Multilingualism in Toronto
LUCIDE city report

By Catherine Ellyson, Caroline Andrew, Hilaire Lemoine, Richard Clément
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Abstract

This report explores the social and institutional realities of multilingualism in the city of Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Assessing the manifestation of multilingualism historically and in terms of five key spheres (educational, public, economic, private and urban spaces), the report aims to describe the general state of multilingualism in Toronto and identify sensitive issues and potential best practices.
1. Introduction

Toronto is the capital of Ontario and the most populous city in Canada. The population of Toronto is 2,791,140 (7.8% of Canada's total population), while that of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is 6,054,191 (18.1% of Canada's total population). Between 2006 and 2011, the population of Toronto grew by 4.5%, while that of the GTA grew by 9.0%. Toronto’s economy has diversified into service-based industries (the media, software, advertising, entertainment, fashion, pharmaceutical and retail) and now accounts for 11% of Canada’s GDP (9). Toronto is also the centre of Canada’s financial industry and the location of most Canadian head offices.

This report paints a picture of multilingualism in Toronto by examining social manifestations of multilingualism and institutional responses to it. The materials used to create this picture include academic articles and books, reports, websites, and interview questionnaires completed by a few key actors.¹ The report starts with a brief history of multilingualism in Toronto. It goes on to describe the current language situation in the city. The report then examines multilingualism in Toronto in terms of the five key spheres identified by the LUCIDE network, namely the educational sphere,² the public sphere,³ the economic sphere,⁴ the private sphere⁵ and urban spaces⁶. Key issues associated with multiculturalism in Toronto are identified and discussed in the conclusion.

¹ Five key actors with various backgrounds (for example, university professor, public servant or member of civil society) completed interview questionnaires. A summary table can be found in Appendix 1.
² The educational sphere includes the public school system, vocational education, non-governmental organizations involved in formal or informal education, independent or private schools, further education, and cultural organizations, societies and associations.
³ The public sphere includes local governments, municipalities and councils; public services (health, transportation and tourism); the media; and publicly funded civic events and festivals.
⁴ The economic sphere includes large local, national and multinational corporations; the industrial and manufacturing sectors; small- and medium-sized enterprises; service providers; and financial institutions.
⁵ The private sphere includes activities related to family, friends and social networks; local or city-wide activities (such as festivals) not initiated by the public sphere, but organized by local community groups; services provided by local communities; local support networks; and religious activities, organizations and associations.
⁶ Urban spaces include all publicly visible and audible aspects of a city (for example, signage, advertising, graffiti and public art).
2. A short history of language history in Toronto

With its motto, “Diversity Our Strength,” Toronto turns its multicultural nature into a selling point and source of pride. Indeed, with nearly 50% of its residents being foreign-born and 47% having a mother tongue other than English, Toronto is one of the most—if not the most—diverse major city in the Western world (2), (5). Year after year, the majority of immigrants to Canada choose to settle in Toronto. Toronto is the capital city and economic centre of Ontario. Ontario is a province whose only official language is English; however, there are significant numbers of Franco-Ontarians (4% of the population), living mostly in eastern Ontario, Ottawa and Toronto. Statistics produced by Statistics Canada and its predecessor, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, shows that, in 1941, 88% of the population in Greater Toronto reported English as their first language, while only 1% reported French as their first language. Like Montréal, Toronto had a large number of native speakers of Yiddish, the second largest language group. By 1961 the number of people reporting Yiddish as their mother tongue had dropped substantially, while the number of people reporting Italian, Ukrainian, Polish or German as their mother tongue had grown dramatically. By 1986, Italian and Chinese were the second and third most common mother tongues, while French native speakers represented less than 1% of the whole population. Table 1 in Appendix 1 gives details on the evolution of the language composition of Toronto.

Although this study focuses on the municipal level of intervention in multilingualism and linguistic issues, the fact that municipal governments in Canada are “creatures of the provinces” requires us to situate the issue in the broader context of federal and provincial institutions. From its very beginning, Canada has been de facto bilingual, if not multilingual. Many different languages have been involved in Canada’s creation, development and struggles: the languages spoken (or once spoken) by Aboriginal peoples who occupied Canada’s territory before the Europeans came, French and English spoken by the original European settlers, and the languages spoken by immigrants who came to Canada in countless waves. During Canada’s infancy, when it was still British North America, many attempts were made to assimilate Aboriginal and French people into the dominant English group. However, the Constitutional Act, 1867, contained provisions to protect French within and outside Quebec, and English within Quebec (31). Policies promoting the assimilation of Aboriginal people—and the loss of their languages—went on much longer, but the existence of Aboriginal people as a group was recognized and associated with certain rights in the Constitutional Act, 1982 (32). The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism led to the adoption of the Official Languages Act (43), under which French and English have equal status in federal courts, Parliament and all federal institutions.

As for provincial politics, the main piece of language legislation in Ontario is the French Language Services Act. Numerous pieces of non-language legislation also contain language provisions (25). For example, the Election Act states, “Where neither the deputy returning officer nor the poll clerk understands the language spoken by an elector . . . the elector has the right to the assistance of an interpreter . . .” (25). The Ontario Municipal Board Act allows municipal councils to adopt their by-laws and resolutions in English only or in English and French. Councils and their special committees can deliberate in French, English or both. The transcription must, however, be available in English. Many other laws grant Francophone citizens the right to receive services in French (for example, the Ontario College of Teachers Act and the Child and Family Services Act) and give institutions the option of operating partly in French (for example, the Public Library Act). In short, most Ontario statutes and regulations that directly or indirectly affect the linguistic landscape deal with French and not other languages.
3. Contemporary perspectives

Today, the high rate of immigration to Canada each year continues to transform the linguistic landscape of the country and its cities. Canada has one of the highest per capita immigration rates in the world, driven by economic growth and family reunification. Close to 250,000 immigrants arrive each year, settling mostly in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, but increasingly in Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg. As of 2007, nearly one in five Canadians (19.8%) was foreign-born. Nearly 60% of new immigrants come from Asia, mostly from China, the Philippines and India. The 2011 census indicates that English and French are the first language of 57.8% and 21.7% of the population, respectively. As well, 6.4 million persons spoke an immigrant language on a regular basis at home and 213,000 persons spoke an Aboriginal language.

Statistics Canada’s numbers make it possible to create an interesting linguistic profile of the main metropolitan areas in Canada, including Toronto. These profiles are included in tables 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix 3 and summarized below. Although Toronto remains by far the top destination for immigrants, its popularity has declined significantly in the last 10 years. Toronto is followed by Montréal and Vancouver as the second and third most popular destinations. During the same period, the Ottawa-Gatineau region went from being the fourth most popular destination to the seventh.

According to the 2011 census, the total population of the Toronto census metropolitan area (CMA) was 5,541,885. Of this population, 55.4% reported that their mother tongue was English, 1.3%, French and 43.3%, other. Cantonese, Italian and Chinese were the three most common mother tongues after English. French was not among the 12 most common mother tongues. There were 424,265 persons who were bilingual in the two official languages (English and French). These official bilinguals were composed of 7.8% of the English mother tongue population, 86.9% of the French mother tongue population and 5.0% of the other mother tongue population. In Toronto, 0.1% of the population is fluent in both official languages and another language. The most common languages spoken in addition to English and French were Italian and Cantonese. When we compare the number of people with a given mother tongue to the number of people who speak that language, the three languages that gain the most speakers in Toronto are (in order of magnitude of speakers gained) English, French and Hindi. In 2006, 0.5% of Toronto residents reported being of Aboriginal descent.

Whereas Franco-Ontarians historically had been defined as Ontarians who had French as their mother tongue, the inclusive definition of Francophones (IDF) now extends to “those whose mother tongue is neither French nor English, but who have a particular knowledge of French as an Official Language and use French at home, including many recent immigrants to Ontario.” (Office of Francophone Affairs, 2009, par. 2) (22, 2012).

It is in the context above that multilingualism in Toronto can be assessed.

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7 Tables 1 and 2 outline the linguistic landscape of four major Canadian cities, by mother tongue and languages spoken. Table 3 outlines the main immigrant destinations in Canada and points out potential new trends.
4. The LUCIDE Network

4.1. Multilingualism in education

“Multilingualism in education” refers to both elementary and secondary education, and to adult language training. In general terms, elementary and secondary programs are funded by the provincial government and delivered by school boards. Settlement programs and adult language education are funded by both the provincial government (English as a second language (ESL) programs) and the federal government (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) programs) and delivered through community agencies, school boards and colleges (7, 2005). In terms of elementary and secondary programs in Ontario, “language education” refers to ESL programs for immigrants and French immersion programs or languages classes for all students. The school system in Toronto is administered mainly through four public school boards: the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) (48), the Toronto Catholic District School Board (TCDSB) (74), the Conseil scolaire de district catholique Centre-Sud (CSDCCS) (46) and the Conseil scolaire de district du Centre-Sud-Ouest (CSDCSO) (47). By 2004, approximately 60,000 students in the TDSB and TCDSB were enrolled in ESL programs (5, 2011, 1312). One in three students in Toronto schools is born outside of Canada. According to the TDSB website, it is currently the most ethnically diverse school board in Canada, with children from 170 countries speaking more than 80 languages.

The Toronto Catholic School Board’s website does not provide much multilingual information (74). The Toronto District School Board, while being unilingual as well, provides students’ parents with more multilingual information (76). For example, the TDSB Newcomer Reception Centres Brochure is available in 15 languages, but neither in French nor in Italian or Portuguese. Somali and Hungarian versions, however, are available, even though these languages are not among the 12 most common mother tongues.

One of our respondents mentioned that the TDSB hired multilingual officers, but they were not professional interpreters and their linguistic skills were not properly tested.

According to the Community Social Planning Council of Toronto (4), the main ESL challenges facing Toronto public schools include the following: (1) over 70 languages and dialects spoken by students from over 100 different countries are represented in Toronto public schools; (2) school-based translations in more than 20 different languages are required for home and school communications; (3) a large number of students come from countries with varying educational standards and many students have major gaps in their education; (4) many students have low levels of literacy in their

Figure 1: TDSB Newcomer Reception Centres Brochure in Korean
Source: (77).
own language; (5) many students and their families lack familiarity with Canadian institutions and customs; (6) the high mobility rate of new arrivals creates educational continuity problems, since students often change schools during the school year; (7) a higher percentage of immigrant and refugee children are living in poverty, which affects student learning; and (8) immigrant and refugee students are at a higher risk of dropping out, which results in higher levels of unemployment or income maintenance support (4).

The only existing ESL program to help special-needs children is the Literacy Enrichment Academic Program (LEAP) (4). The Canadian Council on Learning stresses the importance of not considering ESL and FSL (French as second language) as a whole, undivided group. Indeed, “many subgroups exhibit a very high occurrence of risk factors, and in many instances, an important deficit in terms of graduation, performance in different subjects, as well as participation in selective courses that are needed to pursue a higher education” ((7), 2009). Once the risk factors related to each of the subgroups are understood, targeted actions can be undertaken to help each student perform better at school.

Education experts stress the importance of allophone students maintaining fluency in their first language. For students, receiving some schooling in their mother tongue can facilitate the transition to full education in the majority language. Offering language classes can also broaden majority-language children’s linguistic horizons. As Basu mentions, by 2005, nearly 40% of the schools in Toronto were offering 57 different heritage and international language classes to their students” (5), 1315).

For example, attempts to provide additional schooling in children’s first language are being made by the Greek Community, in collaboration with the Toronto District School Board. They offer Greek and non-Greek speakers alike a Greek Language and Culture School Program in schools around Toronto. The issue of the benefits of providing language training in the children’s mother tongue is framed somewhat differently for Aboriginal children than for immigrants. According to the Aboriginal Peoples Survey, “Parents of 60% of Aboriginal children in non-reserve areas believed it was very important or somewhat important for their children to speak and understand an Aboriginal language” ((34), 2007:24). The Canadian Council on Learning stresses that “in Canada, Aboriginal children and youth’s educational outcomes are significantly worse than the outcomes for non-Aboriginal students” (7), 2008. For Guevremont and Cohen, teaching Aboriginal languages and culture could improve the outcomes of Aboriginal students (17), 2012). Patrick and Tomiak similarly assess the need for developing vehicles for language regeneration (24), 2008).

Among the responses to this need is the Aboriginal education program offered by the Toronto District Board ((11), 2010) following the conclusion of the 2010 “Decolonizing Our Schools” report. A few schools of the TDSB provide Aboriginal language education.

One interesting way in which multilingualism is integrated in Toronto schools is by enrolling allophones in French immersion programs. Ten schools of the TDSB offer French immersion from kindergarten to secondary school (78). The number of students enrolled in these French programs has increased from 15,000 in 2000 to 21,000 in 2011, and application numbers are growing (25).

“Adult language training” includes the adult ESL settlement program, funded by the government of Ontario, the Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada program (LINC), funded by the federal government, and various language courses provided mostly by private businesses. Although only 9.3% of immigrants to Canada in 2006 reported the ability to speak neither French nor English, the remaining immigrants did not necessarily have enough language skills to succeed in the workplace ((33), 2009). Indeed, the International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey (IALSS) found that the English or French language proficiency of Canadian immigrants was either poor or weak in 60% of the cases. It also found that “employment rates for individuals with poor or weak literacy range from 57% to 70% as compared to 76% for the desired level of literacy” ((33), 2009, 11). This means that language and literacy training beyond conversional skills is needed. This was confirmed by a team of researchers in a report on homelessness among immigrants to Toronto. According to their informants, “The classes themselves were not always enough to bring immigrants to an appropriate level of employability, and, without English, it was very hard for them to find such supports” (21), 2006, 69.). Their conclusion was that a lack of adequate English language skills rather than a lack of education too often led immigrants to homelessness.

Variations in linguistic skills among categories of immigrants also need to be considered. Indeed, while most newcomers
to Toronto who were accepted as economic immigrants spoke good English, “their dependents as well as family class immigrants and refugees were less likely to speak English when they first arrive” ((34), 2011). Research further reveals that not only are immigrant women more likely to have few English skills upon their arrival in Toronto, but they also cannot speak properly after years of living there ((18), 2009). Many recommendations have been made for language programs to better reach immigrant women: linking language training more closely to employment; disseminating language training information in multiple languages in mass media, community centres, grocery stores, and other places; providing daycare; training closer to home; providing same-sex classes (requested by Urdu and Punjabi speakers) ((18), 2009). Immigrants often identify the LINC program, funded by the federal government, as the most useful English-language training program. It indeed succeeds in integrating information on housing and employment and allows for the building of social capital among newcomers ((21), 2006). Hetty Roessingh, a University of Calgary professor, states that “Canada has successfully structured its immigration system to draw the best and brightest from other countries, yet it seems willing to squander both their talent and that of their children.” This has led experts and researchers to ask for a thorough redesign of adult ESL programs in Ontario ((4), 2005). Here again, the recommendations go towards programs that would be more adapted to targeted subgroups and higher-level training. One of our respondents also mentioned that the immigrant’s class could be an important predictive factor in terms of people’s proficiency in English. For example, Indian immigrants coming as economic immigrants are more likely to have excellent skills in English than Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka.

Some experts also report a lack of adapted language training for allophone seniors ((19), 2011).

The Toronto Public Library (TPL) offers free ESL classes that target specific audiences (for example, Chinese-speaking seniors) and address issues of interest to newcomers (for example, starting a small business, winter driving and citizenship exams). The Newcomers’ Women Services Toronto also offers, among its services, ESL classes for different levels of knowledge of English, some specifically targeting seniors and some being taught on evenings and weekends (79).

For Torontonians who wish to learn English or other languages, many private language schools do exist. Among them are the Hansa Language Centre (52), the Toronto Mandarin School (55) and the Spanish Centre (69).

Other places in which multilingualism is very audible in Toronto are the city’s three main universities: Toronto University, York University and Ryerson University. While all three universities are English-speaking and their websites English-only, York University’s Glendon College offers programs that are taught entirely in French (51).

As discussed briefly in this section, the issue of language training in Toronto is complex, in terms of target audience (school-aged ESL and Anglophone students, adult ESL and Anglophone students, and level of proficiency, education and socioeconomic status), service providers (school boards, universities, community colleges, community centres, public libraries and private language schools) and funding (municipal, provincial, federal and private). As a central aspect of immigrant integration and as an important asset for success on the job market, the importance of language education cannot be overestimated while assessing multilingualism. As well, researchers and field practitioners stress the importance of adapting English training programs to target the needs of specific communities and segments of society. They also recommend subsidizing higher-level classes.

4.2. Multilingualism in the public sphere

The public sphere, as defined by the LUCIDE network, includes local governments, municipalities and councils; public services (health, transportation and tourism); the media; and publicly funded civic events and festivals.

First, as mentioned above, the jurisdiction of municipalities in Canada is narrow and most social issues affecting cities are, at least officially, dealt with at the provincial level. Ontario is a partial exception, since municipalities are responsible for certain health and social services, such as daycare. Although Toronto is officially a unilingual Anglophone city, the social and demographic reality is that Toronto is a very multilingual city and, in many cases, services are provided in languages other than English.
The City of Toronto website includes a link to Google Translate, which allows visitors to read most material in low- to medium-quality translation. Furthermore, the 3-1-1 hotline offers information in more than 180 languages using interpreters provided through Language Line Services. The City of Toronto adopted a multilingual services policy in 2002, which states the following:

The ethnic diversity of our community is a source of social, cultural and economic enrichment and strength . . . [and that] all residents shall be entitled to municipal services and programs which are racially sensitive, culturally and linguistically appropriate, gender appropriate, accommodate disability, and are adequately resourced to ensure equitable access and outcomes ((42), 2002).

When an issue significantly affects a specific language community, it becomes important to ensure effective communication, potentially through foreign-language documents and messages. Information on life-threatening matters is given priority in offering multilingual services. Finally, because French is one of Canada’s official languages and Francophones have played a special role in the development of Toronto, the policy states the following:

That when materials relating to issues of general public interest are sent to Toronto residents and ratepayers, and are to be produced in any language in addition to English, such materials be automatically produced in both official languages, French and English, as well as in any other language(s) specified ((42), 2002).

Another important way in which the City of Toronto provides multilingual information and services is, as one respondent mentioned, through its very diverse and multilingual front-line employees.

In the case of life-threatening situations, the City considers providing multilingual material. For example, information on heat waves is made available by the City of Toronto in multiple languages:
Funded mostly by the City, the TPL offers services in multiple languages. Like the City, the TPL has adopted multicultural services goals. In addition to the ESL classes described above, the TPL has audio-video material for practising English at home and a language lab where multimedia ESL kits can be used. A Newcomers Hub is also in operation to help immigrant students in grades 7 to 10 with their homework and socialization. A link to Google Translate is also present on the TPL website and a search engine to help users locate material in more than 20 languages across the city (80).

The importance of a widely multilingual electorate is increasingly acknowledged by Torontonian politicians, as the picture to the right suggests:

Considerable efforts are made in Toronto to increase newcomers’ access to health services. There are 35 hospitals in Toronto. While the website of the University Health Network, including Toronto General and three other hospitals, is in English only, a considerable amount of information and a link to the network’s translation services are available in five languages (French, Italian, Portuguese, Vietnamese and Chinese, but not Punjabi or Hindi) (85).

It is well known that barriers to health literacy, such as lack of meaningful information about health issues or how to access preventive services, “may contribute to the deterioration in health status of immigrants over time” ((29), 4, 2006):

Language barriers can inhibit a clinician’s ability to elicit patient symptoms, often resulting in diagnostic errors; patients with a language barrier stayed in hospital 6% longer overall compared to patients without a language barrier . . .

Several studies found that language barriers were associated with more emergency department visits (Carter-Pokras, 2004) and a lower likelihood of being given a follow-up appointment ((1), 2009).

Beyond better language training, best practices in health literacy include: “clear writing; oral communication (between patients and health care professionals, training for health professionals targeting low-literate groups); and visual tools (such as video and other non-written means of communication)” (29), 10, 2009). Providing access to interpreters and health professionals who speak a range of languages and fostering cultural sensitivity are other ways to eliminate barriers to health services.
Kilbride et al. note a lack of first-language health-providers for allophone seniors ((19), 2011). A study by Erika Khandor and Andrew Koch contains findings that are useful for our profile (34):

- newcomers often prefer to see health service providers who speak the same language or are from the same culture;
- among providers in Toronto there is a lack of clinical training and education in cultural competence, diversity, and equity, and among health care organizations there is a lack of commitment to diversity and equity even where policies do exist;
- most organizations in the Toronto Central Local Health Integration Network (LHIN) do not collect client language information, and most do not collect data related to the need for and use of language services.

The preference for physicians who speak one's language and share one's culture is also confirmed in a study produced by Wang, Rosenberg and Lo ((35), 2008).

Some measures are already in place in Toronto to respond to multilingual demands and needs. Language Services Toronto, a program led by the Toronto LHIN provides real-time phone interpretation 24 hours a day, seven days a week, in 170 languages, including Aboriginal languages. Patients and medical professionals use this line to ensure better services and effective understanding. The 2012 news release announcing this service is available in English, French, Chinese, Punjabi and Portuguese (83).

The Toronto Transit Commission (TTC) provides multilingual phone services with transit information in over 80 languages. The website is available in English only (84). Researchers have found that the language barrier to accessing transit is higher for allophone seniors ((19), 2011). While 20.7% of Canadian-born Torontonians use public transit to commute to work, the proportion increases to 36.3% when it comes to foreign-born Torontonians (21). One respondent mentioned the TTC multilingual advertisements as an example of tokenism, the TTC choosing random languages for its communications, rather than advertising in the most common mother tongues and to the communities that have the most difficulty navigating the city.

One respondent to our interview questionnaire believed that the Toronto Police Service (TPS) was insensitive about the issue of multilingualism. The TPS website is unilingual, with no link to Google Translate (83). The website's newcomer outreach section claims that there is a wide range of informative multilingual flyers, but none of these are available online. Another respondent referred to the fact the TPS often uses contracted professional translation and interpretation services.

In terms of culture, in 2009 the Toronto Arts Council (TAC) held a series of public consultations and developed a vision document to adapt its mission to the city’s changing demographics and arts practices. These changes were expected to diversify the origins of artists and types of art funded by the TAC. As a result, more ethnic arts and language community festivals have received money from the TAC (73).

One respondent stressed the difficulty in accessing services without interpretation or access to translated material. The dissemination of and access to translated material is another crucial issue. Should multilingual material be available on websites, at facilities, in ethnic media and community groups, and elsewhere? Indeed, the respondent has seen translated material remain on shelves, unused and undistributed.

In conclusion, while the City of Toronto website uses Google Translate to provide multilingual access to general information, public institutions in Toronto seem very sensitive to the issue of multilingualism and the urgent needs of people with limited proficiency in English.

4.3. Multilingualism in economic life

As defined by the LUCIDE network, the economic sphere includes large local, national and multinational corporations; the industrial and manufacturing sectors; service providers; and financial institutions. In the economic sphere, multilingualism can be found in the form of employment support for allophones and newcomers, and in the form of businesses seizing
opportunities related to the high level of multilingualism in Toronto.

Studies on Torontonian workers with limited proficiency in English showed how a lack of language skills increases the likelihood of discrimination, harassment and exclusion in the workforce. Poor English language skills also means bad jobs with low pay (36, 2011). Therefore, better programs are needed to improve the English language skills of immigrant workers. Increased funding was announced in the Ontario Labour Market Agreement: 2010-11 Activity Plan and Estimated Incremental Expenditures, to expand support to new Canadians though bridging work programs and language training (67).

Many manifestations of multilingualism in the economic sphere can be found in Toronto. One respondent emphasized the fact that a multilingual workforce would put Toronto in an excellent position on a global scale. This is one of the reasons that the economic integration of immigrants is so important. Employment and Social Services Toronto provides services for people who do not speak English. General information about Employment and Social Services and Ontario Works is available in Chinese, French, Persian/Farsi, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Somali and Spanish (46). Newcomers' Women Services Toronto also offers information sessions and counselling on training programs and the job market in Canada (64). The Toronto Region Immigrant Employment Council (TRIEC) is “a multi-stakeholder council that brings leadership together to create and champion solutions to better integrate skilled immigrants in the Toronto Region labour market. Working together with employers, immigrant support groups, immigrants and public servants, the TRIEC’s objectives are to build awareness of the value of immigrant talent and connect employers with programs to recruit and retain immigrant employees” (81). Providing in-depth data on immigration in Canada, the Toronto Immigrant Employment Data Initiative (TIEDI) is a university-based research group partnering with immigrant service agencies and advocacy groups, employer associations, regulatory bodies, professional associations, training organizations, labour organizations, and credential assessment agencies. The TIEDI gives these organizations free access to data and analyses on various aspects of immigrant labour market integration, to help organizations identify priorities, develop programs and services, and carry out advocacy and public education (82). One respondent mentioned that Ontario Works, which provides crucial employment services and employability subsidies, is very insensitive to multilingualism. If this is true, immigrant groups that provide employment support and orientation are all the more necessary, to act as intermediaries and increase the economic integration of immigrants (68).

Given the linguistic diversity of Toronto and the importance of the Francophone community, the city is a great place for organizations worldwide to recruit multilingual employees. At least five recruitment agencies specialize in targeting multilingual candidates, namely Bilingual Source, Bilingual Target, Anne Whitten Bilingual Recruitment, Diamond Global, and Nevian Counselling and Placement Services (63), and a multilingual career fair attracting hundreds of organizations worldwide is organized each year. In addition to this, translation and interpretation businesses and groups proliferate in the city. One of these businesses is Multilingual Community Interpreter Services (MCIS), which provides translation and interpretation services to public and private actors in more than 200 languages (60). In addition to its business objectives, it makes the following social commitments to some of the city's most vulnerable populations:

- To improve access to services for non-English speaking victims of domestic violence or sexual assault and homeless persons
- To influence and shape streamlined access to all public sector services for non-English speaking newcomers
- To educate eligible newcomers in community interpreting and thereby enable their integration in Canadian society
- To educate public service providers on the importance of using professional community interpreters when serving their non-English speaking clients
- To advocate for changes to legislation to ensure continued and enhanced access to public sector services for limited and non-English speakers

Another example of businesses built on the multilingual nature of Toronto is Multilingual Kids, which offers awakening and classes of foreign languages in French, Italian, Spanish, Mandarin, Portuguese and Greek to children from infancy to age 7 (61).
Many private businesses target the multilingual public. Rainbow Caterpillar prides itself on being the first multilingual children’s bookstore in Toronto (69). Victoria’s Wellness and Rehabilitation Centre and Dr. Mariana Chow, optometrist, are two other businesses surfing the multilingual wave.

Our respondents mentioned, for Toronto and other Canadian cities, that private businesses were sensitive to multilingualism as soon as they saw commercial benefits. Since the overall integration of immigrants is closely connected to their economic integration, many associations and groups supporting immigrants offer employment services in Toronto.

4.4. Multilingualism in the private sphere

As defined by the LUCIDE network, the private sphere includes activities related to family, friends and social networks; local or city-wide activities (such as festivals) not initiated by the public sphere, but organized by local community groups; services provided by local communities; local support networks; and religious activities, organizations and associations.

Many multilingual festivals and cultural events take place each year in Toronto. The Annual Festival of India (50), the Toronto International BrazilFest (39), the Ashkenaz Festival (38) and the Pilaro Taste of the Danforth (71) all qualify as multicultural events even though their websites are in English only. Events organized by the Chinese community, namely the Toronto Chinatown Summer Market and the Toronto Chinatown Festival, have websites in English and Chinese (76). The Toronto Transit Commission’s Art in Transit festival shares a similar recognition of the importance of diversity in public art (73). The festival showcases young artists with diverse backgrounds and artistic styles at selected subway stations. One of the artists selected in 2010 was Xiaojing Yan. She says that her art is “not only symbolic of Chinese traditions, but it also reveals Western influences” (84).
An impressive number of community groups and community centres exist in Toronto. One example is the Arab Community Centre of Toronto (ACCT), which is a non-profit, non-political, non-religious organization aiming to help Arab newcomers to Canada and provide a friendly place to socialize and gain access to services and opportunities (37). Newcomers’ Women Services Toronto offers multiple services to female newcomers, including a space and events for women to socialize and build community (64). The Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (66) and the Maytree Foundation (57) are two other organizations promoting immigrant integration in Toronto.

The linguistic awakening program offered by Multilingual Kids allows parents to develop in their young children an interest and skills in foreign languages. DiverseCity Toronto focuses on the disconnect between those who live in Toronto and those who have power and influence in Toronto. The group’s mission is to support members of visible minorities seeking to attain leadership positions. According to the group, “14 per cent of leaders in the Greater Toronto Area are visible minorities, relative to 49.5 per cent of the population studied” (49).

Multilingualism has finally become visible in religious communities across the city. The picture to the right illustrates this transformation.

Figure 6: Santa Inês Iglesia

In conclusion, there seems to be a significant number of multilingual resources and activities in Toronto’s private sphere. The reasons for which multicultural groups organizing events and festivals tend to advertise in English only (except for the Chinese community) remains unclear and definitely warrants further investigation.

4.5. Multilingualism in urban spaces

Urban spaces include all publicly visible and audible aspects of a city (for example, signage, advertising, graffiti and public art). In this section, we focus mostly on the general visual aspects of the city, and we include a few pictures. We also discuss the issue of commercial signs and assess its significance in the city.

Philippe Apparicio and Anne-Marie Séguin, from INRS Urbanisation, culture et société, write that immigrants are more concentrated in Toronto than they are in Vancouver and Montréal. On average, Toronto’s immigrants live in areas where 50% of residents are immigrants, compared to averages of 31% and 42.5% for Montreal and Vancouver, respectively (i3), 2008, 6). A 2013 article in the Toronto Star traces the relocation of the main “ethnic” linguistic neighbourhoods from the downtown to the suburbs. Hence, Toronto’s Jewish community started in “The Ward” (from Queen to College streets and from Yonge Street to University Avenue) and is now concentrated in the Bathurst corridor from Lawrence Avenue to Centre Street in Thornhill. The Chinese originally congregated near Elizabeth and Hagerman streets, but is now concentrated in Scarborough, Markham and Mississauga. In Toronto, less than 10% of all areas in which Chinese immigrants are concentrated are downtown; they are for the most part located in the suburbs (23).
Immigrants from India—representing a fairly new immigration trend in Toronto—are most likely to live in Brampton. According to Ryerson University urban planning professor Sandeep Agrawal, “The Greektown is not Greek; Chinatown is not Chinese. They are just ethnic business enclaves where you go, eat, play, have fun and go home” (55).

The question of advertisements and commercial signs in languages other than English and French does not seem to be an issue in Toronto, neither in the news nor among our respondents. Indeed, all three respondents, while having seen unilingual signs in multiple languages other than English, do not feel irritated by it, two respondents feeling rather “excited” by it. While the third respondent preferred seeing signs that she could understand, signs in languages other than English do not offend her, as she simply chooses not to consume in such places.

While, according to Apparicio and Séguin, there are no actual ethnic ghettos in Toronto, immigrants to Toronto are more likely than in other Canadian cities to live in areas where immigrants compose the majority of residents. Nevertheless, Toronto residents, unlike the residents of Montreal and even Vancouver, seem unconcerned with commercial signs and advertisement in languages other than English.
5. Analysis of key themes/discussion

Today, Toronto remains by far the most popular Canadian destination for immigrants, yet the numbers and proportion have dropped significantly between 2001 and 2011. Chinese and South Asian languages are widely spoken and on the rise in Toronto. Spanish and Arabic are much less spoken than in Montréal and Ottawa. As a mother tongue, Spanish is the sixth most common while Arabic does not make the top 12. As language most spoken, Spanish ranks seventh. In that sense, the linguistic landscape of Toronto resembles more that of Vancouver than of Montréal or Ottawa. Similarly to Vancouver, French is not numerically a very significant language in Toronto. One of our interview questionnaire respondents mentioned that French is often used symbolically in Toronto, so that many of the Francophone immigrants settling in Toronto cannot find information and services in that language. Conversely, another respondent believed French information and services were much more available than would require its share in the multilingual pie.

The extent to which Toronto is multilingual makes it necessary for public services to be provided in multiple languages. The manifestations of multilingualism in the city are countless, yet Language Services Toronto, a program providing 24/7 interpretation services to medical institutions, began only in 2012. Many of the public responses to society’s multilingualism seem to be rather symbolic, for example, providing low-quality Google translation on websites. All three respondents to our interview questionnaire recognized that translation technologies are not mature enough at this point and that their use can often be insensitive and even offensive. Furthermore, they recognize how important it is that translations and interpretation be done by professional translators and interpreters, for messages must take culture and context into consideration.

In conclusion, respondents believed multilingualism should be addressed in a meaningful, coordinated, targeted manner. “A plan needs to be made in order to fix priorities and set objectives.”
Appendix 1: Evolution of Toronto’s linguistic composition between 1941 and 1986

Table 1: Toronto’s linguistic composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>English (%)</th>
<th>French (%)</th>
<th>Italian (%)</th>
<th>Portuguese (%)</th>
<th>Spanish (%)</th>
<th>Ukrainian (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>788,174</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>7,189</td>
<td>11,420</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>6,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>437,648</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>13,538</td>
<td>70,234</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>435,112</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15,755</td>
<td>78,920</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2,461,855</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>15,850</td>
<td>154,350</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2,632,995</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>16,895</td>
<td>119,530</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>11,601</td>
<td>2,715</td>
<td>2,414</td>
<td>3,872</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>900,491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Var. 1941-1986 | 234% | 135% | 947% | 13,687% | 85% |

Polish % | Greek % | Chinese % | Finnish % | German % | Yiddish % | Total
---------|---------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------
11,601   | 2,715   | 2,414     | 3,084     | 3,872    | 5         | 900,491 |

19,504   | 3       | -         | -         | 28,001   | 4         | 672,407 |
16,055   | 2       | 26,010    | 17,580    | 2,285    | 0         | 712,785 |
16,010   | 1       | 35,045    | 58,675    | 2,289    | 1         | 3,105,480|
18,665   | 0       | 29,530    | 84,580    | 2        | 2         | 3,399,680|

61% | 988% | 3,404% | +278%

Sources: (17), (18), (19), (20), (38), (39)

7 Mother tongue, metropolitan areas
8 Mother tongue and specified origins in cities of 30,000 and over
9 Chinese and Japanese languages
10 Scandinavian languages
11 Home language, census metropolitan area, Toronto consolidated
12 Home language, census metropolitan area, Toronto consolidated
Appendix 2: Interview summary tables

**Table 2: Interview summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUCIDE network questions</th>
<th>Answers from Toronto informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In what sector are you working (public sector, non-profit organization, private business, other)?</td>
<td>1 public servant (City of Toronto); 1 employee of non-profit organization; 1 employee of private company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your mother tongue? Which languages do you speak or interact with in your personal or work life?</td>
<td>1 bilingual (English + a language other than French), 1 quadrilingual (including English and French); 1 trilingual (English + 2 languages other than French)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Discuss.</td>
<td>2 no 1 yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Do you think multilingualism is a sensitive issue in your city? Discuss. | 1. It is an important issue - not necessarily “sensitive.” I think most service providers are aware of and committed to multilingualism in Toronto. Furthermore, there are many ethno-specific organizations that provide services in multiple languages (appropriate for their clients) while most mainstream service providers make an effort to provide services in different languages if and when required.  

2. I think that it is embraced but not supported enough. A multilingual workforce puts us in an excellent position as a region, but it happens more by accident than design. There is no provincial funding for elementary students to retain their mother tongue.  

3. It is a very sensitive issue. Social assistance, with Ontario Works, requires people to file demands in English and so it is very difficult for people in need to have access to it. It is denying a reality that is too important to ignore.  

Access to the legal system through justice and police |

We’ve noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Vancouver. In your area of work and in your city, what are the languages that seem most numerically significant? Which ones enjoy the greatest visibility? Which have less visibility? | 1. Visibility is often determined by the nature of service area and the needs of service users. Geographic location and concentration of populations in those areas also matters—most widely spoken languages in Toronto are probably Chinese (Mandarin more popular now than Cantonese), Urdu/Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Tagalog with considerable populations speaking Somali, Arabic, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish.  

2. This is a difficult question because it depends on your historical perspective and where you are located with the region (are you asking about the city of Toronto or the Greater Toronto Region?) In terms of numbers and visibility Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese) is very visible and important numerically. This may be because of race. My experience is that Italian is very significant. South Asian describes a significant population, but language is diverse. I think Spanish is invisible in terms of numbers, but my experience is that there is a great deal of interest in learning Spanish. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>LUCIDE network questions</strong></th>
<th><strong>Answers from Toronto informants</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continued...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. French, lots of services in French. It's normal because it's one of the two official languages, but the level of demand is very low and receives lots of money, whereas lots of demand in other languages with almost no resources.

There is no organized approach for granting $ that is proportional to the needs and to the number of people needing this services. Same resource for big groups (e.g. Tamil) and small groups (e.g. Somali). A lot of resources and funds for American sign languages (because they won a big case in court, powerful lobby). It’s not just about languages but about the backgrounds of these people (socioeconomic status, do they speak English, did they come as refugees or as voluntary immigrants). For example, coming from India she was educated in English so it was less difficult for her in Toronto. Tamil speakers from Sri Lanka came as refugees and didn’t speak English.

Seems that there is more adapted services for immigrants than for refugees.

---

The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it certain challenges and choices for local government and companies. Do you agree with the way your City approaches the issue of multilingualism? Do you agree with the way private businesses and organizations approach the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with?

1. Private sector seems to be very aware of their client needs—so for instance, bank machines in Chinese-speaking areas tend to have instructions in Chinese, businesses in areas with predominantly South Asian population tend to have staff from South Asian background on the frontline. Public sector organizations like local governments have been very conscious of language accessibility, but often lack of resources limits their ability to be truly multilingual. In the past, City of Toronto published most of its materials in multiple languages. However, City of Toronto does provide access to professional multilingual service facility for divisions within the city, but at a cost.

   What often helps the City of Toronto is its frontline employee base that is fairly diverse and its ability to partner with diverse community groups in the city who do have the ability to provide linguistically specific services.

2. The ability to receive city services from 3-1-1 in 180+ languages demonstrates the city’s commitment and is an excellent practice. Other city departments that excel in this area are Toronto Public Library and Toronto Public Health.

3. City does nothing (well, MCIS does provide written translated for them but they could do more)

Public health does well. The province does more and the federal government a little bit. Toronto Police is insensitive to multilingualism; they hire multilingual agents but do not even test their proficiency. Private businesses are sensitive to multilingualism when they see commercial benefits.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUCIDE network questions</th>
<th>Answers from Toronto informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| There seem to be two main ways of handling language barriers: either human translation/interpretation, or with language technology. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? | 1. Translation/interpretation has matured in the City of Toronto. There are professional organizations with trained staff who provide these services at a cost. For instance, court/police services can be made linguistically specific if and when required because they provide contracted professional translation/interpretation services. Many specialty legal clinics provide legal services in different languages. Also the nature of translation/interpretation has evolved from literal translation to situation specific. In the past, literal translation posed problems as it often distorted the outcome since some languages do not translate well into English or French in a literal sense. I think there is always room for improvement but we have come a long way.  
2. I am often offended by translations done with language technology. If translations aren’t done correctly they do more harm than good. Qualified translators and interpreters are vital but undervalued. I would also say that developing an expertise in this could set Toronto apart, particularly as cultural interpretation is required to ensure that translations are accurate.  
3. Technologies are not mature enough to be relied on for translation. The concept of localization—environment, social context impacts on the way messages need to be uttered. Eventually, translation and interpretation will be made collaboratively with human and technologies (machines). |

| Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or French? Please, describe. | 1. Not recently—partly because service providers have become more aware and sensitive to diverse language needs of the City. Most human service functions of the City of Toronto make an effort to provide accommodation of diverse language needs in their public engagement efforts. Although some people probably still face challenges.  
2. Certainly. It is very difficult to access services without interpretation and access to translated materials. New comers need to understand their new home and to navigate systems and services. I would add, however, that animator (real people who reach into newcomer groups to connect them with broader Canadian society) are powerful tools to ensure that there is two-way communication and the building of relationships and attachment. I have often seen resources devoted to creating translations of materials that sit on a shelf or on a website, out of view of the target audience. This is a waste. If we really want to reach people, we need to make the connection via dedicated staff.  
3. The informant personal experience is with the justice system (she’s a lawyer and worked in criminal justice before). She is particularly sensitive to the lack of multilingual services provided by the police and the justice system and to the requirements of Ontario Works. |

| Is there any one language you think would deserve a boost in visibility and in terms of the services provided in your city? | 1. I think the most underserviced and least visible languages are Aboriginal languages. Given that City of Toronto has the largest urban Aboriginal population in Canada (approximately 70,000 according to community estimates), it is a community that ought to be recognized and their diverse language needs addressed.  
2. I don’t know  
3. - |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>LUCIDE network questions</strong></th>
<th><strong>Answers from Toronto informants</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Have you encountered publicity and signs announcing exclusively in languages other than English? In what languages? How do you personally feel about it? | 1. yes - I have seen Chinese, Urdu, Hindi, Arabic, Tagalog, Punjabi, Greek signs/newspapers across Toronto. Personally I am excited to see the variety and diversity of the City on display. It adds to the City’s mystique of being a global City.  
2. Chinese, Farsi, Arabic, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, etc. I am not offended in any way by this.  
3. Yes in Chinatown and in Markham (there are multiple Chinatowns in Toronto). They do not affect her. They don’t get her business. It’s a commercial choice that she doubt is a good one. She would prefer seeing signs that she understands. |
| Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn’t really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic language use in your city? In your area of work/expertise? | 1. French is often used symbolically but French speakers - particularly immigrants from French speaking countries from across the globe – often find accessing services difficult.  
2. I work at a foundation that is very connected to immigrant communities, so I would say no. My experience of superficial, symbolic use would be by larger institutions.  
3. TTC signs in random languages (not multilingual or based on research on the most spoken language in one area), sometimes the translation is bad, tokenism (now their providing translation for TTC so it should be better). |
| Do you consider too little services are provided in your city in French? In languages other than English and French? Discuss. | 1. I think I already addressed that issue in my previous response. French services are too few but so are the numbers of French speaking communities in relation to other linguistic groups. There is probably a lack of services generally for all non-English speaking communities who are also larger in number than French speaking groups. Perhaps the most underserviced languages are the Aboriginal ones.  
2. I find this challenging. I am able to speak French but am not 100% fluent; nevertheless I’m often called upon to speak to French language media. We don’t produce materials in French, so this presents a challenge. In my work I am aware of a growing immigrant (African) francophone population and worry that they are not visible to the broader population.  
3. There are enough services in French. Way more than the language weight in the multilingual pie. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>LUCIDE network questions</strong></th>
<th><strong>Answers from Toronto informants</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Generally, do you think multilingualism is valued in your city? | 1. Very much so - though sometimes more superficially than one would like to see. We have yet to reconcile the dichotomy between „officially“ being bi-lingual but „actually“ being multicultural and by extension multilingual.  
If language is the key to cultural identity than at some point, as a country and as a city, we need to reconcile this contradiction.  
2. would say it is celebrated as a characteristic, but to be valued there would need to be strategic interventions to promote it, with resources devoted.  
3. If she didn’t work in the field, she would thing it’s not.  
Some agencies seem to value multilingualism, there seems to be a move towards multilingual services, some agencies and finally getting on the bandwagon. But others are very slow to do so—Ontario Works, Toronto district school board (they hire multilingual officers but do not test their proficiency |
| If you could change one thing in the way multilingualism is dealt with in your city, what would it be? | 1. Reconcile the contradiction mentioned in my previous response. Maybe I am being too conceptual but if multilingualism is to be addressed in a meaningful manner—in terms of normalizing it as our modus operandi—than we need to acknowledge that all languages (no matter how cumbersome in terms of number) may have to be included in our service planning (including education) although English may remain the main language.  
2. I would like to see a coordinated effort by all orders of government and the school boards to ensure that multilingualism is a social and economic asset. That would require a strategic intervention to promote it, with resources devoted.  
3. planned, targeted approach setting priorities. Language services for humanitarian motives are extremely important. Access to the justice system, ability to understand police, there are lots of vulnerable people in Toronto, we need to get them to civic engagement. A plan needs to be made in order to fix priorities and set objectives. The plan needs to be centralized, city-wide or province-wide |
## Appendix 3: Sociodemographic tables

### Table 3: Top 12 most spoken mother tongues in Canadian cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMA</th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th>Montréal</th>
<th>Vancouver</th>
<th>Ottawa-Gatineau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1 (53.8%)</td>
<td>2 (11.6%)</td>
<td>1 (56.0%)</td>
<td>1 (49.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1 (63.3%)</td>
<td>11 (1.1%)</td>
<td>2 (31.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>6 (2.2%)</td>
<td>4 (2.9%)</td>
<td>9 (1.4%)</td>
<td>4 (1.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3 (3.0%)</td>
<td>5 (2.9%)</td>
<td>6 (0.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>10 (1.9%)</td>
<td>9 (0.8%)</td>
<td>11 (1.9%)</td>
<td>9 (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese (n.o.s.)</td>
<td>4 (2.8%)</td>
<td>7 (1.0%)</td>
<td>4 (4.9%)</td>
<td>5 (1.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>2 (3.1%)</td>
<td>7 (1.0%)</td>
<td>3 (5.6%)</td>
<td>10 (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>11 (1.9%)</td>
<td>5 (3.9%)</td>
<td>7 (0.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>5 (2.8%)</td>
<td>2 (6.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>12 (1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>9 (1.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>7 (2.2%)</td>
<td>6 (2.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farsi (Persian)</td>
<td>12 (1.5%)</td>
<td>8 (1.5%)</td>
<td>11 (0.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>12 (0.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>3 (3.4%)</td>
<td>3 (2.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>6 (1.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>8 (1.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>10 (0.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>11 (0.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>7 (1.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (0.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>10 (1.2%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (0.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>8 (2.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (30)
Table 4: Top 10 most spoken languages in Canadian cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMA</th>
<th>Toronto</th>
<th>Montréal</th>
<th>Vancouver</th>
<th>Ottawa-Gatineau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1 (87.6%)</td>
<td>2 (56.1%)</td>
<td>1 (86.7%)</td>
<td>1 (82.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2 (7.6%)</td>
<td>1 (86.3%)</td>
<td>2 (7.2%)</td>
<td>2 (48.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>7 (3.1%)</td>
<td>3 (5.5%)</td>
<td>9 (2.5%)</td>
<td>3 (3.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3 (4.7%)</td>
<td>4 (4.7%)</td>
<td>5 (1.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>9 (1.0%)</td>
<td>8 (0.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese (n.o.s.)</td>
<td>5 (3.2%)</td>
<td>8 (1.2%)</td>
<td>5 (5.3%)</td>
<td>7 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantonese</td>
<td>4 (3.6%)</td>
<td>3 (6.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>11 (1.9%)</td>
<td>6 (5.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>6 (3.1%)</td>
<td>4 (6.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>8 (2.7%)</td>
<td>8 (2.7%)</td>
<td>12 (0.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>10 (2.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td>9 (2.5%)</td>
<td>7 (2.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farsi (Persian)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Russian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (1.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>5 (3.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (3.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7 (1.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>12 (0.7%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>11 (0.8%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11 (1.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 (0.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>10 (0.8%)</td>
<td>10 (2.0%)</td>
<td>6 (1.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>12 (1.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (30)

Table 5: Permanent residents immigrating to Canada: Top CMA destinations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CMA</th>
<th>2001 Newcomers</th>
<th>% Total Newcomers</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>% Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>125,175</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>92,184</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montréal</td>
<td>32,714</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>46,460</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>34,331</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>37,366</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>10,183</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>16,103</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>3,755</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>12,342</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>4,583</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>11,006</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa-Gatineau</td>
<td>8,484</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>7,127</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>250,639</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>280,681</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (21), 2011, p. 6.
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Template A: Data on/about multilingualism


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By Lorna Carson, Sarah McMonagle, Deirdre Murphy