

## **Complex Diversity for Whom? Ethnocultural and Linguistic Diversity in Canada**

### **Introduction**

My aim in this paper is to discuss interactions between ethnocultural and linguistic diversity in Canada, in particular in Canadian cities. My starting point is two reports on ethnocultural and linguistic diversity in Canada published by Statistics Canada in January 2017<sup>1</sup>. These documents have been released in light of the country's 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary as a federation. Their objective is to propose a portrait of ethnocultural and linguistic diversity in Canada in 2036 based on data collected during the 2011 Census<sup>2</sup>. Not surprisingly, the reports show that immigration to Canada is going to remain important, with around 250 000 immigrants per year coming into the country during the next 25 years. However, patterns of immigration are going to change. Traditionally, Canada has received a European-based population although immigrants from Asian and Africa have been increasing since the end of the 1990's. In contrast, in 2036, Canada will witness a growing Asian population, more visible minorities and more immigrants with neither the English or French languages as a mother tongue.

The paper asks how those changes in Canada's ethnocultural diversity could alter Canada's language regime focussing on the linguistic situation in Canadian cities, in particular, in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver. Immigrants coming to Canada have a tendency to concentrate in those three centres even though governments try to regionalise or redirect immigrants to less populated areas. Statistics Canada has based its predictions on the assumption that this situation will not have changed dramatically in the next 25 years. I also discuss the Ottawa-Gatineau region because it has a particular status in the country. Ottawa is the capital of the country located in Ontario and Gatineau is located next to it in Québec. It makes the region a unique place for the study of ethnocultural and linguistic diversity.

More specifically, Statistics Canada suggests that most immigrants will adopt English as their main language. Even in Quebec, in particular in Montreal, despite the province's language legislation, English will gain in importance. French will remain important in Quebec, but its proportion in the country as a whole will be reduced. Pressure to conform to English might increase as a result. How will this situation affect Canada's representation of language? How will it challenge our understanding of language rights and linguistic duality? I suggest that Canada's language regime will be subjected to changes but that those transformations will take place within existing institutional pathways. We already saw signs of changes in Canada's language regime with the coming to power of the Liberal Party under the leadership of Justin Trudeau in October 2015. For example, its commitment towards a nation to nation relations with Canada's Indigenous peoples also implies the recognition and promotion of their

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<sup>1</sup> Sources.

<sup>2</sup> See pages for more details.

languages.<sup>3</sup> Although Statistics Canada does not discuss Aboriginal languages in its reports, government action in this particular area represents an important step. It provides the basis for reinterpreting Canada's language regime as a compromise which includes First nation's languages with French and English languages. Another example of changing times in the area of language, is Prime Minister Trudeau's tendency to acknowledge Canada's linguistic diversity with official languages. How governments and groups will influence Canada's representations of language in the context of changing patterns of immigration is thus a question which I want to address in more detail in this paper.

First, I discuss the 2017 reports from Statistics Canada on ethnocultural and linguistic diversity in 2036. Secondly, I look in particular at the situation in cities such as Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and the Ottawa-Gatineau region. Thirdly I make some suggestions as to how Statistics Canada's projections could challenge Canada's language regime.

This is a difficult but necessary exercise. Our challenge is to address how Canada's language regime could be affected by changing patterns of immigration. Governments also need to start thinking about appropriate policy responses to Canada's new demographic challenges in the area of language. The 1960's are a good case in point of policy changes that were partly driven by the important demographic change. The baby-boom transformed the country and forced its modernization in all areas of public policy including language<sup>4</sup>. Our paper suggest that it is time to start planning ahead.

### **Canada's ethnocultural and linguistic diversity in 2011 and in 2036**

While Canada is a multinational country with its historic peoples (First Nations, Metis, Inuit, Quebec, Acadia, British), it is also a country of immigrants. Briefly, according to Statistics Canada, in 1867, Canada was composed of 3.7 million people of which 16.1% were born outside of the country, of which 84 % were of British origin.

Until the 1960's Canada's immigration policy was ethnically and racially-based. The selection of immigrants was informed by the approach of Anglo-conformity, i.e. an approach which required that immigrants coming to Canada were of a culture compatible with the Anglo-dominant culture and language.<sup>5</sup> However, after the 1960's, the policy was transformed. Any reference to ethnicity was eliminated to the benefit of a system of points. However, the policy remained selective even though the point system was based on a more humanist approach to immigration. With this more humanist approach, the Canadian government wanted to attract qualified immigrants who would increase Canada's human capital. In the 1990's, changes in Canada's immigration policy emphasized the need for qualified immigrants to contribute to Canada's economic

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<sup>3</sup> Reference to announcement of 89 million \$CDA in 2017 Budget.

<sup>4</sup> See Owrain (1984) for a discussion on how the baby-boom generation transformed the Canadian State.

<sup>5</sup> Add references.

development. The policy would still be based on a point system, but selection processes were reinforced. Immigration being a shared competence in Canadian federalism, in the 1990's, Quebec was given the possibility to determine its own objectives in terms of immigration.<sup>6</sup> This specific approach was design to give Quebec more authority on the selection of immigrants which could speak or learn French. This explains, as I will show later, why immigration to Quebec has a different pattern with more immigrants coming from Africa and the Americas than in the rest of the country. In recent years, other provinces were also given similar treatment with the federal government.<sup>7</sup>

Despite its selective immigration policy, Canada remains attractive to immigrants. The country, on average, welcomes around 250 000 immigrants per year and there is no sign that this situation is going to be any different in the next 25 years. Canada will continue to receive a lot of immigrants for structural reasons. Its population is not growing rapidly enough to sustain its development and way of living. Census data shows high fertility rates amongst Indigenous people but not amongst the French and English population.<sup>8</sup> Canada definitively needs to maintain its immigration levels in order to insure its continued development.

According to Statistics Canada (2017: 28), in 2011 immigration represented 20.7 % of the Canadian population (roughly, 35.5 million). In 2036, immigration should rise to 24.5 % and possibly to 30% of the population – Statistics Canada provides the lowest and the highest possible percentage in its projections.<sup>9</sup> Immigration is going to increase across the country, but Canadian cities will remain important poles of attraction. For example, in 2036, Toronto will increase its immigrant population followed by Vancouver, Calgary, Montreal and Winnipeg.

Patterns of immigration will also change in important ways (see table 1). In 2011, European immigration was still dominant but it is gradually being replaced by Asian immigrants, in particular from China, India and the Philippines. In 2011, Asians represented 44% of all immigrants. In 2036, they will account for 55.7% to 57.9% of all immigrants. Europeans coming to Canada will be at a low 15.4% to 17.8%.

According to Statistics Canada, more than one third of the population will also fall under the category of visible minorities. In 2011, those between 15 and 64 years old represented 19.6% of the population while these percentages could be 34.7% to 39.9% in 2036. Visible minorities will come from South Asia in particular.

As already mentioned, Quebec has a distinct pattern of immigration in comparison to other provinces. Quebec will also increase the number of Asians amongst its immigrant population, but immigration from Africa and the Americas will be higher than

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<sup>6</sup> Add reference.

<sup>7</sup> Add reference.

<sup>8</sup> Add reference.

<sup>9</sup> For details on how Statistics Canada calculates its predictions, see 2017, p.

in the rest of Canada. For example, in 2036 immigrants from Africa will represent 28.7% to 30.4% of immigrants to Quebec in comparison to 7.6% and 8.4% in the rest of Canada. Immigration from the Americas to Quebec will be 21.6% to 22.4% in comparison with 12.6% and 13.2% for the rest of the country.

**Table 1 Percentage of immigrants in Canada according to geographical distribution and visible minority status, 2011 and 2036**

Categories	2011	2036
<b>Immigrants</b>	20.7%	24.5% to 30.3%
<b>Geography</b>	44.8% Asian	15.4. to 17.8 European 55.7 to 57.9 Asian
<b>Visible minority</b>	19.6 %	34.7% to 39.9 %

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

Since my aim in this paper is to discuss interactions between ethnocultural and linguistic diversity, Statistics Canada’s language projections for 2036 deserve our attention. Briefly, Statistics Canada uses three linguistic category in its discussion of those projections: mother tongue, home language, first official language spoken (FOLS). The concept of mother tongue refers the first language spoken during childhood and still understood while home language is a category used to measure language transfers from mother tongue to language used most frequently at home. Finally, the category FOLS provides a measure of the use of French and English in the public sphere. For example, it helps capture the use of official languages in the public domain by individuals who do not have English or French as mother tongue. It also provides some measure of the power of attraction of both official languages amongst immigrants.

**Table 2 Percentage of the population by mother tongue, home language, first official language, Canada, 2011 and 2036**

Canada	2011			2036		
	Mother tongue	Home language	FOLS	Mother tongue	Home language	FOLS
<b>English</b>	58.7%	67.8%	75.4%	52% and 56%	66% and 64%	77% and 78%
<b>French</b>	21.3%	20.8%	22.9%	17% and 18%	18% and 17%	20% and 20%
<b>Other</b>	20.6%	11.3%		26% and 30.6%	14% and 18%	

Source: Statistics Canada, *Language Projections for Canada, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 8 9-657-X2016002.

Statistics Canada confirms that English and French as mother tongue is decreasing in Canada, a situation not new to students of language, in particular those studying the

future of the French language.<sup>10</sup> More specifically, in 2011, 58.7% of the Canadian population had English as a mother tongue. In 2036, this percentage will be 52% or 56%.

**Table 3 Population by mother tongue in Canada, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Mother tongue</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2036</b>
<b>English</b>	20,110	22,821 or 23,685
<b>French</b>	7,297	7,513 or 7,777
<b>Other</b>	6,866	10,743 or 13,842

Source: Statistics Canada, *Language Projections for Canada, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 8 9-657-X2016002.

Even in Quebec, English as a mother tongue will also increase from 8.2% in 2011 to 8.8% in 2036. In the rest of Canada, 74% of the population had English as a mother tongue in 2011 in comparison with 64% and 69% in 2036.

**Table 4 Percentage of the population by mother tongue, home language, first official language, Quebec, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Quebec</b>	<b>2011</b>			<b>2036</b>		
	<b>Mother tongue</b>	<b>Home language</b>	<b>FOLS</b>	<b>Mother tongue</b>	<b>Home language</b>	<b>FOLS</b>
<b>English</b>	8.2%	10.7%	13.6%	8.6% and 8.8%	12.7% and 12.6%	17.7% and 17.5%
<b>French</b>	78.9%	81.6%	85.4%	69% and 72%	75.7% and 73.6%	82.7% and 81.8%
<b>Other</b>	12.9%	7.6%		19% and 22.4%	11.7% and 13.8%	

Source: Statistics Canada, *Language Projections for Canada, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 8 9-657-X2016002.

In 2011, 21.7% of the Canadian population declared French as a mother tongue but only 17% to 18% will do so in 2036. In particular outside of Quebec, the population with French as a mother tongue will diminish from 3.8% in 2011 to 2.7% or 2.8% in 2036. In Quebec, French mother tongue will also decrease. In 2011 with 79% of the population declared French as a mother tongue in comparison with 81.5% of the Quebec population who declared French as a mother tongue in 2006. This tendency will continue in 2026 with only 69% and 72% of the population of Quebec with French as a mother tongue.

<sup>10</sup> Add reference to Castonguay.

**Table 5 Population by mother tongue in Quebec, 2011 and 2036**

Mother tongue	2011	2036
<b>French</b>	6,308	6,627 and 6,836
<b>English</b>	652,000	808,000 and 853,000
<b>Other</b>	1,034	1,762 and 2,223

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

In 2011, 20% (6.9 millions) of the Canadian population indicated another mother tongue than English or French. In 2036, the percentage will have increased to 10.7 and 13.8 million people or 26.1% and 30.6% of the population. In Quebec only, in 2011, 12.9% of the population that has another mother tongue than French and English, a percentage which will increase to 19% and 22.4% in 2036. However, as suggested by Statistics Canada, in absolute numbers, in 2036, French will still be the mother tongue of 7.5 or 7.8 million Canadians. In Quebec, it remains the mother tongue of 6.300 million people. Furthermore, in 2011, there is no non-official language with more than 500 000 speakers in Canada. This situation might not change in 2036.

The pull exerted by the English language on other languages also undermines French. English is attractive in both Quebec and in Canada as a whole. As exemplified by data on home language, the prominence of English over other languages is undeniable, and the situation will not change in the next 25 years.

**Table 6 Percentage of the population by language spoken most often at home in Canada, 2011 and 2036**

Home language	2011	2036
<b>English</b>	67,8 % (23,240)	66,9 or 64.4 (27,486 and 29,189)
<b>French</b>	20.8% (7,145)	18.4% and 17.6% (7,553 and 7,951)
<b>Other</b>	11.3% (3,888)	14.7% and 18.0% (6,030 and 8,164)

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

**Table 7 Percentage of the population by language spoken most often at home in Quebec, 2011 and 2036**

Home language	2011	2036
<b>English</b>	10.7% (858,000)	12.7% and 12.6% (1.167 and 1.247)
<b>French</b>	81.6% (6,525)	75.7% and 73.6% (6.958 and 7.300)

<b>Other</b>	7.6% (611,000)	11.7% and 13.8% (1.072 and 1.365)
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Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

**Table 8 Population by language spoken most often at home in Canada outside Quebec, 2011 and 2036**

Home language	2011	2036
<b>English</b>	85.1% (22,382)	82.6% and 78.9% (26,319 and 27,942)
<b>French</b>	2.4% (620,000)	1.9% and 1.8% (595,000 and 651,000)
<b>Other</b>	12.5% (3,278)	15.6% and 19.2% (4,958 and 6,799)

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

In 2011, 22.4 million Canadians had English as a home language in comparison with 19.5 million as mother tongue. These numbers will increase to 26 and 28 million in 2036.<sup>11</sup> The increase will be particularly important in Quebec. In 2011, 858 000 Quebecers declared English as a home language or 10.7% a number that will increase to 1.2 million in 2026 or 12.6%.

Furthermore, of the 6.9 million Canadians with another mother tongue than English and French, in 2011, 3.8 spoke English as their home language. In 2036, 45% to 48% of the population with other mother tongues will have adopted English as their home language.

The third category used by Statistics Canada is first official language spoken. As already mentioned, this is more and more a category used to measure the attraction of Canada's official languages amongst immigrants. Without much surprise, data show the important attraction of English. In Quebec,

**Table 9 Population by first official language spoken in Canada, 2011 and 2036**

First official language spoken	2011	2036
<b>English</b>	75.4% (25,857)	77.7% and 77.8% (31,899 and 35,254)
<b>French</b>	22.9% (7,847)	20.9% and 20.3% (8,577 and 9,182)

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Verify number. It may be higher.

**Table 10 Population by first official language spoken in Quebec, 2011 and 2036**

First official language spoken	2011	2036
English	13.6% (1.090)	17.7% and 17.5% (1.538 and 1.733)
French	85.4% (6.830)	82.7% and 81.8% (7.604 and 8.106)

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

**Table 11 Population by first official language spoken in Canada outside Quebec, 2011 and 2036**

First official language spoken	2011	2036
English	94.2% (24,767)	95.3% and 94.7% (30,610 and 33,521)
French	3.9% (24,767)	3.1% and 3.0% (973,000 and 1,029)

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017

Finally, Statistics Canada also monitors the evolution of English-French bilingualism. In 2011, 17.5% of the Canadian population was bilingual English-French a percentage that will increase to 18.4% and 18.8% in 2036. In Quebec, 43% of the population is bilingual. According to Statistics Canada, the increase of bilingualism in Quebec is imputable to the Francophone population. Bilingualism will increase from 3,4 million in 2011 to 4,6 and 5 million in 2036 amongst the French speaking population. This is an increase of 35 to 44 % amongst the population and from 39% to 49% amongst the French-speaking population. In 2036, 52% of the population of Quebec will be bilingual.

Outside of Quebec, 9.8% of the population is bilingual, a percentage which will decrease in 2035 to 9.2% and 9.5%. According to Statistics Canada, bilingualism French-English will be low amongst immigrants.

### **Ethnocultural and Linguistic Diversity in Canadian Cities**

Cities will be important laboratories to monitor changing patterns of immigration and the attractiveness of Canada's official languages, in particular centers such as Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. Montreal City has 1.7 million habitants and an urban density of 4 million people. Toronto City has 2.7 million habitants and an urban density

of almost 6 million people. Vancouver City has 615 000 habitants and an urban density of 2.3 million people.

In Quebec, 9 out of 10 immigrants live in the Montreal Census Metropolitan Area (CMA). Montreal had 22.7% immigrants in 2011, a percentage that will increase to 28.4% or 34.2% in 2036.

In 2011, 23.2% of the population of Montreal did not have French or English as mother tongue. In 2036 this percentage will increase to 30.6% and 34.5%. On the island of Montreal, the population who will not have French or English as a mother tongue will be as high as 43% in 2036. This will lead to an increase in other languages as languages most often spoken at home. English will also increase as a first official language spoken while French will remain stable in the suburbs of Montreal.

**Table 12 Population of immigrants in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Immigration</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2036</b>
<b>Montreal</b>	22.7%	28.4% and 34.2%
<b>Toronto</b>	46%	46% and 52.8%
<b>Vancouver</b>	40%	42.1% and 48.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

**Table 13 Population of visible minorities in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Immigration</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2036</b>
<b>Montreal</b>	20.5%	37.5% and 42.0%
<b>Toronto</b>	47.6%	66.1% and 70.2%
<b>Vancouver</b>	45.8%	62.2% and 66.2%.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

**Table 14 Population with other mother tongues, Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Other mother tongues</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2036</b>
<b>Montreal</b>	23%	30.6% and 34.5%
<b>Toronto</b>	42.5%	48.4% and 53.4%
<b>Vancouver</b>	40.7%	48.1% and 52.9%.

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

Toronto is by far the most diverse city in Canada. In 2011, 70% of all immigrants to Canada lived in Toronto a percentage which will increase to 73.4 or 74.5 in 2036. In 2011, 46% of the city's population were immigrants, a percentage which will remain the same in 2036 with a possibility of going up to 52.8% in a scenario of high immigration.

Unlike Quebec, immigrants to Ontario are mostly Asian. In Toronto, 65% to 67% of the immigrants in 2036 will be Asian. In 2011, visible minorities represent 47.6% of the Toronto population, a percentage which will increase to 66.1% and 70.2% in 2036. Finally, in 2011, 42.5% of the population in Toronto did not have French or English as a mother tongue in comparison with 48.4% and 53.4% in 2036.

In 2011, immigrants represented 40% of the population of Vancouver. In 2036, the percentage will increase to 42.1% or 48.5%. As in Toronto, in 2036, 76.7% or 77.8% of all immigrants will be Asian. The population of visible minorities will also increase from 45.8% in 2011 to 62% and 66.2% in 2036. As for language, in 2011, 40.7% of the Vancouver population did not have French or English as mother tongue. In 2036, the percentage will increase to 48.1% and 52.9%.

Ottawa-Gatineau also deserves some attention. As elsewhere in the country, it will witness an increase in immigration but not in any way as dramatic as in the major cities.

**Table 15 Population of immigrants in Ottawa-Gatineau, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Immigration</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2036</b>
<b>Ottawa</b>	22.7%	24.4% and 30.7%
<b>Gatineau</b>	10.%	26.3% and 20.6%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

**Table 16 Population with other mother tongues, Ottawa-Gatineau, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Other mother tongues</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2036</b>
<b>Ottawa</b>	20.7%	25.2% and 30.3%
<b>Gatineau</b>	8.4%	13.5% and 16.4%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

**Table 18 Population of visible minorities in Ottawa-Gatineau, 2011 and 2036**

<b>Immigration</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2036</b>
<b>Ottawa</b>	22.5%	37.5% and 43.2%
<b>Gatineau</b>	8.6%	21.8% and 26.2%

Source: Statistics Canada, *Projections for Canada and its Regions, 2011 to 2036*, Catalogue no. 91-551-X, 2017.

However, Ottawa-Gatineau in comparison with other cities has a particular pattern of French-English distribution. Ottawa has a majority of its population that is English-speaking while Gatineau has a majority of its population that is French-speaking. According to Statistics Canada, this situation could be altered by an increase of English-speakers on the Gatineau side while French will continue to diminish. In 2036, 21% of the population in Gatineau would have English as its first official language spoken and more than 15% would have English as a mother tongue. Ottawa will witness a decrease of its English-speaking population as mother tongue. However, it will remain stable because of the high percentage of English-speakers as first official language spoken.

These data are not exhaustive but they help understand some important trends in the demography and demolinguistics of the country as a whole and in some of its major cities. These trends are not new. They have shaped the course of the country and will continue to do so. They help understand the way the country is evolving and provide a basis for further policy discussion in the area of ethnocultural and linguistic diversity. This will be the object of our next section.

### **Canada's ethnocultural and linguistic diversity and future language policy-choices**

Statistics Canada's data on ethnocultural and linguistic diversity in Canada need to be interpreted keeping in mind the long history of debates on the latter since Confederation. A major part of this discussion has focussed on the role of immigration in shaping Canadian politics and society.<sup>12</sup> More specifically, since the 1970's, debates on multiculturalism as a defining feature of Canada as a country has been a good example of how immigration has affected Canada's understanding of its own identity. At the time many political scientist also suggested that immigrants could become a third force within Canadian politics in the context of Quebec-Canada or English and French politics.<sup>13</sup> Political parties have taken this message seriously in making sure that they could take advantage of the 'ethnic vote'.<sup>14</sup> For decades, both the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party have been active in trying to attract the allegiance of immigrant groups.<sup>15</sup>

Moving beyond party politics, studies have also showed the key role of Canadian multiculturalism in creating a positive sentiment towards Canada.<sup>16</sup> However, this sentiment is not shared by First nations and Quebec who identify more with Canada as a multinational country and not with multiculturalism.<sup>17</sup> In the particular case of Quebec,

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<sup>12</sup> Add reference

<sup>13</sup> Add reference to Breton and B&B Commission.

<sup>14</sup> Reference to Kymlicka in *Canadian Way*.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen White in *Rayside on Conservatism in Canada* quoted in article with Léger and Gaspard (2015)

<sup>16</sup> Bloomraed ; Kymlicka

<sup>17</sup> Add Banting; Bilodeau and Turgeon

the later also has its own approach to diversity which is interculturalism, an approach informed by the need to promote the French language as well as diversity.

In their survey on the acceptance of immigrants and members of visible minorities in Canada, studies by Bilodeau and Turgeon show general acceptance but they also identify some points of tension in particular in Quebec.<sup>18</sup> For them Quebecers, but also Acadians, are more suspicious of visible minorities than in the rest of Canada. Linguistic insecurity on the part of national minorities or minority nations provides a context which is conducive to more negative attitudes towards immigrants and visible minorities. Statistics Canada's reports do not imply that such attitudes would change. On the contrary, given the increase of English as FOLS in Quebec, it seems reasonable to think that there could be increased tensions between immigrants and the French-speaking population. Furthermore, Statistics Canada also recognizes that immigration is not sufficient to modify Quebec's patterns of depopulation which are more structural. It argues that Francophone immigration should be 20% to 50% higher in Canada in order to have an impact on patterns of population distribution and language.

Most of the studies on language and immigration concentrate on Quebec for good reasons since it is the only province with a French-speaking majority even though it is a minority within the Canadian context. In the rest of Canada, English is so much taken for granted that language is not even mentioned as an issue within the literature. The fact that there is a growing number of Canadians that do not have French or English as a mother tongue does not say that it could not become an issue in years to come.

For instance, since 2012, residents of Richmond, British Columbia have lobbied their City Council to ban Chinese-only commercial signs. While the City did not acquiesce to this demand, it did however hire a sign inspector, tasked with "promoting community harmony" and "encouraging the businesses to include English on their business signage, advertisements, and other forms of commercial communication" (Léger, 2015; see also City of Richmond, 2015).<sup>19</sup> In 2016, bill S-222 sponsored by Senator Mobina Jaffer is a good indicator of what it to come.<sup>20</sup> The bill calls for state measures that would promote the acquisition, retention and use of non-official languages. Furthermore, social bilingualism could enter in direct competition with French-English bilingualism.

However, data provided by Statistics Canada also suggests that pressure to conform to English remains strong. In fact, data reveal a loss of linguistic diversity in many ways. According to Statistics Canada, assimilation rates of French outside of Quebec will be at an average of over 40 % is not while assimilation rates amongst the immigrant population will 47% and 48%. Such loss might not be conducive to

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<sup>18</sup> Add reference

<sup>19</sup> As an illustration of the political nature of language and linguistic diversity in Canada, the sign inspector job description includes the following notice under working conditions: "Disagreeable situations which include verbal abuse, threats, rudeness and the risk of potential violence may be experienced."

<sup>20</sup> Add reference to bill

multilingualism to say the least. Pressure to conform to English will increase and competition between the French language and other languages might also lead to tensions around language and diversity.

Montreal deserves special attention since ethnocultural and linguistic diversity will be highly concentrated in cities and urban areas. In 2011, nearly 80 per cent of Canadians who reported speaking an ‘immigrant’ language lived in the 6 major metropolitan areas—Toronto, Montréal, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa-Gatineau. Already the attractiveness of English in most of these cities is strong including in Montreal.

However, since the 1970s, there have been major attempts to make Montreal a Francophone city, a unique feature in North America in many ways. Thus, Montreal deserves particular attention because with growing pressure towards English even in Montreal, such a project may be at stake.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, with the growth of the English-speaking population, a change of attitude in the English-speaking community as being under assault by Quebec’s language legislation (Bill 101)?

The growing English-speaking population in Quebec might reinforce advocacy on all sides. Those against Bill 101, in particular amongst English-speaking groups and immigrants, may regain militancy especially with regards to the obligation for children of immigrants to attend French language schooling. In contrast, the increase in the number of English speakers may have a positive impact on English schooling. The popularity of English in Quebec already has a positive impact on post-secondary education. The attention for English schooling is changing from primary and secondary schooling to postsecondary institutions. This may be even more good news for those institutions.

Policy debates in Quebec are also to be expected in the area of employment, in particular in Montreal. Studies show that immigrants tend to work in small businesses of 50 workers or less.<sup>22</sup> Those businesses are not subjected to Quebec’s Bill 101, of which many are situated in Montreal. Policy choices may lead to confrontation between the Quebec government and the English-speaking groups on the need to extend the application of Bill 101 to small business. This is already an issue in Quebec and data on language projections for 2036 may increase the saliency of this debate.<sup>23</sup>

Pressures on the Quebec government for increasing the selection of French-speaking immigrants and promoting linguistic integration may also come from French-speaking groups and nationalist political parties may also increase. This is also already an issue in Quebec.<sup>24</sup> Groups working with immigrants have been complaining that the

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<sup>21</sup> An issue already pointed at by John Richards (2011 or 2014).

<sup>22</sup> Add reference.

<sup>23</sup> Add reference

<sup>24</sup> Add reference

Quebec government is not taking the issue seriously enough.<sup>25</sup> Once more, patterns of immigrant distribution in Montreal in particular is at the center of those debates.

Finally, bilingualism is growing amongst the French population in Quebec – a dream come true for Anglo-conformist who believe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that Canada ought to be English and Quebec bilingual. The fact that English is a lingua franca internationally adds to the pressure. However, English as a lingua franca builds on Canada's Anglo-conformist heritage and makes conducive to English dominance. In Quebec, younger generations of Quebeckers generally have a positive attitude towards English. They do not feel discriminated by pressures to conform to English as their parents or grand-parents did in the past. That said more studies will need to be done in order to better understand language behavior amongst younger generations of Quebeckers in the context of Canada's changing patterns of immigration and language projections.

### **Conclusion**

A portrait that calls for further reflection, analysis and discussion of language policy-choices in Canada. How could it affect Canada's language regime? More pressure to conform to English could bring back Anglo-conformist attitudes in defining language. More pressure to improve English-French bilingualism. More pressure to recognize social bilingualism and not only official bilingualism.

To be continued...

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<sup>25</sup> Add reference.