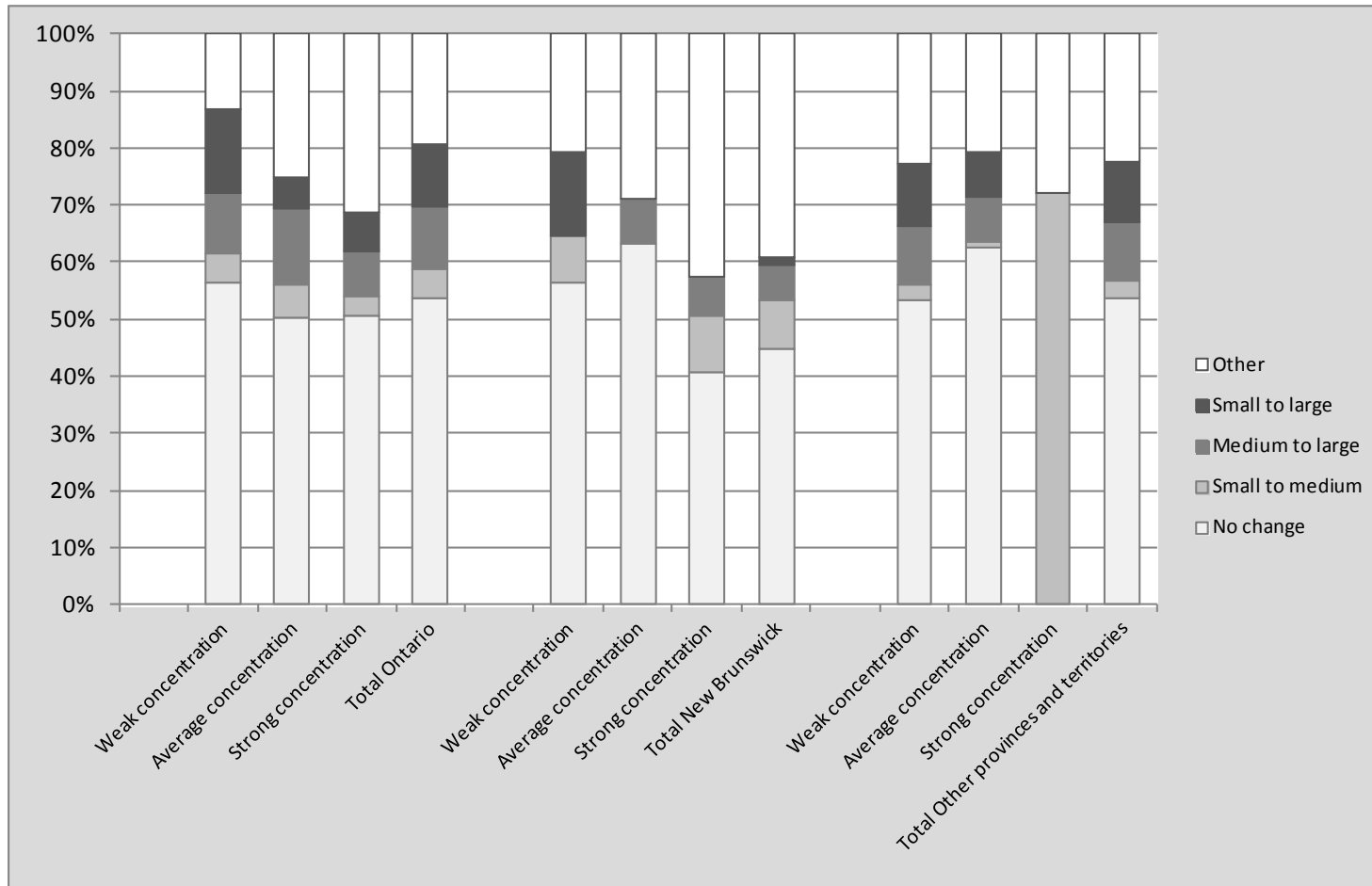
**FIGURE 3B. ANGLOPHONES NOT LIVING IN THE SAME MUNICIPALITY THAN AT AGE 18 ACCORDING TO CHANGE IN LIVING ENVIRONMENT BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**



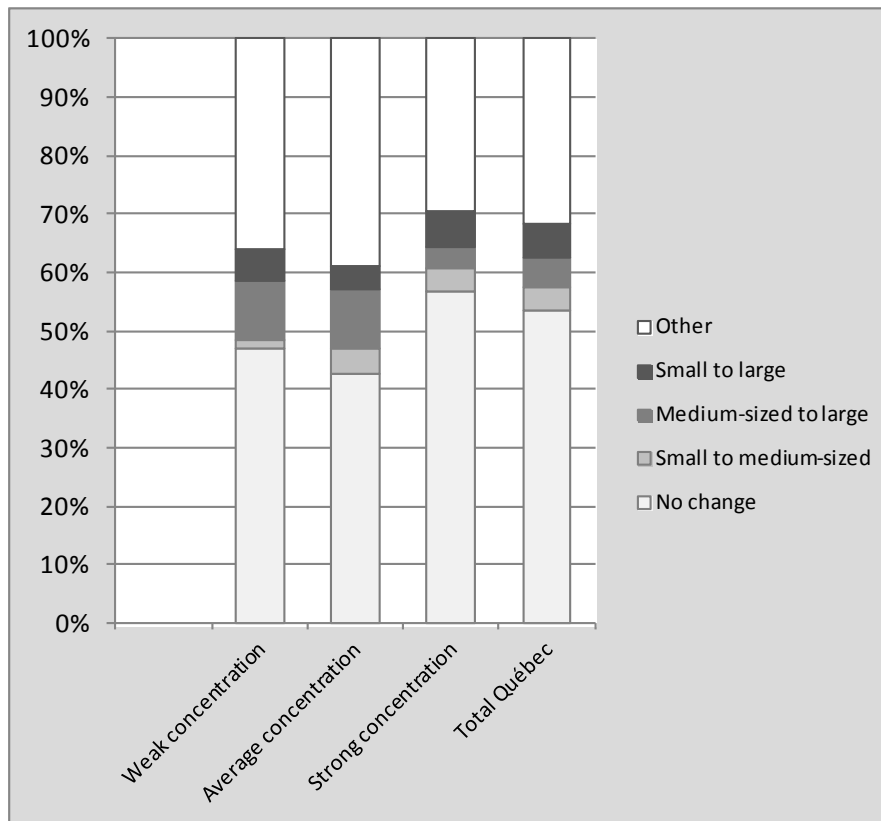
The highest proportion of migrants, however, moved from one urban environment to another (51.9% of the total number of migrants), and most often between cities of similar sizes. Changes were not infrequent; a certain number of migrants moved from one size of city to

another. A quarter of them reported that they had moved from small or medium-sized cities to larger cities (Figure 4). Thus, migration is shown to be synonymous with metropolitanization for approximately 25,095 francophones with all that this might entail for their daily life.

**FIGURE 4A. FRANCOPHONES NOT LIVING IN THE SAME MUNICIPALITY THAN AT AGE 18 ACCORDING TO CHANGE IN TYPE OF CITY BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**



**Figure 4b. Anglophones Not Living in the Same Municipality Than at age 18 According to Change in Type of City by concentration Class**



Changes in the living environment seem to have been most frequent in New Brunswick where migrants who changed settings represented a higher proportion of the total who had moved since the age of 18. It is also in New Brunswick that mobility favoured rural areas most greatly. In fact, 11,327 francophones reported that they had moved from the city to the country since the age of 18. All environments seem to have benefited. In other parts of Canada, areas where the concentration of francophones was greatest showed the most gains from this counter-urbanization movement, reflecting the pull they have historically had on members of the minority. These are also the places least affected by metropolitanization. The fact that very few residents of municipalities with strong

concentrations of francophones stated that they lived in a city with more than 100,000 largely explains this.

Among English speakers in Quebec, 218,340 people said they had moved since the age of 18. Of these, 189,176 evaluated their setting at age 18 compared to now. A relatively low percentage of them had changed from one type of setting to another, most of them from urban to rural. The exurbanization of many members of the English-speaking minority to Montreal's neighbouring communities, or to the Estrie area or the Laurentians, accounts for many of the changes. Most migrants (65.1% of them) had, however, moved within urban environments and remaining in cities of the same size as they lived in at the age of 18.

Migration towards larger cities occurred in fewer than 15% of moves between cities. Moves to smaller cities are much more frequent. In Quebec, municipalities where the concentration of anglophones was stronger, in terms of numbers or percentages, attracted the highest numbers of members of the minority who had migrated from other cities. Since the population living in these settings is higher, this is not surprising.

## **6. EXPECTED MOBILITY**

Few members of minority groups plan to move to another province within the next five years. This is what the Survey reveals through the responses to a number of questions about future plans. Only 9.1% of francophones outside Quebec plan to move to another province within the next five years (Table 7).



**TABLEAU 7A. FRANCOPHONES PLANNING TO MOVE TO ANOTHER PROVINCE WITHIN 5 YEARS ACCORDING TO THEIR COUNTRY OF BIRTH BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Francophones Planning to Move to Another Province According to Country of Birth								
Regions	Concentrations	Canada		Outside Canada		Total		% of Francophones Planning to Move to Another Province
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Ontario	Weak	17,591	13.3	9,927	15.8	27,518	14.1	33.2
	Average	9,483	6.4	1,792	8.1	11,275	6.6	13.6
	Strong	5,492	4.3	67	14.1	5,559	4.4	6.7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>32,566</b>	<b>8.0</b>	<b>11,786</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>44,352</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>53.5</b>
New Brunswick	Weak	721	7.2	166	74.8	887	8.7	1.1
	Average	1,200	9.7	39	5.8	1,239	9.5	1.5
	Strong	7,850	4.7	146	7.3	7,996	4.7	9.6
	<b>Total</b>	<b>9,771</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>351</b>	<b>12.1</b>	<b>10,122</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>12.2</b>
Other Provinces and Territories	Weak	21,345	15.7	2,561	9.7	23,906	14.7	28.8
	Average	2,842	7.0	624	22.9	3,466	8.0	4.2
	Strong	1,034	5.6	60	17.5	1,094	5.8	1.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>25,221</b>	<b>12.9</b>	<b>3,245</b>	<b>11.0</b>	<b>28,466</b>	<b>12.7</b>	<b>34.3</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>67,558</b>	<b>8.5</b>	<b>15,382</b>	<b>13.1</b>	<b>82,941</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>100.0</b>





**TABLEAU 7B. ANGLOPHONES PLANNING TO MOVE TO ANOTHER PROVINCE WITHIN THE NEXT 5 YEARS ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Anglophones Planning to Move to Another Province According to Country of Birth								
Regions	Concentrations	Canada		Outside Canada		Total		% of Anglophones Planning to Move
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Quebec	Weak	5,699	9.1	3,267	17.5	8,966	11.1	10.4
	Average	12,061	12.5	3,745	10.4	15,806	11.9	18.3
	Strong	38,418	12.0	23,336	7.6	61,754	9.8	71.4
Total		56,178	11.7	30,348	8.4	86,526	10.3	100.0

There is a higher desire to move among francophones in Ontario than in New Brunswick, with a proportion of 9.0% in the first case and 5.2% in the second. However, it is in other provinces and territories that the highest proportion of people want to move: 28,466 people or 12.7% of the total, not including the rather high number of people who are undecided. The fact that this population is less firmly rooted could explain this finding. Among English-speaking people in Quebec, only 10.3% expect to move within five years, which, according to Jedwab (2004), reflects the improvements in relations between francophones and anglophones in Quebec during the 1990s. The discomfort that they expressed only a few years ago in the face of their growing minority status seems to have disappeared (Levine, 1990; Legault 1992; Radice, 2000).

Contrary to what one might expect, it is not Quebec that appeals most strongly to potential francophone migrants; only 36.3% of Franco-Ontarians who are planning to move expect to settle there, and the percentage of Francophone from New Brunswick drops to 22.5%. Elsewhere in the country, 24.2% of francophones who expect to leave their province of residence plan to move to Quebec. Ontario attracts even fewer members of the francophone minority who live elsewhere in Canada. The West continues to be ranked highly among the provinces of the archipelago, to return to the expression used in the introduction. As for anglophones in Quebec, a large number choose Ontario; four out of ten migrants plan to move there. But the other Canadian provinces and territories are even more appealing to 55.1% of them (Table 8).



**TABLEAU 8A. FRANCOPHONES PLANNING TO MOVE TO ANOTHER PROVINCE IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS ACCORDING TO PROVINCE OF DESTINATION BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Francophones According to Province of Destination										
Regions	Concentrations	Ontario		New Brunswick		Other Provinces and Territories		Quebec		Total
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Ontario	Weak			517	2.2	14,208	60.1	8,898	37.7	23,623
	Average			1,272	11.2	6,585	58.0	3,495	30.8	11,352
	Strong			205	4.2	2,579	53.2	2,062	42.6	4,846
	<b>Total</b>			<b>1,994</b>	<b>5.0</b>	<b>23,372</b>	<b>58.7</b>	<b>14,455</b>	<b>36.3</b>	<b>39,821</b>
New Brunswick	Weak	209	22.5			556	59.9	163	17.6	928
	Average	390	38.5			278	27.4	345	34.1	1,013
	Strong	740	8.3			6,220	70.0	1,928	21.7	8,888
	<b>Total</b>	<b>1,339</b>	<b>12.4</b>			<b>7,054</b>	<b>65.1</b>	<b>2,436</b>	<b>22.5</b>	<b>10,829</b>
Other Provinces and Territories	Weak	3,838	16.8	1,504	6.6	11,529	50.6	5,933	26.0	22,804
	Average	650	16.2	19	0.5	2,577	64.2	767	19.1	4,013
	Strong	226	17.7	249	19.5	697	54.6	105	8.2	1,277
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,714</b>	<b>16.8</b>	<b>1,772</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>14,803</b>	<b>52.7</b>	<b>6,805</b>	<b>24.2</b>	<b>28,094</b>	

**TABLEAU 8B. ANGLOPHONES PLANNING TO MOVE TO ANOTHER PROVINCE WITHIN THE NEXT 5 YEARS ACCORDING TO THE PROVINCE OF DESTINATION AND BY CONCENTRATION CLASS**

Anglophones According to Province of Destination								
Regions	Concentrations	Ontario		New Brunswick		Other Provinces and Territories		Total
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Quebec	Weak	3,395	38.5	75	0.8	5,357	60.7	8,827
	Average	6,807	48.4	489	3.5	6,772	48.1	14,068
	Strong	25,951	43.7	259	0.4	33,204	55.9	59,414
Total		36,153	43.9	823	1.0	45,333	55.1	82,309

Work is cited as the main reason for migrations at a future date. Besides family and education, another factor seems to play a role in determining the destination: language environment. francophones as well as anglophones mention it among their reasons for planning to move in the future. However, the data provided does not allow us to determine, in either case, whether people are looking for a more francophone or anglophone environment. The lack of in-depth research on the sense of belonging of francophone Canadians to their living environment certainly does not help us draw conclusions about this matter.

The areas with strongest concentrations of minority populations seem to have a greater capacity to retain members of the minority within the province. Fewer people in these populations are planning to move to other regions in the country. They are evidently

more satisfied with their living conditions. The impact of the type of setting is reversed in New Brunswick and in Quebec, and areas with weaker concentrations apparently offer advantages that diminish the intention to migrate.

### 6.1 Migration Patterns of Immigrants

For anglophones in Quebec, whether one is an immigrant or not, has an impact on the desire to move out of the province. While the vast majority of both groups do not plan to move to other parts of Canada over the next five years, the proportion of those who do is quite lower among people born outside Canada (8.4%) than those born in Canada (11.7%), not to mention a higher number of undecided respondents in the Canadian-born group. People born outside of Canada would appear to be more satisfied with their living conditions than the latter, despite what is said about their



dissatisfaction with language laws in Quebec. The role played by the setting is not insignificant: immigrants from areas with weak concentrations of anglophones are more likely to plan to move to another province. Among native-born anglophones, the effect of the setting is reversed. Municipalities with weaker concentrations of anglophones are better able to retain residents, most likely because members of the minority group are better integrated.

Differences between francophones outside Quebec who are immigrants and those who are not in terms of their migration plans are also marked, but here immigration plays the opposite role. Francophones born in Canada (8.5%) are less likely to be planning to move than immigrants (13.1%). Greater experience with mobility among the francophone immigrant population might explain the difference. We could also reflect on the greater challenges francophone immigrants face when trying to integrate into a new environment (Quell, 2002; Madibbo, 2006). The fact is, Franco-Ontarian settings with higher concentrations of francophones—where immigrants are much more numerous—demonstrate the biggest differences in the intention to migrate, depending on whether or not one was born in Canada, would suggest this. Another interesting finding is the greater stability in terms of future plans among francophone immigrants living outside Ontario or New Brunswick: 12.9% of francophones born in Canada report that they intend to move to another province compared to 11.0% of francophone immigrants. Evidently, francophone immigrants are better integrated in these areas than elsewhere.

## CONCLUSION

Mobility is a primary factor in the vitality of minority communities. International migration constitutes an undeniable advantage for francophone municipalities in Ontario, especially those in which the concentration of the minority is weakest. Migration also bolsters the anglophone population in Quebec, but with a lesser effect on the settings most vulnerable to minority/majority power imbalances. Inter-provincial migration contributes to the demographic renewal of the archipelago, where one francophone out of four has been living for fewer than 10 years in the municipality or area of residence at the time of the Survey. In terms of percentages, immigrants contribute more to these moves than francophones born in Canada, whose migrations favour areas with weaker concentrations of francophones. Many of these migrants come from Quebec. Lastly, mobility among different municipalities is characteristic of all types of settings in which minority populations exist and contribute to a greater diversity in the population. The settings in which the smallest minority populations live benefit from a great influx of people from outside of Quebec.

Although these moves have a definite impact on the demographic vitality of the target communities, what can we conclude about their effect on language practices and identities? The literature offers us different hypotheses: areas with stronger concentrations of minority populations foster minority language retention among migrants as well as among other members of the minority population (Corbeil, Grenier and Lafrenière, 2007; Gilbert, 2010); the sense of belonging and the identities of immigrants differ from those of people born in Canada who are members of official



language minorities (Bourhis, 2008); cities and metropolitan centres represent a challenge for language maintenance (Langlois, 2000 and 2002; Castonguay, 2002); and finally, the mobility of young people has unique characteristics (Pilote and Molgat, 2010). More generally, the impact of moving itself on the probability of using the minority language needs to be assessed. Less familiarity with minority spaces in their new area of residence may influence the migrant's use of minority language. Or, because they are less well integrated into the community and less likely to identify with its institutions, they

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might be more open to the idea of taking part in the affairs and activities of the majority. Their geographical experiences in the past seem to be a crucial factor. If they are from the "bilingual belt", or even better from Quebec, they will have acquired the necessary resources during their childhood to be able to commit to the French language and institutions that support the French language. The research of Rodrigue Landry and his team is eloquent on this subject (Allard, Landry and Deveau, 2005; Deveau, Landry and Allard, 2005; Landry, Allard, Deveau and Bourgeois, 2005).

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**CHAPTER 8**  
**FRANCOPHONE QUEBECERS LIVING**  
**ELSEWHERE IN CANADA AND**  
**ANGLOPHONES FROM ELSEWHERE**  
**IN CANADA LIVING IN QUÉBEC:**  
**LANGUAGE ADAPTATION**

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## CHAPTER 8

# FRANCOPHONE QUEBECERS LIVING ELSEWHERE IN CANADA AND ANGLOPHONES FROM ELSEWHERE IN CANADA LIVING IN QUÉBEC: LANGUAGE ADAPTATION

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### INTRODUCTION

Historically, the demographic vitality of francophone minority communities has been very dependent on strong birth rates and the degree of intergenerational transmission of the French language. In the case of Quebec's minority anglophone population, the principal source of its demographic vitality has depended on international immigration and inter-provincial migration, and more specifically the degree to which migrants have adopted English as their main language. Since the 1960's, the principal threat to the demographic vitality of anglophone Quebecers has been the net loss arising from the migration of persons with English mother tongue between Quebec and the other provinces of Canada. In the case of francophones, movement from the provinces of Quebec and to a lesser degree from New Brunswick to other parts of the country has represented an important source of people for a number of official language minority communities. Indeed, in Alberta and British Columbia despite the relatively important number of transfers from French first language to English at home, the francophone population has grown owing to the movement of Quebec-born francophones to those provinces.

Since 1988, the Government of Canada has been committed to supporting the vitality of official language minority communities. It has looked into those conditions most likely to contribute to community vitality and the means by which to measure progress towards that objective. Much of the focus has been directed at improving access to services for the French-speaking population and, more recently, at attempting to attract French-speaking immigrants to those parts of the province where the growth or decline of francophone population is a key indicator of vitality.

Little attention has been directed at how the migration of Quebec-born francophones to other parts of the country affects the vitality of official language minorities. That which follows will examine the significance of these migration flows and offer insight into the pattern of language adaptation on the part of Quebec-born francophones that reside in other provinces. We will employ survey data to assess the perspective on Quebec francophones about the condition of the French language in the rest of Canada. We will then look at a sample of Quebec-born francophones residing outside of the province to determine whether their economic and social context and their self-definition differs from those francophones that are born in those regions. Information



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in this regard is collected and analyzed from the 2006 Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities which was compiled by Statistics Canada. What choices do Quebec-born francophones make as regards the use of the French language when they live elsewhere in Canada? The usage pattern of language on the part of Quebec francophone migrants can have an important impact on the vitality of those francophone communities that benefit from such migration. Corbeil and Lafrenière (2010) have looked at the level of *integration* of immigrant francophones to new communities, using Statistics Canada numbers on the accessibility of French media, or the use of the French language in specific contexts. But while they state that the purpose of their study is to “present a set of characteristics, *behaviours* and perceptions of the official language minority population” [our emphasis], the idea of language adaptation, what could be considered a crucial behavioural element to the migration process, is left untouched (Corbeil and Lafrenière, 2010).

Perhaps this is so because analysts consider that the adaptation required of Canadians

who move from one province to another is rather minimal. Often, however, Quebec francophones who relocate outside Quebec find themselves in a place where the French language is not dominant in the public domain.

## 1. INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION BY FRANCOPHONES

It would not be incorrect to contend that the vitality of certain official language minority communities depends on the degree to which Quebec francophones relocate in those parts of the country. The importance of migration in certain francophone communities is illustrated in Table 1. As the 2006 census reveals, the majority of the mother tongue francophone population of British Columbia, Alberta and Newfoundland were born elsewhere in Canada. In Ontario and Nova Scotia, some three in ten francophones are born in the rest of Canada outside their province of residence. By contrast, some one-sixth of the francophone population of Manitoba were born outside of the province in the rest of Canada and that is the case for less than one in ten New Brunswickers.



**TABLE 1. PLACE OF BIRTH OF FRANCOPHONES MIGRANTS**

2006 Census French as Mother Tongue	Total	Born Elsewhere in Canada	% Born Outside Province of Residence in the Rest of Canada
British Columbia	56,580	41,755	73.8
Alberta	62,545	36,100	57.7
Newfoundland and Labrador	1,920	1,010	52.6
Nova Scotia	32,680	9,745	29.8
Ontario	496,600	145,650	29.3
Prince Edward Island	5,370	1,470	27.3
Saskatchewan	16,305	3,720	22.8
Manitoba	44,390	7,170	16.1
New Brunswick	233,100	21,380	9.2
Quebec	5,909,010	166,515	2.8

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 2006.

Charles Castonguay notes that the benefits of interprovincial migration for francophone communities lies in great part in “the contribution of Quebec francophones [...as] young adults born in Quebec account for one quarter of francophones aged 25 to 34 in Nova Scotia and Ontario, a plurality of those in Newfoundland (40%) and Alberta (35%) and an absolute majority in B.C.” (Castonguay, 2008). Among francophones British Columbians who consider French as their primary language, 82.8% were born in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2006a). Within this group, 88.3% were born outside the province.

The impact of Quebec francophone migration on francophone communities can vary considerably based on the migratory flow over a given period. Between 1996 and 2001, the Francophone population outside

Quebec grew by nearly 10,000 persons from interprovincial migration. As shown in Table 2, Québec experienced a net loss of 8,405 francophones who have migrated in other provinces and territories. However, between 2001 and 2006, the francophone population living outside of Québec has declined by 5,000 francophones, lost to Québec. Between 1996 and 2001, it is Ontario that has received the major part of francophones migrants from Québec (6,315), followed by Alberta (2,110) and British Columbia (1,285). The province of Quebec experienced some gains in population exchanges with New Brunswick, other Atlantic provinces, Manitoba and Nunavut. Between 2001 and 2006, Quebec gained from the interprovincial migration of francophones with every province except Alberta, Yukon and the North West Territories, where its net migration rate is



negative. The most significant gains for Québec come from Ontario and New Brunswick. However, we must recognize that some of the increase in the francophone population in Québec may be attributable to return migrants that chose to come back to the province as economic prospects evolved.

As shown in Table 2, even if the migration flow of francophones from Québec is negative in Alberta, the migration of francophones from Québec was less between 2001 and 2006 than in the previous five years. As shown in Table 3, in the

intercensal period 2001-2006, the francophone population of Alberta has experienced an increase of some 2,700 francophones on the basis of interprovincial migration. In effect, it added over 2,000 more francophones migrants coming from provinces other than Quebec, the contribution of Québec being 610 (see Table 2). In addition to the losses from the interprovincial migration of francophones with Quebec (net loss of 2,560, see Table 2), the province of Ontario had an additional net loss of some 600 francophones over the course of the period 2001-2006 (see Table 3).

**TABLE 2. GAIN OR LOSS TO QUEBEC FROM INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF PERSONS WITH FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE**

Province experiencing the gain or loss	1996-2001	2001-2006
Quebec	-8,405	5,065
Newfoundland and Labrador	100	480
Prince Edward Island	25	140
Nova Scotia	235	605
New Brunswick	705	1 415
Ontario	-6,315	2,560
Manitoba	130	75
Saskatchewan	-145	405
Alberta	-2,110	-610
British Columbia	-1,285	10
Yukon Territory	-50	-75
Northwest Territories	-30	-50
Nunavut	55	100

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Canada.

The largest interprovincial movement of francophones takes place between Quebec

and Ontario. Of the approximately 38,500 francophones that left Quebec between

1996 and 2001, some 43% moved to Ontario. Of the 30,000 that came to Quebec, some 76% came from the province of Ontario. Between 2001 and 2006 some 55% of the over 30,300 francophones that

left Quebec went to the province of Ontario and a similar percentage of the 35,400 francophones that came to Quebec were from the province of Ontario.

**TABLE 3. NET MIGRATION RATES IN PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES FROM INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION OF PERSONS WITH FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE**

Province experiencing the gain or loss	1996-2001	2001-2006
Newfoundland and Labrador	-360	-640
Prince Edward Island	-145	-80
Nova Scotia	-295	-905
New Brunswick	-2,900	2 055
Quebec	-8,405	+5,065
Ontario	+7,290	-3,105
Manitoba	-425	-590
Saskatchewan	-920	-705
Alberta	+5,300	2,710
British Columbia	+945	+480
Yukon Territory	-15	+15
Northwest Territories	-40	-60
Nunavut	-40	-130

Source: Statistics Canada, *2006 Census of Canada*.

The overall impact of the migration of Quebec-born francophones to the province of Ontario is illustrated in Table 4. In 2006, 64% of persons with French as a mother tongue were born in Ontario. The share of Franco-Ontarians born in another Canadian

province was 29%, with the vast majority coming from Quebec (23.3%).



**TABLE 4. PLACE OF BIRTH OF FRANCOPHONES, ONTARIO, 2006**

Place of birth	French as mother tongue	%
Born in Ontario	327,222	64.1
Born in another province in Canada	147,753	29.0
Born in Quebec	119,124	23.3
Born in New Brunswick	16,234	3.2
Born outside Canada*	35,266	6.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>510,241</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\* Foreign-born persons include immigrants, non-permanent residents and Canadians born abroad.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population

The results vary considerably on the basis of which part of Ontario is considered. In the South-Eastern part of the province some one in five francophones were born in another province while in the North-Eastern part the figure was one in six. In Toronto and Ottawa some 28% of the francophone population were born in another province and for the rest of the province the figure is 38%.

## **2. FRANCOPHONES FROM QUÉBEC AND FRANCOPHONES IN THE ROC: CONTACT, OPINION AND PERCEPTION OF THREAT**

Census data enables us to establish the numbers of francophone migrants from Quebec to other provinces but our knowledge about the process of adjustment for those francophones who move outside Quebec is rather limited. What is the pattern of language use when they move into a new community? We also know relatively little about the perceptions of Quebec francophones of the conditions facing French-speakers outside of Quebec. In this section, we consider the extent to which Quebec francophones have a

favourable opinion of francophones outside of Quebec, the degree of contact between them and their counterparts outside of Quebec and the perception on the part of Quebec francophones of the threat encountered by the French language outside of Québec. We also inquired into whether francophone Quebecers would send their children to French or English language schools in the hypothesis that they left Quebec for another part of Canada. When drawing conclusions about responses to questions of that sort, caution needs to be exercised because these responses will necessarily be about what people think they would do and not what they would actually do. Still, knowing what they might do is relevant to our understanding of the importance attributed to promoting the French language, in a context where the French language is often thought to be under considerable threat. The findings are drawn from a survey of Quebecers commissioned by the Association for Canadian Studies from the firm Leger Marketing (May 11, 2009) which offers insight into such questions.



When it comes to contact between Quebec francophones and francophones outside of Quebec, the majority report either often (20.2%) or occasionally having such contact (31.5%). Some 40% of Quebec francophones have a very favourable and 51% a somewhat favourable opinion of francophones outside of Quebec. The majority of Quebec francophones strongly agree that the French language is threatened in the rest of Canada outside of Quebec. Nearly 60% of Quebec francophones strongly agree and 28% somewhat agree.

Some might assume that if the perspective for the French language outside of Quebec is so dire, then the value attributed by Quebec francophones to its continued transmission may diminish. In other words why sustain the French language in a context where the dominance of the English language is so pervasive? Some seven in ten Quebec francophones agreed that they would send their children to French language schools if they lived outside of the province. Moreover, neither the extent to which they felt that the French language is threatened elsewhere in Canada, nor their degree of contact with francophones outside of Quebec, affected their expressed intention to send their children to French language schools.

### **3. TRANSITION AND ADJUSTMENT: QUEBEC-BORN FRANCOPHONES LIVING OUTSIDE OF QUÉBEC**

Above we examined the importance of the interprovincial migration of francophones and the impact that it has had on the share of the francophone population in the provinces. We further examined the interaction of Quebec francophones with francophones elsewhere in Canada and

attempted to determine their degree of commitment to the preservation of French, in the event that they would decide to reside elsewhere in the country.

Rather than focusing on the perception of living outside of the province of birth, that which follows probes the actual experience of francophones living in the rest of the country. While the focus is principally on those Quebec-born francophones residing in the province of Ontario (where the numbers are greater) we also examine the case of the same group residing elsewhere in Canada. To conduct this analysis, we employ data from the 2006 *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities* (SVOLM). In terms of geographies, our survey data focuses on Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and what is rolled into “the other provinces of Canada” We acknowledge that the experience of Quebec-born francophones may vary according to where they live in the rest of Canada and where they reside within the provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick. The age of those Quebec-born francophones surveyed would also be relevant to drawing more detailed conclusions about the group’s language use in residing outside of their province of birth. In the absence of such information, our objective is to provide a broad portrait of language use of Quebec-born francophones to see if the overall pattern is dissimilar from those francophones born in the respective areas under consideration. For Quebec-born francophones, we looked specifically at the following issues: (a) The importance attributed to children learning the French language (b) the language used most often in the home (c) the language communities with which the respondents identified most (d) the language used in the



workplace and (e) the language used most frequently with closest neighbours and friends.

### 3.1 The Importance of Children Speaking the French Language

The findings from the SVOLM suggest that the majority of Quebec-born francophone parents residing elsewhere in Canada consider it important that their child speak the French language. Quebec-born francophones residing in Ontario attribute an equal degree of importance as francophone Ontarians born in Ontario; 31.5% say it is very important and 8.2% important comparatively to 31.7% and 5.9% for the latter.

In New Brunswick, all Quebec-born respondents considered it very important (96%) or important (4%) that their children speak French. Amongst native-born New Brunswickers, some 80% described this goal as very important and 20% as important.

Outside of New Brunswick and Ontario, some 75% of Quebec-born respondents consider that their child speak French to be very important, 15% important and 5% somewhat important. The percentages are roughly similar to the breakdown for those francophones born outside of Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick and resident and resident in those parts of Canada where there are far fewer francophones.

### 3.2 Language Used at Home

As to the degree to which the French language is used in the home by Quebec-born francophones residing elsewhere in Canada, the pattern of language use more closely resembles that of the francophones native to the province. In the case of Ontario one observes that 56.62% of the Quebec-born francophones report using French only or mostly, whereas 55.2% of the Ontario-born population speak French only at home.





**TABLE 5. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME AMONG FRANCOPHONES IN ONTARIO BY PLACE OF BIRTH**

Ontario-Province of Residence	Birth Province		
	Ontario	Quebec	Total
Only English	29.4%	27.5%	28.4%
Mostly English	7.2%	6.7%	7.4%
English and French equally	7.9%	9.2%	7.6%
Mostly French	16.4%	13.4%	15.9%
Only French	38.8%	43.2%	38.8%
Neither French nor english	0.3%		1.9%

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

The number of francophones born in Quebec and living in New Brunswick is relatively low (see Gilbert, Gallant and Cao in this volume). The sampling did not make it possible to present reliable results for the language used at home by these persons.

In the “other provinces and territories”, 20.2% of Quebec-born francophones say they use French only in their homes and another 11.9% use mostly French. This ratio of French language home use is almost identical to that of the francophone

population born from “other provinces and territories,” (21.1% and 10.4% respectively). However, the Ontarian-born francophones in the “other provinces and territories” are less likely to report use of the French language in their homes with 7.5% reporting use of the French language only and another 8% that use mostly French.



**TABLEAU 6. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME AMONG NATIVE FRENCH SPEAKERS IN QUEBEC AND OTHER PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES EXCEPT ONTARIO AND NEW BRUNSWICK**

Language Spoken at Home	Other Provinces And Territories As Place Of Residence, Except Ontario and New Brunswick		
	Quebec	Other Provinces and Territories	Total
Only English	54.7%	47.6%	51.1%
Mostly English	7.1%	11.1%	9.8%
French and English equally	6.1%	9.7%	7.8%
Mostly French	11.9%	10.4%	10.8%
French only	20.2%	21.1%	20.2%
Neither French nor English	0.1%		0.3%

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

### 3.3 Migration and Identification

How do francophones who migrate from their province of birth identify the language group to which they belong? Quebec-born francophones residing in Ontario are somewhat more likely than native born residents to identify with the francophone group only, as demonstrated in Table 5.

Indeed more Quebec-born francophones residing in the neighbouring province identify as only/mainly francophone that they do equally as francophone and anglophone. By contrast, francophones born in Ontario are a little more likely to identify equally as anglophone and francophone (50.0%) than as only/mainly francophone (44.2%).



**TABLE 7. IDENTIFICATION TO LANGUAGE GROUP FOR FRANCOPHONES IN ONTARIO AND QUEBEC**

Ontario-Province of Residence	Birth Province		
	Ontario	Quebec	Total
French Language and Identification to Language Group			
To the francophone group only	16.4%	21.4%	16.8%
Mainly to the francophone group	27.8%	29.5%	28.3%
Both groups equally	50.0%	45.1%	48.7%
Mainly to the anglophone group	4.9%	3.1%	4.6%
To the anglophone group only	0.3%	0.2%	0.7%
Neither	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%
Don't know	0.5%	0.2%	0.5%

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

In the case of francophone Quebec-born New Brunswickers, they are less likely to identify as francophone only than their New Brunswick counterparts but have a higher propensity to identify themselves mainly with the French-speaking group and a lower

propensity to also identify themselves equally with the two groups. In short, 71.4% of francophones born in Quebec and 68.3% of those born in New Brunswick identify themselves primarily with the francophones (see Table 8).



**TABLE 8. IDENTIFICATION TO LANGUAGE GROUP FOR FRANCOPHONE IN NEW BRUNSWICK**

New Brunswick-Province of Residence	Birth Province		
	Quebec	New Brunswick	Total
French Language and Identification to language Group			
To the francophone group only	24.8%	36.0%	34.8%
Mainly to the francophone group	46.6%	32.3%	33.1%
Both groups equally	23.2%	30.1%	30.2%
Mainly to the anglophone group	1.2%	0.8%	0.8%
To the anglophone group only		0.2%	0.2%
Neither	0.9%	0.2%	0.3%
Don't know	3.4%	0.4%	0.6%

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

In other provinces and territories, only 31.6% of francophones born in Québec identify primarily with the francophone group compared to 34.6% of francophones born in these provinces and territories.

### 3.4 Language of Work

As to the language used most often at work, we can observe in Table 9 that the pattern exhibited by Quebec and Ontario born francophones in the latter province is

roughly similar with most respondents who report the use of only English or mostly English at work. Ontario-born francophones were somewhat more likely than their Quebec-born counterparts to use only French or mostly French, likely a function of the occupations and/or industries in which they work. It is also possible that migrants from Quebec live in higher proportion in urban areas, which tend to be heavily dominated by the English language (see next section).

**TABLE 9. LANGUAGE USED AT WORK BY FRANCOPHONES IN ONTARIO**

Francophones	Province of Birth	
	Ontario	Quebec
Ontario-Province of Residence-Language of Work		
English or mostly English	28.1%	32.1%
English and French equally	15.4%	13.0%
French or mostly French	9.1%	6.7%
Unknown or non-official language only		0.1%
Not applicable	47.4%	48.1%

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

### 3.5 Migration and the Social Network

Francophone Quebec-born residents of Ontario tend to reside in areas where their interactions with their closest neighbours take place mainly in English. Some 43% of Quebec born francophones say they speak English-only with their neighbours compared with 23% of those francophones born in the province. Some 30% of them speak mostly French with their closest neighbours, compared with just over 20% of the Quebec-born group.

In New Brunswick, the Quebec-born francophones are also more likely to speak English only or mostly with their neighbours (20.7%) than do their counterparts born in the province (8%). By contrast with Ontario, both the Quebec-born francophones (63%) and those born in the province (78.4%) speak only or mostly French with their closest neighbours. In the “other provinces and territories”, over 90% of the Quebec-born francophone population speak either English only (74.3%) or English mostly (17.7%) with their closest neighbours compared with 55% of those francophones

born in the other provinces, with 35.4% speaking English only and 19.5% English most of the time. This suggests that Quebec-born francophone migrants to other provinces are not taking up residence in areas with significant concentrations of other francophones.

When it comes to the language used with friends, the francophone born population of Ontario (49%) is more likely to use the French language only or mostly than the Quebec-born francophone population (40%) residing in that province.

In New Brunswick there is a greater likelihood that francophones will use the French language with friends either only (54.3%) or mostly (31.7%). Quebec-born francophones in New Brunswick are somewhat more likely to use the English language mostly with friends (17.2%) than do New Brunswick born francophones (6%). Clearly the social network of francophones in New Brunswick is tighter than is the case elsewhere in the country outside of Quebec. Again, this represents a sharp contrast with the language of social interaction in the



“Other Provinces and Territories,” where some 49.5% of francophones born in those parts of Canada use mostly English with their friends. The figure is higher amongst Quebec-born francophones with some 68% reporting the use of English mostly with their friends. Conversely, some 16% of the Quebec-born francophones use mostly French with their neighbours compared with 42% of those francophones born in the “other provinces and territories.”

#### 4. Anglophones From the Rest of Canada: Migration, Identity and Insertion

In 2006, of the approximately 590,000 Quebec anglophones, some 18% (107,000) were born outside of the province in the rest of Canada. The interprovincial migration of anglophones between Quebec and the other provinces of Canada has resulted in considerable net losses to the mother tongue English population and has been the biggest obstacle to the demographic vitality of the group. As illustrated in Table 10, however, the net loss from interprovincial migration of anglophones diminished considerably over the period 2001-2006 compared with earlier five year-periods.

**TABLE 10. INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION BY MOTHER TONGUE IN QUEBEC, 1966 TO 2006**

English Mother Tongue	Departures From Quebec	Arrivals to Quebec	Net migration to Quebec (arrivals minus departures)
1966 to 1971	99,100	46,900	-52,200
1971 to 1976	94,100	41,300	-52,200
1976 to 1981	131,500	49,900	-106,300
1981 to 1986	70,600	45,900	-41,600
1986 to 1991	53,800	37,800	-22,200
1991 to 1996	51,100	33,600	-24,500
1996 to 2001	53,300	39,700	-29,200
2001 to 2006	34,110	30,995	-7,970

Source: Corbeil, Jean-Pierre and Christine Blaser (2006), *The Evolving Linguistic Portrait, 2006 Census: Finding*, Ottawa, Demography Division, Statistics Canada.

Similar to the situation confronting Quebec-born francophones living elsewhere in the country, those anglophones born outside Quebec exhibit much the same pattern of language use as those anglophones born in

the province. However, this implies a considerable gap in the experience of the two groups with the anglophones born outside of Quebec encountering little erosion in the use of the English language,



while the Quebec born francophones experience substantial erosion in their use of French when they live in the ROC. In effect, nearly all anglophones born outside of Quebec consider it important to transmit the English language to their children and speak English only (71%) or mostly (13%) in the home. When it comes to the language

used in the workplace, some two-thirds of those anglophones born in the province of Ontario use mostly English in the workplace compared with 42% of Quebec-born anglophones (another 32% of Quebec-born anglophones report using English and French equally).

**TABLE 11. LANGUAGE GROUP IDENTIFICATION BY ANGLOPHONES IN QUEBEC**

Quebec Province of Residence and English as First Language	Province of Birth	
With Which Group Do You Identify Most	Ontario	Quebec
To the francophone group only	0.1%	0.2%
Mainly to the francophone group	2.1%	2.3%
Both groups equally	32.9%	36.4%
Mainly to the anglophone group	46.7%	44.9%
To the anglophone group only	17.5%	14.4%
Neither	0.2%	1.3%
Refusal		0.1%
Don't know	0.5%	0.4%

Source: *Survey of the Vitality of Official Language Minorities*, Statistics Canada, 2006.

As to the group with which they most identify, there is a near identical pattern for both Ontario-born and Quebec-born anglophones. As observed in Table 11, the Ontario-born group (17.5%) is slightly more likely than the Quebec-born (14.4%) group to identify with the anglophone group only, while the Quebec-born group is slightly more likely to identify as both English and French equally (36.4%) compared with those born in Ontario (32.9%).

As to the language used mostly with friends, the pattern is roughly similar with some 51% of those Quebecers born in Ontario reporting the use of English only and 26% mostly English compared with 48% only and 29% mostly amongst the Quebec-born group.

## CONCLUSION

Quebec-born francophones that have migrated elsewhere in the country play an important role in preserving the numbers of



francophones in certain official language minority communities. Yet their linguistic adaptation to the places they settle in has not received considerable attention. We have examined the pattern of language use on the part of Quebec-born francophones living outside their home province. While Quebec-born francophones stress the importance of preserving the French language, the use of the language in various contexts strongly resembles that of the overall francophone population in the other regions. In effect, they encounter similar erosion in the use of the French language in social interaction and in the workplace. Conversely, those anglophones born outside Quebec residing in the province also demonstrate patterns of language use similar to those of Quebec-born anglo-

phones. There is a definite asymmetry in the experience of migrant Quebec-born francophones and migrant anglophones born elsewhere in Canada in terms of their respective ability to use their mother tongue in the social and economic domain. This however is likely connected to the critical mass of members of their official language community in the places they choose to live. Further research needs to look at the communities in which they reside, in the provinces where they live and whether their migration experience met their expectations or was in contradiction with their perceptions. Such research will help us develop a broader understanding of the conditions associated with the demographic vitality of official language minorities.

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# **CHAPTER 9**

## **PERSONAL INCOME INEQUALITY AMONG FRANCOPHONE ADULTS OUTSIDE QUEBEC**

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## CHAPTER 9

# PERSONAL INCOME INEQUALITY AMONG FRANCOPHONE ADULTS OUTSIDE QUEBEC

Soheil Chennouf Statistics Canada

### INTRODUCTION

With data from the Survey of the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities (SVOLM) carried out after the 2006 Census, we examine personal income inequality of the francophone population outside Quebec, according to province and for all three territories taken together<sup>1</sup>, for francophone adults aged 18 years or older (employed, unemployed and inactive) as well as only for those who are employed<sup>2</sup>. We will also compare incomes based on the concentration levels of francophone populations outside Quebec in the municipalities indicated on the day of the census (May 16, 2006).

In the first part, we examine income inequality before income tax and other deductions for each decile, and we look at the inter-decile ratio. It is important to remember that a decile is each of nine values that divide income distribution, sorted based on order relation, in 10 equal parts. Equally, the first decile is the salary above which 90% of salaries are found; the

ninth decile is the salary above which 10% of salaries are found. In the second part, we examine personal income through several indicators of central trends, such as the average and the median salary, as well as through the dispersion indicator that is the coefficient of variation. In the third part, we analyze personal income based on the concentration of francophones in their municipality of residence. All results have been weighed. We used STATA 11.2 software to compile the results. This chapter presents data that reveals certain trends that would benefit from further analysis. We feel that it is useful to present this data, even though some answers still need to be explored.

### 1. PERSONAL INCOME DECILES OF FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC (18 YEARS AND OVER)

Chart 1 allows us to note that the 10% of francophones outside Quebec having the lowest incomes have incomes below 6,544 dollars. The median income, referred to as the median or the 5th decile, is 28,210 dollars, and the income level below which 90% of incomes are found is 72,886 dollars. The inter-decile ratio, which is the ratio between the D9 and the D1 values, is 11.14. That means that those belonging to the ninth decile have an income that is, on average, 11 times greater than those belonging to the first decile. This income ratio shows the disparities (gaps) between

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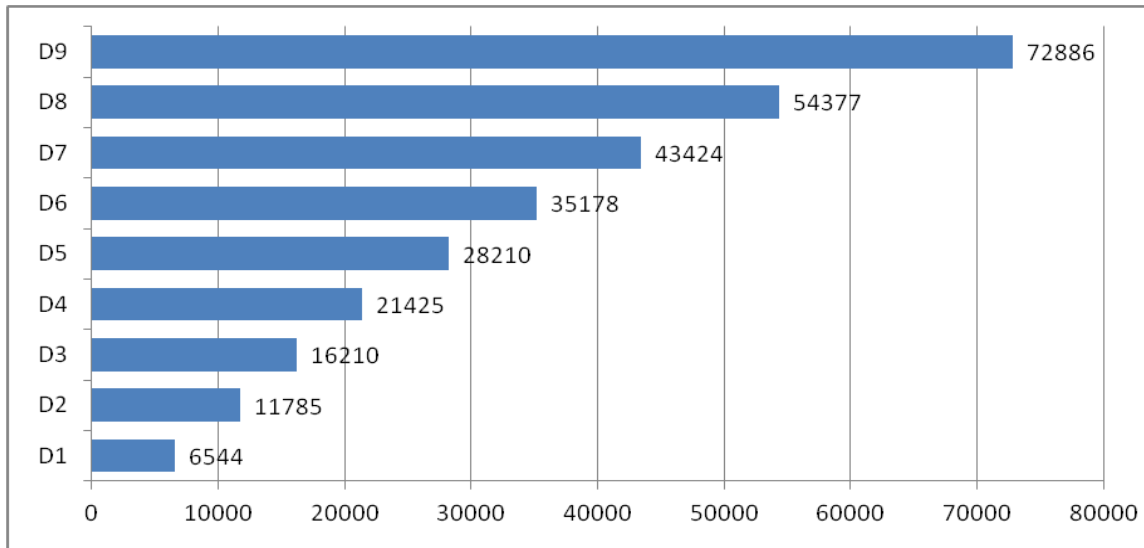
<sup>1</sup> For statistical reasons, the number of francophone respondents does not allow us to study each of the territories separately.

<sup>2</sup> Personal income is defined as the total income of respondents having filled out the long survey sent to 20% of the Canadian population during the 2006 Census and includes salary, wages, tips, commissions and bonuses, as well as income of the self-employed after expenses but before income tax and other deductions.



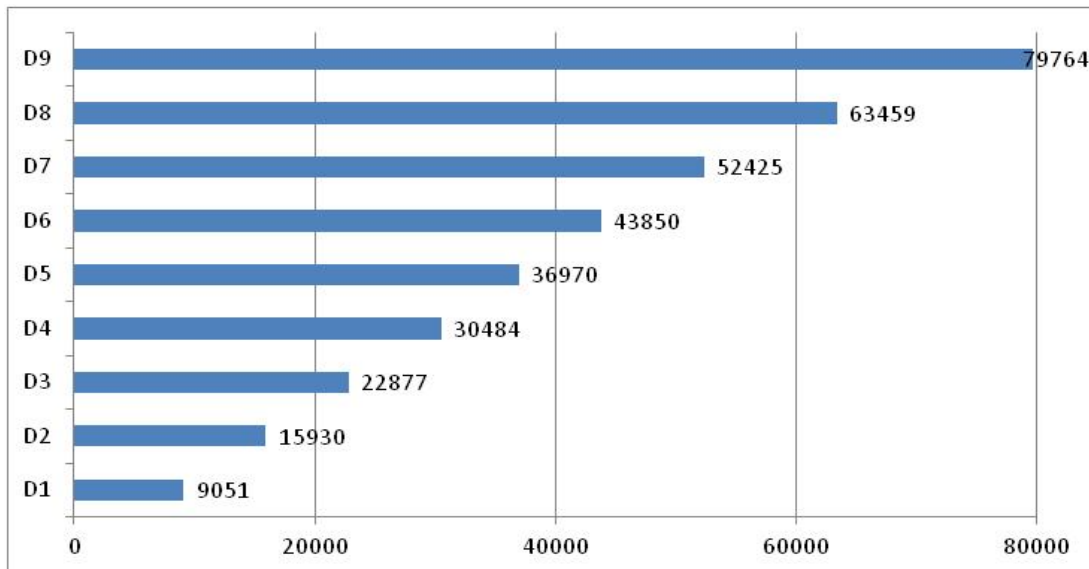
the highest and lowest incomes. The next phones outside Quebec.  
 chart shows income of employed franco-

**CHART 1. ANNUAL PERSONAL INCOME DECILES OF ALL FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC (EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED, INACTIVE)**



\*in Canadian dollars

**CHART 2. ANNUAL PERSONAL INCOME DECILES OF EMPLOYED FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC (18 YEARS AND OLDER)**



The 10% of employed francophones outside Quebec having the lowest incomes have incomes below 9,051 dollars. The median income is 36,970 dollars, and the income level below which 90% of incomes are found is 79,764 dollars. The inter-decile ratio, which, as we saw already, is defined as the ratio between the D9 and D1 values, is 8.81. We note that income disparities are less significant among the employed than among the entire adult population. The

addition of the “unemployed” and “inactive” categories increases income disparities. Each personal income decile is higher for the employed than for the entire population.

We’ll now examine the personal income deciles of francophones outside Quebec according to province, first for the employed, unemployed and inactive aged 18 years or older, then for the employed only.



**TABLE 1. PERSONAL INCOME DECILES OF ALL FRANCOPHONE ADULTS OUTSIDE QUEBEC (EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED AND INACTIVE) ACCORDING TO PROVINCE**

	NL	PE	NS	NB	ON	MB	SK	AB	BC	Terr.
D1	7,965	8,228	5,730	5,951	6,273	7,168	8,992	8,408	7,537	12,254
D2	10,197	12,234	10,364	10,351	11,854	11,441	13,569	14,730	12,454	21,429
D3	14,603	15,919	15,782	14,328	17,211	17,218	16,131	19,494	15,940	35,776
D4	17,811	20,724	19,031	17,410	23,587	21,584	20,665	25,972	20,640	44,905
D5	26,312	26,176	23,354	21,539	31,154	29,122	24,768	33,706	28,037	52,162
D6	31,463	31,706	29,511	27,597	38,749	36,208	31,316	40,128	36,873	60,100
D7	49,156	37,928	38,497	33,408	46,583	43,317	37,058	49,462	45,830	70,298
D8	68,427	47,039	50,057	42,049	58,496	54,720	50,033	60,000	58,156	91,000
D9	91,913	70,034	65,198	56,894	78,291	71,463	63,169	85,757	71,894	115,931

\*in Canadian dollars



We note that the highest first deciles (D1) are those of the three territories as a group (Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut), with 12,254 dollars, followed by Saskatchewan with 8,992 dollars and Alberta with 8,408 dollars. The lowest first deciles are in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario, where they vary between 5,730 and 6,273 dollars. For the ninth decile, the highest recorded are those of the

Territories, Newfoundland and Labrador and Alberta. This is probably due to the effect of francophone selection in these regions (more employed people and fewer unemployed and inactive persons) or to different economic contexts. It is useful to note that for the median salary (D5), it's in New Brunswick that we find the lowest result, and in the territories that we find the highest median salary.



**TABLE 2. PERSONAL INCOME\* DECILES OF EMPLOYED FRANCOPHONE ADULTS OUTSIDE QUEBEC ACCORDING TO PROVINCE**

	NL	PE	NS	NB	ON	MB	SK	AB	BC	Terr.
<b>D1</b>	9,535	9,728	9,477	8,284	9,136	9,390	9,114	12,129	8,363	17,408
<b>D2</b>	16,620	18,000	16,210	14,352	17,626	14,523	15,489	19,494	13,048	27,008
<b>D3</b>	28,02	23,478	22,089	18,615	25,820	21,171	20,653	26,906	19,266	38,000
<b>D4</b>	30,194	28,526	25,710	24,241	33,817	28,541	25,692	34,000	26,945	49,761
<b>D5</b>	46,933	35,833	33,528	29,429	39,896	36,254	30,474	39,456	34,722	60,000
<b>D6</b>	60,981	37,928	41,622	34,757	46,940	41,513	36,640	47,104	45,334	66,989
<b>D7</b>	75,177	47,039	50,585	41,208	55,623	52,170	46,454	55,358	54,160	73,156
<b>D8</b>	91,547	59,000	58,592	50,353	67,900	64,917	55,815	70,162	65,167	95,000
<b>D9</b>	109,388	82,681	73,344	63,812	83,343	77,858	72,401	94,478	74,786	117,087

\*in Canadian dollars

**TABLE 3. INTER-DECILE RATIOS ACCORDING TO PROVINCE FOR ALL ADULT FRANCOPHONES AND FOR EMPLOYED ADULT FRANCOPHONES**

	NL	PE	NS	NB	ON	MB	SK	AB	BC	Terr.
<b>Adults</b>	11.54	8.51	11.38	9.56	12.48	9.97	7.03	10.20	9.54	9.46
<b>Employed</b>	11.47	8.50	7.74	7.70	9.12	8.29	7.94	7.79	8.94	6.73



For employed francophones, the highest D1 deciles (the lowest salaries) are those of the territories as a group, with 17,408 dollars, followed by Alberta, with 12,129 dollars. The lowest D1 deciles are those of New Brunswick, with 8,284 dollars, Saskatchewan, with 9,114 dollars, and Ontario, with 9,136 dollars. For the ninth decile, the highest incomes are in the territories, in Newfoundland and Labrador and in Alberta. It is likely, here as well, that this is due to the effect of francophone selection in these regions (more qualified people among the employed) as well as to the cost of living, which is different from one province to the next. The lowest median income (D5) is in New Brunswick, while the highest is in the territories.

With regard to the inter-decile ratio, as shown in Table 3, among the entire adult francophone population, the largest disparities (between 10 and 12) are found in Ontario, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia and Alberta. All other provinces have a ratio between 7 and 9. For employed francophones, the disparity is high in Newfoundland and Labrador, where it reaches 11, followed by Ontario and British Columbia where the ratios are approximately 9. All other provinces and territories have a ratio between 7 and 8, with the exception of the territories, where the ratio is 6.7. We note that for most provinces, the disparities tend to be greater among the entire adult population than among the employed. We note an opposite trend in Saskatchewan and relatively equal disparities between the two categories in Newfoundland and Labrador as well as in Prince Edward Island.

We consolidate in two summary charts (Tables 4 and 5) a few indicators (average, median and coefficient of variation) of personal income of all francophone adults outside Quebec (employed, unemployed and inactive) and of employed adult francophones outside Quebec according to province. These indicators can inform us with regard to central tendencies and income disparities. It is important to remember that the average is the mathematical average, the median divides incomes in two equal parts, and the coefficient of variation indicates the level of dispersion around the average. The higher the coefficient of variation, the higher the dispersion around the average.

## 2. A FEW INDICATORS OF CENTRAL TENDENCIES AND DISPERSION





**TABLE 4. AVERAGE, MEDIAN AND COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION OF ANNUAL PERSONAL INCOME\* ACCORDING TO PROVINCE FOR ALL ADULT FRANCOPHONES (EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED AND INACTIVE)**

	Average	Median	Coeff. of variation
<b>NL</b>	52,307	26,312	1.63
<b>PE</b>	31,437	26,176	0.72
<b>NS</b>	31,563	23,354	0.89
<b>NB</b>	28,098	21,539	0.95
<b>ON</b>	41,408	31,154	2.15
<b>MB</b>	34,235	29,122	0.84
<b>SK</b>	32,480	24,768	0.86
<b>AB</b>	41,388	33,706	0.86
<b>BC</b>	35,686	28,037	0.81
<b>Terr.</b>	59,731	52,162	0.99
<b>Total</b>	37,380	43,338	2.01

\*in Canadian dollars



**TABLE 5. AVERAGE, MEDIAN AND COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION OF ANNUAL PERSONAL INCOME\* ACCORDING TO PROVINCE FOR EMPLOYED ADULT FRANCOPHONES**

	Average	Median	Coeff. of variation
NL	73,918	46,933	1,38
PE	37,837	35,833	0,63
NS	38,244	33,528	0,71
NB	34,639	29,429	0,91
ON	46,748	39,896	1,07
MB	40,098	36,254	0,79
SK	37,667	30,474	0,79
AB	48,051	39,456	0,78
BC	40,900	34,722	0,76
Terr.	64,216	60,000	0,96
<b>Total</b>	<b>43,338</b>	<b>36,970</b>	<b>1</b>

\*in Canadian dollars

For all francophone adults (employed, unemployed and inactive), Manitoba and the territories as a group are the two places where the average income is closest to the median income. The fact that the two are equal shows that income distribution is symmetrical. However, Newfoundland and Labrador and Ontario are the two provinces where there is the greatest gap between the average and median income. For the employed, the territories as a group and Prince Edward Island are the two jurisdictions where the average income is closest to the median income, while Newfoundland and Labrador is the province where the gap between average and median income is the greatest. It is important to remember that the median

divides incomes in two equal parts, whereas the average income can be influenced by extreme values, extremely high salaries and extremely low salaries.

When we compare the employed francophones with all francophone adults (employed, unemployed and inactive), the coefficient of variation doubles. That is to be expected since the group made up of all francophones is more heterogeneous. The group is made up of employed, unemployed and inactive people, while the second group is made up entirely of employed people. When the coefficient of variation is higher for one group than another, it indicates that incomes are more dispersed around that average. Ontario is the province having the



highest dispersion rate, followed by Newfoundland and Labrador. Ontario is the province having the largest number of francophones. Among the employed francophones, the province having the highest dispersion rate is Newfoundland and Labrador, followed by Ontario and the territories as a group.

We note that for both average income and median income, the lowest results are in New Brunswick, both for the entire francophone adult population and for the employed group. As for the highest results, the territories have the highest average and median incomes when the entire francophone adult population is analyzed. However, among employed francophone adults, Newfoundland and Labrador has the highest average income, while the territories have the highest median income. As we've indicated already, average incomes can be influenced by extreme values, in other words by the extremely low or the extremely high incomes of certain individuals.

### **3. GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION OF FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC AND AVERAGE INCOME LEVELS**

In order to study income based on the geographic concentration of francophones outside Quebec, we used the "popclass" variable of the 2006 SVOLM. This variable represents the proportion of people speaking the minority language in the municipality indicated on census day (May 16, 2006). This variable is divided in 5 levels (1 = less than 10%, 2 = from 10 to less than 30%, 3 = from 30 to less than 50%, 4 = from 50 to less than 70%, and 5 = 70% and up). We verify if the proportion of francophones

within the municipality can have an effect on their income level. A strong geographic concentration of francophones likely indicates a region where francophones have been established for a very long time and where vitality has been maintained. A low concentration of francophones indicates regions where the francophone population has not been maintained or regions where francophones have been migrating to recently, quite often in urban areas. For example, in a Canada-wide survey of grade 11 students registered in French-language schools (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2010), a strong concentration of francophones was positively linked to most sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic variables, but the education level of the parents tended to be negatively associated with the density of the francophone population. According to Corbeil (2000), the historically lower education levels of francophones explain, at least in part, the challenges they face when it comes to literacy. In New Brunswick, a study done by Forgues, Beaudin & Béland (2006) showed income disparities between anglophones and francophones that can also be explained by historical factors. Assuming there is a negative relationship between the income level of francophones and their geographic concentration, further study will be required to verify if this is a result of the rural/urban factor or a result of historical factors, whereby regions having strong concentrations of francophones are the oldest and least advantaged historically. For the time being, we'll have to presume that the two effects are confounded and that further analysis will be necessary in order distinguish these two variables or to identify other factors. We present the personal income results of all francophone adults aged 18 years or older based on their



geographic concentration, as well as only for those who are employed.

### 3.1 Geographic Concentration and Income Levels of All Francophone Adults

We present the results for four separate groups of francophones, namely those from three different provinces, New Brunswick, Ontario and Manitoba, as well as the total for these francophones. The low variation of the geographic concentration of francophones and the small number of francophones at certain concentration levels in the other provinces did not allow us to present reliable results for each province. Such small numbers can also lead to data confidentiality issues.

When examining Table 6 below, we observe that the higher the concentration of francophones, the lower their average income level. For New Brunswick and Manitoba, the income level decreases with the concentration level, and it is a net decrease with each concentration level. For Ontario and for all francophones, the income level decreases with the concentration level, if we consider the four highest concentration levels. We find very little difference between the P1 and P2 levels, that is to say between regions that are less than 10% francophone and those that are between 10 and less than 30% francophone. The Ontario results have an influence on the numbers for all francophones, since this province has more than half of all francophones outside Quebec.

**TABLE 6. AVERAGE INCOME OF ALL FRANCOPHONE ADULTS (EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED AND INACTIVE) ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION**

	NB	ON	MB	Total
P1	40,878	44,230	35,291	41,024
P2	31,497	44,270	31,628	42,668
P3	30,825	37,305	30,513	35,617
P4	29,026	32,882	29,802	30,911
P5	25,903	29,578	27,623	26,553

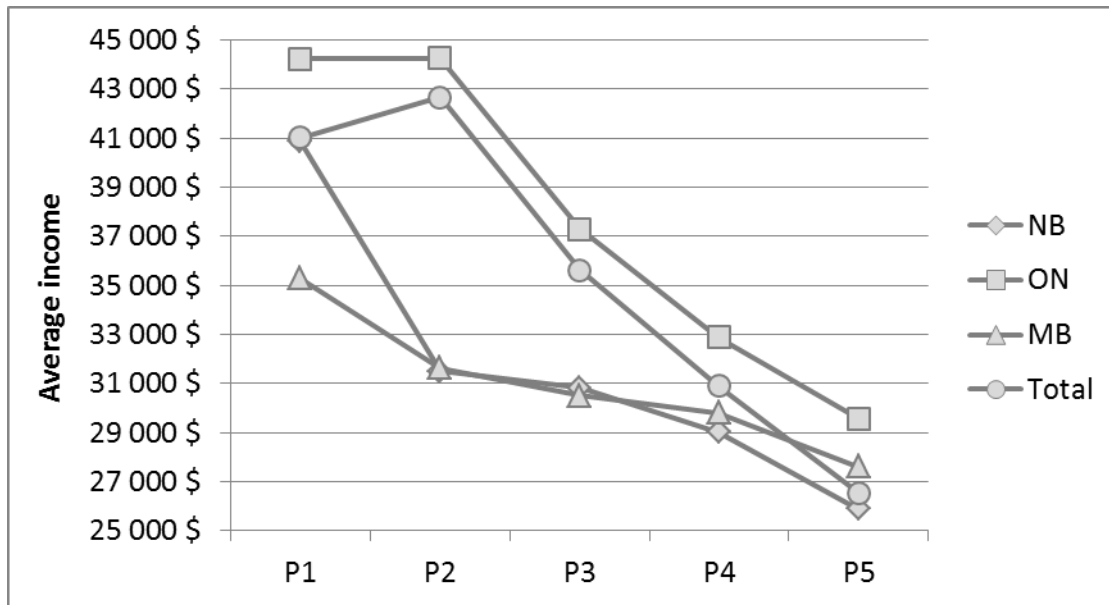
P1= less than 10%, P2= 10 to less than 30%, P3= 30 to less than 50%  
P4= 50 to less than 70%, P5= 70% or more

Chart 3 transposes numbers from table 6 in order to better reflect the strength of this linear effect of geographic concentration

on income. Living in areas where the concentration of francophones is lower is linked to higher incomes.

**CHART 3. AVERAGE INCOME OF ALL FRANCOPHONE ADULTS (EMPLOYED, UNEMPLOYED AND INACTIVE) ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION**





P1= less than 10%  
 P2= 10 to less than 30%  
 P3= 30 to less than 50 %  
 P4= 50 to less than 70 %, P5= 70% or more

### 3.2 Concentration of Francophones and Average Income Level of those who are Employed

The average income of the employed is generally speaking higher than the average income of all francophone adults (employed, unemployed and inactive). We note in the following table that the higher the concentration of francophones, the weaker the average income level. However, the P1 and P2 levels tend to be quite similar in Ontario and for all francophones. Among New Brunswick francophones, this trend is only validated for four concentration levels; the average income of francophones at the P4 level does not follow the linear trend that can be seen with other

concentration levels. In similar fashion, the P4 and P5 levels do not show significantly different income levels for francophones in Manitoba; in this province, the linear trend is only validated for four concentration levels. Chart 4 shows the linear trend associated with this effect of geographic concentration of francophones on the average income of employed francophone adults.

Except for a few minor variations, the average income of francophones tends to follow a linear curve. The greater the geographic concentration of francophones, the weaker their average income tends to be.

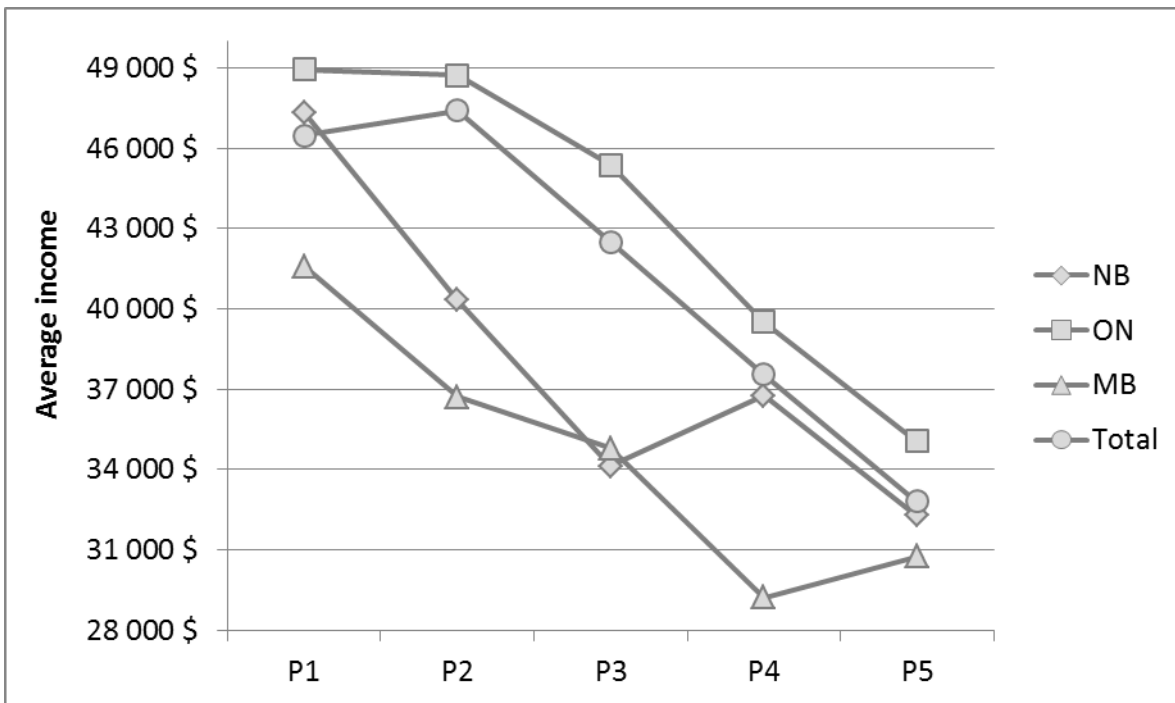


**TABLE 7. AVERAGE INCOME OF EMPLOYED FRANCOPHONE ADULTS ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION**

	NB	ON	MB	Total
<b>P1</b>	47,341	48,943	41,601	46,472
<b>P2</b>	40,334	48,719	36,700	47,418
<b>P3</b>	34,120	45,374	34,794	42,511
<b>P4</b>	36,749	39,509	29,217	37,545
<b>P5</b>	32,272	35,053	30,754	32,803

P1= less than 10%, P2= 10 to less than 30%, P3= 30 to less than 50%  
 P4= 50 to less than 70%, P5= 70% or more

**CHART 4. AVERAGE INCOME OF EMPLOYED FRANCOPHONE ADULTS ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHIC CONCENTRATION**



P1= less than 10%  
 P2= 10 to less than 30%  
 P3= 30 to less than 50 %  
 P4= 50 to less than 70%, P5= 70% or more



## CONCLUSION

The personal income of francophones outside Quebec is unique in that the francophones live in various provinces having different labour market legislation, minimum wages and economic and social conditions. As charts 1 and 2 show, there is a significant gap between the lowest incomes (the first decile) and the highest ones (the ninth decile). For all francophones, the average income deciles vary between 6,544 dollars and 72,886 dollars, while among the employed francophones, the variation is between 9,051 dollars and 79,764 dollars. Median incomes are respectively 28,210 dollars and 36,970 dollars.

Ontario has the highest inter-decile ratio (12.48) when all francophones are taken into account, while Saskatchewan has the lowest disparities (inter-decile ratio of 7.03). When only the employed are considered, the greatest disparities are recorded in Newfoundland and Labrador (11.47), while the lowest are in the territories as a group (inter-decile ratio of 6.73). Francophones in the territories as a group and in Alberta have the highest income levels among the provinces at the ninth decile, both for the entire francophone adult population (employed, unemployed and inactive) and for the employed francophone category. The lowest income levels at the first decile (the 10% having the lowest incomes) are those in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario if all categories are taken into account. Among the employed group, New Brunswick and British Columbian francophones have the lowest incomes. However, it is important to qualify this observation, since in order to speak of the

least wealthy or the poorest, one must take into account incomes adjusted based on cost of living (food, housing, child care services, etc.), data which is not available in this survey.

The coefficient of variation doubles when we compare the employed with the entire group (employed, unemployed and inactive). Among the provinces, Ontario has the highest income dispersion rate (income distribution that is more dispersed around the average), followed by Newfoundland and Labrador. Among the employed, the highest dispersion rate is in Newfoundland and Labrador, followed by Ontario and the territories as a group. The highest median income is among francophones in the territories as a group, both among the entire francophone adult population and among the employed population. The lowest median income is among New Brunswick francophones for both groups, followed closely by those in Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan.

The relationship between the geographic concentration of francophones in the municipality of residence and average income was analyzed in the three provinces where such an analysis was possible: Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba. We note, with the exception of a few small variations, that the higher their geographic concentration, the lower the average income of francophones in each the three provinces, and for all francophones in the three provinces. In the cases studied, concentration is inversely proportional to average income. Further studies will be required in order to better understand the factors behind these trends. Most of the variations could perhaps be explained by



the rural/urban factor. Are francophones who migrated to large urban centres, where the francophone population's density is weak, paid better than those living in rural areas where the francophones' geographic concentration tends to be greater? Could there also be factors related to lower socio-economic levels from the past (Corbeil, 2000) that manifest themselves in today's

francophone communities by weaker literacy rates which lead to lower income levels? Rural/urban and historical factors are two areas that could be explored in further studies, but it is possible that other factors are also in play and that these factors have varying effects depending on the province or territory.

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### Life in an Official Minority Language in Canada

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