

Language, Identity and National Confidence: A Look at Bilingualism/ Multilingualism in Canada Based on the 2011 Census

2011年国勢調査に見るカナダにおけるバイリンガリズムの現状

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Abstract

Multiculturalism within the framework of bilingualism in English and French, which constitutes the fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity, has been a subject of great contention for decades. This paper, however, attempts to be engaged in an inquiry oriented to bilingualism/multilingualism conceptualized as a general linguistic and social phenomenon, the linguistic competence in at least two languages. The argument is that, in addition to official bilingualism and multiculturalism, bilingualism/multilingualism has emerged to become a distinct feature of the linguistic landscape of Canada, as well as a significant component of the multicultural fabric of Canadian society. With reference to the pertinent data largely from the 2011 national census, this paper aims to examine this general type of bilingualism/multilingualism in Canada in its interplay with critical social/cultural impetus such as immigration, official bilingualism and multiculturalism. It ascribes the increasing rate of bilingualism/multilingualism to immigration legislation as well as constitutional provisions for social equality amidst a multiplicity of languages, cultures and ethnic backgrounds. Moreover, it illustrates some essential features of bilingualism/multilingualism such as linguistic variation, being social/national, and being driven by global forces. Furthermore, it contends that bilingualism/multilingualism is playing an indisputably important role in strengthening Canadian unity, sustaining Canada's economic and social growth, and enhancing Canada's international presence. It concludes that, in spite of the ongoing contestation over multiculturalism and official bilingualism, bilingualism/multilingualism has become a valuable source of Canadian social vitality.

Keywords: Bilingualism/multilingualism, Canadian Studies, multiculturalism, identity, nation-state

Introduction

Canada is admired for the beauty of its natural landscape and the richness in natural resources; it is also renowned for its ethnic and cultural pluralism. Canadian multiculturalism, which still remains politically and ideologically contentious, is indicative of the essence of Canadian social fabric such as linguistic and ethnic multiplicity, cultural diversity and social equality. Multiculturalism within the framework of bilingualism in English and French has withstood the test of time in the past half a century, and has evolved to be the foremost driving force for the social growth of Canada despite manifold disputes and tensions (Bibby; Blackwell; Stephen; Zhou 2012). It demonstrates how language can be a prominent and promising contender in social movements for political concerns, cultural rights, economic advantages, and national interests.

Official bilingualism in Canada

Sociolinguistics views language as a key instrument for communication both shaping and being shaped by social conditions and cultural conventions;¹⁾ critical language studies further defines language as a social practice and as an integral component of the nation-state, claiming that linguistic unification and any form of language functioning especially in the name of standardization are part of economic, political and cultural unification (Fairclough:17-18). This is first and foremost expressed by and observable in the so-called “national language”, which was at its height especially at the turn of the twentieth century (Fairclough: 18).

Canada offers a classic illustration of the crucial role of language in the construction of a nation. Bilingualism, a prime indicator of Canadian linguistic and social life, first of all refers to official bilingualism constitutionally provisioned to recognize the “founding” nations of English-speaking and French-speaking ethnic groups. Although both English and French have been entrenched since the Confederation of Canada in 1867, English has been at a de facto privileged position, which induced antipathy and elicited resentment on the minority French-speaking side. To reduce the tensions and to redress the balance between the two, the Royal Commission on

Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established in 1963, and in 1965 a preliminary report was completed.²⁾ Although the first Official Language Act was enacted in 1969, the current *Official Language Act* was adopted in 1988 with the aim to improve the efforts at the federal level to support the linguistic minority communities, whose legal rights were prescribed in and protected by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.³⁾

Accordingly, English and French “have equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all institutions of the Parliament and government of Canada.”⁴⁾ *Official bilingualism* is a term used to refer to the policies, constitutional provisions, and laws which guarantee English and French a special status over other languages in Canada’s courts, parliament and other federal institutions.⁵⁾ Nevertheless, a bilingual country as defined in light of official bilingualism in Canada “is not one where all the inhabitants necessarily have to speak two languages; rather it is a country where the principal public and private institutions must provide services in two languages to the citizens, the vast majority of whom may well be unilingual.”⁶⁾ Thus, official bilingualism should be differentiated from *personal bilingualism*, which refers to the ability of speaking two languages.⁷⁾ In Canada, personal bilingualism in the two official languages has always been an issue of central concern particularly because it is closely connected with the exercise of educational rights of language minority communities. The past several decades have witnessed disputes and debate over the extent of rights to publicly-funded minority education as the source of much litigation.⁸⁾

Official bilingualism exemplifies a political endeavor to rectify the relationship between the English-speaking and French-speaking communities; it has also turned out to be an indispensable strategic measure to maintain and consolidate Canadian national unity as well as forming a major constituent of Canadian identity. Nevertheless, the acknowledgement of the linguistic superiority of the two “founding” nations disregards the rights and interests of the *pre-founding* members, the native Indians, who had been habitants of the land far before the European colonization in the 17th century. It is ironic that although many of the native Indians are

referred to as the “First Nations” , their languages are not designated as being official at the federal/national level.

Bilingualism/multilingualism as focus of inquiry

Official bilingualism in Canada, with its policy and practice, has won strong support among both the English-speaking and French-speaking populations especially as regards bilingual government services, and there is a generally positive attitude towards personal bilingualism in the two official languages (Office of the Commissioner; Parkin:6). Increasingly evident and equally noteworthy in Canadian social life is the type of bilingualism/multilingualism in its general conceptualization, the bilingual/multilingual capacity in one (or both) of the two official languages and one’s heritage language.

The data of relevance from the 2011 National Census has exceptionally reminded and assured us of the speed, scale and specifications of this general type of bilingualism/multilingualism contextualized in Canada’s social reality. One-fifth of the national population claiming to have bilingual/multilingual ability on a regular basis is a number of significance both statistically and socially.⁹⁾

This general type of bilingualism/multilingualism is placed at the centre of discussion in this paper. My argument is that besides official bilingualism and multiculturalism, the principal features of Canadian heritage, tradition and identity, bilingualism/multilingualism as a general linguistic and social phenomenon has emerged to be a noticeable and indispensable contributor to the vitality of Canadian social fabric. To support the argument, I attempt to explore the conditions that make possible the above-mentioned representation of the linguistic/social portrait of Canada. I will also examine how this type of bilingualism/multilingualism has benefitted from the educational policies and programs implemented in the name of prevalent ideologies such as official bilingualism and multiculturalism.

I will also discuss some basic features of this type of bilingualism/multilingualism constituted in and by the domestic social conditions and global circumstances particularly in the midst of globalization. These features encompass, certainly are not limited to, the linguistic variation, the quality

of being non-official but social/national, and the nature of being economic/globally driven. The merits of bilingualism/multilingualism, as illuminated throughout the discussion, point to the enhancement of Canada’s national confidence reflected in the appraisal it has been associated with for being a favored social and cultural destination, evidenced by its exercise of unique *middle power*¹⁰⁾ in global politics, as well as, if not above all, manifested by the enormous economic interests generated from linguistic and cultural advantages.

Conditions enabling bilingualism/multilingualism

Although the founding of modern Canada can be traced back to the 1867 Confederation, Canada did not achieve patriation of its constitution until 1982.¹¹⁾ Therefore, it can be reasonably claimed that Canada is young as a nation-state. Immigration has served as the cornerstone of nation building with the population increasing from 3.486 million in 1871 to 33.476 million in 2011.¹²⁾ In addition, constitutional provisions have been intended for establishing privileges and affirmation of equality regardless of race, religion and ethnic cultural background. Immigration, official bilingualism and multiculturalism thus have combined to shape tremendously the linguistic landscape of Canada. Personal bilingualism/multilingualism in one (both) of the official languages and in one’s ethnic language(s), in return, expedites the process of linguistic and cultural diversity, which in part characterizes the fabric of Canadian society.

Immigration and linguistic diversity

Each new wave of immigration has added to Canada’s ethnic and cultural structure. Immigration began with the European exploration of the New World in the 16th century, with immigrants first mainly from England and France, then from other European countries and from other continents around the world. It has been the major contributing factor to Canada’s linguistic and ethnic mosaic (Kelley & Trebilcock). In 1871, shortly after the 1867 Confederation, the English-speaking ethnic group and the French-speaking ethnic group accounted for 60.6% and 31.1%

respectively of the total population, whereas the non-English/French speaking group occupied merely 8.4%. These figures were replaced by 47.9%, 30.8% and 21.2% a century later in 1971. However, at the turn of this century in 2001, the non-English/French speaking ethnic population amounted to 26.7%, and in 2011 soared to 64.2%, although many census participants gave multiple responses.¹³⁾

The data gathered at the censuses in this century have highlighted a steady increase of the immigration population and the *visible minority*¹⁴⁾ population with divergent ethnic backgrounds in particular. The 2011 census reveals that 20.6% of the population reported as foreign-born, compared to 19.8% in 2006. Among this population of foreign born, 17.2% were recent immigrants in the past five years, and they accounted for 3.5% of the total Canadian population. These figures point to two important facts: (1) Canada has the highest proportion of foreign-born population (20.6%) among the G8 countries and (2) 56.9%, the highest share of the recent immigrants in the past five years, came from Asia, in contrast to 8.5% prior to the 1970s.¹⁵⁾ The interrelation between the linguistic and cultural linkage to Asia and Canada's economic and national benefits forms the focus of the forthcoming section of the paper.

Immigration has been entwined with and enriched indubitably the linguistic and cultural texture of Canadian society, both in terms of the language variation and the number of non-official languages. This is observable not only among the population who bring with them their ethnic languages to Canada, but also among the population of the second or even third generations who speak a language, either official or non-official, as their first language at home or on a regular basis or as their ethnic languages learned. Continuance of language use has comparatively a more direct and effective influence on general bilingualism/multilingualism, which makes the Canadian society become more diverse and dynamic.

It is of great significance that 98% of the total population can speak either of the two official languages, among which the number of speakers of French as mother-tongue and the number of speakers of English as mother-tongue accounts for 22% and 58% respectively. However, the population reporting

a language as mother-tongue other than the two official languages rose from 20.1% in 2006 to 20.6% in 2011. Moreover, 17.5% of the population claims to be competent in at least two languages, compared to 14.2% in 2006, and among which 63.5% reported using English at home.¹⁶⁾ Furthermore, 5.8 million of the total population reported to be bilingual in the two official languages.¹⁷⁾ The bilingual population in English and a non-official language was 396,000, more than five times the population bilingual in French and a non-official language. In total, 11.5% of the population reported speaking English and a non-official language at home or on a regular basis, in comparison to 9.1% in 2006.¹⁸⁾

While English/French bilingualism remains stable with a slight edge up from 17.4% in 2006 to 17.5% in 2011, there has been a significant increase in the number of people with bilingual/multilingual competence in one (or both) of the official languages and (an)other language(s).¹⁹⁾ Official bilingualism has helped produce a substantially high rate of linguistic literacy, and empowered and reinforced personal bilingualism/multilingualism conceptualized in a general sense.

Impact of official bilingualism on bilingualism/multilingualism

Canadian official bilingualism was a political response given to the grievance of the French-speaking minority with the aim to secure and strengthen the unification of Canada, in spite of the fact that Quebec had been in or out of federation.²⁰⁾ Although only Quebec has declared itself officially unilingual (French only),²¹⁾ in practice, all provinces including Quebec offer bilingual services and some education in both official languages that correspond to the educational rights entrenched in the Constitution. Nowadays, about 17.4% of the population are able to speak both official languages.²²⁾ The 1988 *Official Language Act*, subsequent to the adoption of the 1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, specified the power and duties of federal institutions relevant to official languages to support linguistic minority communities, and to secure the funding and other resources for research and educational programs such as French/English immersion and other bilingual education programs.

All these efforts account for Canada's leading position in the domains of second language education and bilingual education in the world.

The commitment to official bilingualism and the enforcement of personal bilingualism in the official languages have exerted profound impact on the general type of bilingualism/multilingualism among the Canadian population.²³⁾ Research and educational practice conducted and implemented in bilingual education in the two official languages have also been applied to educational situations and language learning experiences in any bilingual context or even in multilingual settings. They provide inspiration, experiences and resources for ethnic language classes and foreign language programs at various levels of institutions including universities, high schools and ethnic language schools (Baker; Cummins).

Enthusiasm about ethnic language learning and cultural awareness has also been sustained by the promotion of multiculturalism in Canadian social life, which provides the moral support and legal protection for learning and using languages other than the two official languages. Celebration of multiculturalism encourages the efforts to retain ethnic or immigrant languages, thus giving rise to the increasing trend of bilingualism/multilingualism.

Bilingualism amidst multiculturalism

The uniqueness of Canadian multiculturalism lies in the constitutional affirmation of ethnic equality and cultural diversity, as well as in the image of Canadian identity as being diverse, different and changing (Zhou 2012). *The Canadian Bill of Rights* (1960), Canada's initial constitutional effort to uphold human rights in accordance with the Canadian context, was followed by the famous *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the first part of the *1982 Canadian Constitution*.²⁴⁾ The same period of time also witnessed the announcement in the House of Commons of Canada in 1971 by the liberal party government of Pierre Trudeau to implement multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.²⁵⁾ The shift from biculturalism to multiculturalism was finally entrenched in the 1988 *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, the legal foundation for promoting and fostering a multiplicity of languages and cultures in a bilingual Canada.

Multiculturalism is a celebration of racial,

religious and cultural equality, affirming the policies of the government to ensure that every Canadian receives equal treatment by the government which respects diversity (Black-Branch). It advocates that retention of languages other than the two official languages be encouraged, social equality regardless of race, origin and creed be upheld, and minority rights to enjoy their own cultures be rendered.²⁶⁾ In addition, multiculturalism is defined as "a fundamental characteristic of Canadian heritage and identity", as well as "an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future."²⁷⁾

Multiculturalism proclaims that it is the responsibility of the government to support the efforts by ethnic groups to retain ethnic languages and to promote cultural awareness. Accordingly, language learning programs are designed and implemented, and cultural appreciation activities are planned and enhanced. The two most important national holidays for all Canadians intended for multiculturalism celebration are Canada Day on July 1 and the Canadian Multiculturalism Day on June 27.²⁸⁾

According to the 2011 census, besides English and French, more than 200 ethnic languages were reported, among which 13 different ethnic origins have surpassed one million.²⁹⁾ Ethnic groups are encouraged and inclined to use their ethnic languages at home and to speak on a regular basis, in combination with the official languages. The data from the category of "Languages spoken most often at home" is indicative of a rising tendency in the population using non-official languages or a combination of one's ethnic language and one of the two official languages, which seems reflective of the linguistic reality of Canadian society.³⁰⁾

A rapid increase of the Asian immigrant population can be observed especially in and around British Columbia, the Pacific coast province, suggesting a favored and rising use of Asia Pacific languages in the region. The economic growth and social transformation in the Asia Pacific region in the past thirty years have triggered and pushed the boom of learning Asian languages such as Chinese and Japanese to a historical height. Educational programs on learning Asian languages are not only well-received at the university level but also incorporated into the public school curriculum, breeding a

potentially high rate of bilingualism/multilingualism, which in return benefits the economic growth and social/cultural life in the coast regions.³¹⁾

Features of bilingualism/multilingualism

The general linguistic phenomenon of bilingualism/multilingualism in Canada has evolved along with immigration, benefitted from the official bilingualism, and above all found its nutrition from multiculturalism established in the Canadian Constitution. It differs from the official bilingualism and the personal bilingualism in the official languages in respect of its nature and specific features. Some of its distinguishing features include (1) presenting a variety of linguistic forms, (2) being non-official but social/national, and (3) driven by economic needs and global challenges.

Linguistic variation

An incontrovertible direct correlation can be seen between Canada's linguistic diversity and the ethnic composition of Canada's national population. Observation made over the ratio of population between English and French speaking people and the others in Canadian history reveals that the percentage of non-English/French ethnic communities in the whole population increased from 8.4% in 1871 up to 64.2% in 2001.³²⁾ The 2011 Census, however, showed a more evident picture with more than 200 ethnic languages reported, including English, French, and aboriginal languages, to be used often at home and on a regular basis. *Immigrant languages*³³⁾ originate from all continents and from 23 major language families. More than 40% of the immigrant language population have a European origin, while persons with one of the Asian languages as their mother tongue comprised 56% of the immigrant language population of the country. In terms of language families, the three families with a speaking population of more than one million are Romance, Indo-Iranian and Chinese.³⁴⁾

Since the immigrant population and the population reporting using at least two languages occupied 20.6% and 17.5% of the Canadian population respectively, it seems reasonable to estimate that a great number of people are capable of speaking one of the official languages and another ethnic language.

Using multiple languages in addition to English and French is becoming a common spectacle in social life. It is equally significant that although English/French becomes a strong and main home language, many people with an immigrant language as their mother tongue also speak it at home or on a regular basis. The retention rate is particularly high with Punjabi, Tamil and Mandarin, which exceed 80% of their total population.³⁵⁾ As Canada is persistent and consistent in its immigration policy and its devotion to social equality, the prospect for bilingualism/multilingualism is expected to be more encouraging.

Non-official but social/national

Although the general type of bilingualism/multilingualism being observed is not constitutionally entrenched, it has been incontestably enabled and empowered by the constitutional efforts to weave the social fabric throughout Canadian history. Unlike official bilingualism, which is explicitly constitutionally defined and defended, general personal bilingualism/multilingualism, like any other linguistic phenomenon, appears unstable and changing, since it is constantly affected by divergent social factors.

The merits of bilingualism/multilingualism, however, can be appreciated at a social and national level, because it is reflective of social reality and transformation. It involves and necessitates the efforts to retain the use of ethnic languages by all ethnic groups with the collective goal to ensure, enrich and empower Canadian society; moreover, it represents a nationwide phenomenon, supported and sustained in part by the spirits of multiculturalism, the core of Canadian unity and identity.

The national portrait of language use, based on the recent censuses and other relevant data, attests an incontrovertible truth of Canadian society. As the ethnic composition of population diversifies, the personal bilingual rate in official languages among the Canadian population has come to a standstill or even is beginning to show a decrease, whereas the bilingual/multilingual competence in English or French and non-official languages among the Canadian population continues to be on the rise.

Bilingualism/multilingualism amidst globalization

It is due to the waves of international migration that Canada expanded over the centuries.³⁶⁾ This is especially true since the latter half of the 20th century, during which the world economy and international society have been undergoing dramatic changes due to globalization, which is unifying the world and our mode of life. The Asia-Pacific, in particular, has developed into an increasingly vigorous region of political, economic and cultural importance (Zhou 2008a, 2008b, 2009).

Global migration has been simultaneously affecting the linguistic landscape and the bilingual/multilingual phenomenon in Canada. Between 2006 and 2011, the four top language groups that saw the highest growth in Canadian population are Tagalog, a Philippine based language (+64%), Mandarin (+51%), Arabic (+47%) and Hindi (+44%). In terms of the mother tongue speaking population of immigrant languages, Romance accounted for 17.5%, Indo-Iranian 17.3% and Chinese 16.3% of the whole immigrant language population, which is 6.8 million. One estimation suggests that Chinese, including Mandarin, Cantonese and other dialects, might have already surpassed Punjabi and become the top immigrant language due to the massive immigration from Hong Kong and Taiwan since the mid 1990s and the subsequent waves of immigration from Mainland China accompanying the significant economic growth and social transformation in the region during the past twenty-five years.³⁷⁾

The current emerging linguistic representations of Canadian society especially interrelate with the economic growth and social transformation in the Asia Pacific region. The rising rate of bilingual population in one of the official languages and one Asian language corresponds to global circumstances and challenges, and thus continues to facilitate tremendously Canadian society in general and the economy in particular.

Bilingualism and national confidence

Bilingualism/multilingualism as a linguistic representation of ethnic and cultural diversity of Canadian society holds special significance for the present and future of Canada. It is evolving to be one of Canada's national characteristics, and should be

regarded as an important parameter of Canada's national confidence both in the eyes of its citizens and of the world.

First, the linguistic bond of a diverse social fabric reflected in and represented by bilingualism/multilingualism has been playing a valuable role in strengthening Canadian unity. It serves for not only the enrichment of linguistic and cultural tradition of Canada but also the consolidation of a sense of belonging to the nation. The high percentage of people reporting being proud of Canada is the best testament to the success of Canada's linguistic and multicultural policy and practice. In a 2003 poll, 75% of the French-speaking population indicated that bilingualism in the two official languages made them proud to be Canadian, and among the English-speakers, 55% responded that bilingualism and 94% indicated that multiculturalism and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms were important to their identity as Canadians (Parkin). These figures indicate clearly that, in spite of the dissimilarities in responses, most Canadians are in favor of multiculturalism in Canadian society.

Second, bilingualism/multilingualism, bred and nurtured by multiculturalism as it has always been, has proved itself to be crucial in implementing Canada's "middle power" diplomacy (Cooper, Higgott & Nossal; Dewitt & Kirton). The uniqueness of this Canadian role as a conciliator in international controversies and conflicts is best exemplified by Canada's participation and contribution in peace-keeping missions and other humanitarian activities worldwide. Linguistic competence and cultural/ethnic connection to various countries and regions allow Canada to carry out global duties effectively and efficiently. Such a role of Canada is of critical importance in an age where cultural conflicts and clashes of civilizations are posing threats and challenges for the international society. The upheld moral spirit present in multiculturalism and practical instruments such as language ability and cultural sensitivity become the cutting-edge of Canada, which distinguishes it from other powers of the world. It is predictable that Canada is to be more confident and competent in serving as a major contributor to world peace and global economy.³⁸⁾

Third, what is equally evident, if not more

explicit, are the economic and cultural benefits associated with bilingualism/multilingualism as a major feature of Canadian society. A convincing case is with India and China, where the world has been witnessing the most remarkable and fastest economic growth. Since Punjabi and Chinese are the two immigrant languages which have the largest speaking population in Canada, the bilingual rate in English/French and in these two languages can be presumed to be the highest among the Canadian population. This phenomenon especially bears a sense of realness in the regions attracting most immigrants such as British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario.³⁹⁾ In fact, Canada's trade activities have been extremely active and vigorous with these Asian countries and regions, which is benefiting tremendously Canada's national economy and social life.⁴⁰⁾

Conclusion

Bilingualism/multilingualism in Canada in a broad sense refers to the official bilingualism, which is a response to political demands and a reflection of social struggle, the personal bilingualism in the official languages, which refers to the bilingual competence in English and French as the offspring of constitutional efforts for national unity, and general bilingualism/multilingualism, a linguistic/social phenomenon reflecting the act of using at least two languages in public and personal life.

Bilingualism/multilingualism conceived in a general sense as a linguistic phenomenon is common and prevalent. It has become more a social phenomenon governed by the needs of globalization and cultural openness. Contextualized in Canadian political, social and economic circumstances, bilingualism/multilingualism has been moving to the centre of the Canadian linguistic landscape and social structure.

Enabled and empowered by essential historical/social forces such as immigration, official bilingualism and multiculturalism, bilingualism/multilingualism among the Canadian population has emerged to become a distinct and vigorous feature of Canadian heritage and identity as a multicultural unity. Accelerated by multiculturalism, linguistic competence in multiple languages begins to present

and prove itself as equally a striking force in enhancing Canadian confidence both domestically and globally, since it accords with Canada's national interests and contributes to the overall glamour of Canada both in the eyes of its national fellows and the global village members. In spite of the fact that immigration policy and multiculturalism remain to be the object of both applause and reproach, the increasingly forceful trend of bilingualism/multilingualism should be judged as an extraordinary social resource of Canada in addition to its natural resources. Above all, it is a critical part of the vitality of Canada, helping make possible a social fabric that is dynamic and generative.

Notes

- 1) For a sociolinguistic appreciation of language, see Chambers, J.K., *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and Its Social Significance*, 3rd ed, Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.
- 2) *A Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, Feb. 25, 1965.
- 3) *The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982*. It forms the first part of the Constitution Act, 1982, the current Canadian Constitution.
- 4) See Subsection 16(1) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. (Section Sixteen of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*)
- 5) See "Official Languages Act - 1985, c. 31 (4th Supp.)", *Act current to June 25, 2013*, Department of Justice. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 6) *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, Book I (General Introduction), Ottawa: Queen's Printer, p. xxviii, at paragraph 29.
- 7) The term *bilingualism* is often used together with *multilingualism* to indicate the linguistic ability in at least two languages of a person or a community. While opinions vary greatly with respect to the level of competence in order to be a "bilingual", this paper approaches this topic presuming a bilingual person has achieved at least near-native fluency and is using the languages often at home or on a regular basis.
- 8) For some defining cases, see *Mahe v. Alberta* (1990), *Arsenault-Cameron v. Prince Edward Island* (2000) and *Doucet-Boudreau v. Nova Scotia* (Ministry of Education) (2003).

- 9) *2011 National Census of Canada*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 10) Canada has been internationally known as, in the words of its 12th Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent (1882-1971), “a power of the middle rank”. Prime Minister Laurent’s political and diplomatic vision helped to lay out the classical definition of Canadian middle power diplomacy.
- 11) Until 1982, Canada was governed by a constitution that was a British law and could be changed only by an act of the British parliament (only with the consent of the Canadian government). See *The British North America Act, 1867*, 30-31 Vict. C3; renamed as the *Constitution Act 1867* by an Act to give effect to a request by the Senate and House of Commons of Canada (The Canada Act 1982), 1982, c.11; *The Canada Act, 1982*, including the *Constitution Act 1982*, c.11 (U.K.).
- 12) *2011 Census release topics*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 13) “Population and Dwelling Count highlights”, *2011 Census*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 14) The *Employment Equity Act* of Canada defines visible minorities as “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color.” See *National Household Survey, 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2-13-08-28)
- 15) “Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada”, *National Household Survey-Topics 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 16) “Table 1 Population by mother tongue and age groups,” *Census Release Topics, 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 17) “Table 2 Population by knowledge of official languages” *Census Release Topics, 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 18) “Table 3 Population by language spoken most often and regularly at home”, *Census Release Topics, 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 19) “Linguistic Characteristics of Canadians”, *An Analytical Perspective on 2011 Census Topics*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 20) The Canada-Quebec relation is a major issue of political and national concern in modern Canada. Three major historical events are *La nouvelle entente Quebec-Canada proposition de gouvernement de Quebec pour une entente de’egal a egal: la souverainete-association 1979, Le Referendum 1980, and Projet de loi sur l’avenir de Quebec 1995*.
- 21) See *Charter de la langue francaise*, 31 decembre, 1977.
- 22) “Table 2 Population by knowledge of official languages”, *Census Release Topics, 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 23) “Linguistic Characteristics of Canadians”, *An Analytical Perspective on 2011 Census Topics*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 24) The three historical documents regarding the protection of human rights are *An Act for the Recognition and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (The Canadian Bill of Rights), 1960*, 8-9 Eliz. II, c. 44, *the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and *The Canada Act, 1982*, including the *Constitution Act 1982*, c.11 (U.K.).
- 25) “The Announcement of Implementation of Policy of Multiculturalism within Bilingual framework” (October 8, 1971)
- 26) *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, section 3 (1). (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 27) *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, section 3 (b). (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 28) “Proclamation Declaring June 27 of each year as Canadian Multiculturalism Day”, Deputy Registrar General of Canada (Canadian Heritage), 2010. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 29) “Immigrant languages in Canada”, *An Analytical Perspective on 2011 Census Topics*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 30) *Language Highlights Tables, 2011 Census*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 31) For more information, see HP of the University of British Columbia, HP of the Province of British Columbia and HP of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.
- 32) *2011 Census*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 33) The term “immigrant languages” refers to languages (other than English, French and Aboriginal languages) whose presence in Canada is originally due to immigration. See “Immigrant languages in Canada”, *Census release topics 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 34) “Immigrant languages in Canada”, *An Analytical*

- Perspective on 2011 Topics*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 013-08-28)
- 35) Ibid.
- 36) Ibid.
- 37) *Immigrant languages in Canada*, Census release topics and dates 2011, Statistics Canada. Retrieved 013-08-28.
- 38) For example, Aga Khan, the 49th Imam of the Ismaili Muslims, depicted Canada as “the most successful pluralist society on the face of our globe,” and praised the Canadian multiculturalism not only as “something unique to Canada” but also as “an amazing global asset” (see John Stackhouse and Patrick Martin, “Canada: A model for the world”, *Globe and Mail* 2 Feb. 2002, p. F3). He even founded Global Centre for Pluralism in 2006, the aim of which is to apply the Canadian experience and promote pluralist values and practices in culturally diverse societies worldwide (See Courtney Bender and Pamela E. Klassen, eds, *After Pluralism: Reimagining Religious Engagement*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- 39) “Language Highlights Tables” & “Immigrant languages in Canada,” *Census released topics and dates 2011*, Statistics Canada. (Retrieved 2013-08-28)
- 40) For detailed information, see HP of Canadian Trade and HP of Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.
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