Multilingualism in Montréal
LUCIDE city report

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Abstract

This report explores the social and institutional realities of multilingualism in the city of Montréal, Quebec, 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 Montréal and identify sensitive issues and potential best practices.

1. Introduction

Montréal is the economic and cultural centre of Quebec, the only officially Francophone province in Canada, which is officially bilingual. Montréal is the most populous Francophone city in the Americas. The population of Montréal is approximately 1.6 million, and that of Greater Montréal is 3.8 million. The linguistic landscape of Montréal has been a battleground from the city's beginnings in 1611 as a fur trading post for French merchants and Aboriginal trappers to the division of the city between rich Angophones and working class Francophones in the 19th and 20th centuries to it's the hip multilingual scene and strict signage laws of modern-day Montréal. In 2011 17 per cent of immigrants to Canada and 87 per cent of immigrants to Quebec chose to settle in Montréal (29); therefore, Montréal occupies a strategic position for multilingualism in the country.

This report paints a picture of multilingualism in Montréal 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. The report starts with a brief history of multilingualism in Montréal, a key city in both Canada and Quebec. It goes on to describe the current language situation in the city. The report then examines multilingualism in Montréal in terms of the five key spheres identified by the LUCIDE network, namely the educational sphere, the public sphere, the economic sphere, the private sphere and urban spaces. Key issues associated with multiculturalism in Montréal are identified and discussed in the conclusion.

1  Under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (51), Canada is an officially bilingual country. The Official Languages Act (62) gives French and English equal status in federal courts, Parliament and all federal institutions. The Official Languages Act provided for the creation of the Office of the Official Languages Commissioner. Canadians have the right, where there is sufficient demand, to receive federal government services in either French or English. Official language minority communities (English in Quebec, French in the rest of Canada) have constitutional guarantees for education in their mother tongue and for the governance of their schools and school boards. However, most provinces and cities are officially unilingual, with French as the official language in Quebec and English as the official language in the rest of Canada. In fact, New Brunswick is the only officially bilingual province. In the territories, Yukon has English and French as official languages, but also recognizes First Nations languages. The Northwest Territories recognizes 11 official languages (English, French and nine First Nations languages). Nunavut has three official languages (English, French and Inuktitut).

2  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.

3  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.

4  The public sphere includes local government, municipalities and councils; public services (health, transportation and tourism); the media; and publicly funded civic events and festivals.

5  The economic sphere includes large local, national and multinational corporations; the industrial and manufacturing sectors; small- and medium-sized enterprises; service providers; financial institutions.

6  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.

7  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 diversity in Montréal

Since the start of the 20th century, Montréal has been a city where at least three languages can be heard daily. In 1921, 60.7 per cent of Montréal residents reported French as their mother tongue, 27.3 per cent, English, and 6.3 per cent, Yiddish. Indeed, aside from the French and the English, the earliest waves of immigrants to Montréal were Ashkenazy Jews fleeing anti-Semitism in Russia and Eastern Europe. From 1900 to 1918 their numbers grew from 7,000 to 40,000. By 1939 their population was 60,000, out of a total population of 900,000. Most were Yiddish-speaking, and the use of that language made Montréal, for the first time, a multilingual city. The second great immigration wave came from Italy. The number of Montréal residents reporting Italian as their mother tongue grew from the 1940s on. In 2006 Italian was still the largest language group in Montréal, after French and English, but it dropped to fifth place in 2011.

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 (53). 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 (54). The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism led to the adoption of the Official Languages Act (63), under which French and English have equal status in federal courts, Parliament and all federal institutions.

In 1977, afraid that proximity with English, high levels of immigration and globalization in general were threatening French as the language of life, politics and business in Quebec, the Government of Quebec adopted the Charter of the French Language (52). The most controversial chapters have been the ones on commercial signs and the language of education. In the first version of the Charter, businesses were required to advertise in French only, and children other than those of the historic Anglophone minority in Quebec were required to receive their elementary and secondary education in French. As a result of successive decisions by the Supreme Court of Canada, these provisions were later modified, permitting signs in multiple languages as long as French remained clearly predominant and extending the right to attend English schools to children whose parents or siblings were educated in English anywhere in Canada.

At the municipal level, Andrew Sancton ((37), 2004) points out that, along with English school boards, municipalities with an Anglophone majority have been the institutional cornerstone of the English community in Quebec. The Charter of the French Language grants municipalities with an Anglophone majority the right to have a bilingual administration. As a result of massive municipal mergers in 2002, the Anglophone community lost this crucial institutional instrument of representation. Furthermore, the new merged city of Montréal was well below the 50 per cent threshold that would allow it to have a bilingual administration, so that Anglophone residents of Montréal lost the right to receive services in their own language. Later, the merging process was partially reversed and most of the bilingual cities in the Montréal region were recreated; however, the second article of the city’s new charter affirms that Montréal remains a Francophone city.

It is in the context above that multilingualism in Montréal must be assessed.
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 (17). Close to 250,000 immigrants arrive each year, settling mostly in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, but increasingly in Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg (18). As of 2007, nearly one in five Canadians (19.8 per cent) was foreign-born (50). Nearly 60 per cent of new immigrants come from Asia, mostly from China, the Philippines and India (20). The 2011 census indicates that English and French are the first language of 57.8 per cent and 21.7 per cent 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 (50).

Statistics Canada's numbers make it possible to create an interesting linguistic profile of the main metropolitan areas in Canada, including Montréal. These profiles are included in tables 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix 3 and summarized below.8

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.

Today's Montréal, even though it is an officially unilingual city in an officially unilingual province in an officially bilingual country, is highly multilingual. This can be observed through signs, advertising and ethnic publications in neighbourhoods such as Chinatown, “la petite Italie,” Parc-Extension and Côte-des-Neiges, where many newcomers first settle.

According to the 2011 census, the total population of the Montréal census metropolitan area (CMA) was 3,785,915 (38). Of this population, 64.5 per cent reported that their mother tongue was French, 12.5 per cent, English and 23.0 per cent, other. Arabic and Italian rank fourth and fifth. Of all Montréal’s residents, 86.3 per cent reported the ability to speak French, 56.1 per cent, English, 5.5 per cent, Spanish and 3.8 per cent, Arabic. There were 2,039,035 persons who were bilingual in the two official languages (French and English). These official bilinguals were composed of 51.3 per cent of the French mother tongue population, 70.2 per cent of the English mother tongue population and 52.1 per cent of the other mother tongue population. In Montréal, 0.3 per cent of the population is fluent in three languages, including Canada’s two official languages. In 2006, 0.5 per cent of Montréal residents reported being of Aboriginal ancestry ([23], 2011, 18). Jill Murphy also points out that, in 2006, 35.0 per cent of all refugees accepted to Canada settled in Montréal.

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8 Tables 1 and 2 outline the linguistic landscape of 4 of the main Canadian cities, using the categories of mother tongue and languages spoken. Table 4 outlines the main immigrant destinations in Canada and points at potential new trends.
4. The LUCIDE Network

4.1. Multilingualism and plurilingualism 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. In addition, adult French education programs are funded in Quebec exclusively by the provincial government.

Historically, the school system in Quebec has been divided between a protestant English school board and a Catholic French school board. For the most part of the 20th century, in response to official and unofficial exclusion from the French Catholic school system, immigrants have tended to enrol in the English Protestant school system. For example, in 1903 the National Assembly enacted a law prohibiting Jewish children from attending Francophone Catholic schools. This changed progressively as schools – and many other aspects of the society and the state – were secularized and as immigration became viewed as an asset rather than a threat. With steadily increasing immigration levels, the objective of maintaining French as the language of life, politics and business in Quebec required “francizing” immigrants through language training and primary and secondary schooling. French education for all children was, as described above, a major feature of the Charter of the French Language adopted in 1977. Many changes have since been made to the Charter, often as a result of Supreme Court decisions under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.9

Five school boards are in operation in Montréal, three French and two English. In the schools of the Conseil scolaire de Montréal (CSDM) (16, 2007) in 2006, 38 per cent of the 110,000 students had a mother tongue other than French, English or an Aboriginal language and 23 per cent were born outside Quebec, in one of 193 different countries. Overall, students spoke 151 languages and only 50 per cent of them had French as their mother tongue (16, 2007). The English Montréal School Board has more than 39,000 students in its schools across the Island of Montréal. In addition, 14 per cent of the 14,000 employees of the CSDM self-identified as part of an ethnic or visible minority. The CSDM’s website is in French only, with no practical information in other languages.

In Quebec, English language classes start in the first grade of primary school. Learning a third language is often offered as an option in secondary schools (ages 12 to 17), and the language offered most often is Spanish. 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 (5, 2005). Offering language classes can also broaden majority language children’s linguistic horizons. Various programs are in place in CSDM schools, including the Programme d’enseignement des langues d’origine (PELO), which involves teaching children their mother tongue along with French at school. In place since 1978, PELO helps immigrant students and other interested students maintain and improve their skills in the language of their parents. In the last 20 years an average of approximately 6,500 students have benefited each year from this program, mostly in Montréal’s elementary schools (30, 2009, 53).

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 per cent 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” (38, 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” (14, 2008). For Guévermont and Kohen, teaching Aboriginal languages and culture could improve the outcomes of Aboriginal students (25, 2012). Patrick and Tomiak similarly assess the need for developing vehicles for language regeneration (33, 2008). Of the 8,445 individuals who reported an Aboriginal identity in Montréal in 2006, only 4 per cent spoke an Aboriginal language (41). It is unclear whether Aboriginal language classes are available for children in Montréal.

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9 As a reminder that the debate is still alive and well, it was widely reported in the past years that some newcomers in Quebec sent their eldest child to private, non-subsidized English schools for a few months or years as a mean to circumvent the legislation and have that child and their sibling gaining access to the publicly funded English system. Attempts by the Quebec government to close this loophole were struck down by the Supreme Court of Canada in 2009.
Furthermore, linguistic awareness activities are in place in some schools, both to awaken unilingual students to the importance of learning languages and to value this knowledge for allophone students (18, 2007). Note that the CSDM website is in French only, with multilingual information seemingly absent.

Not surprisingly, programs to teach French to adult immigrants are numerous in Quebec. Although only 9.3 per cent 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 (41, 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 per cent of the cases. It also found that “employment rates for individuals with poor or weak literacy range from 57 per cent to 70 per cent as compared to 76 per cent for the desired level of literacy” (41, 2009, 11). This means that language and literacy training beyond conversational skills is needed. The Quebec Ministère de l’Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) provides three intensive full-time classes (beginner, intermediate 1 and intermediate 2) to newcomers who do not speak enough French to interact and work in French. Subsidies and financial aid are available. The MICC provides these intensive classes through many partners, including general and vocational colleges (CEGEPs), universities, school boards and community groups. Part-time French classes are also available through many partner organizations. As well, CEGEPs and universities offer specialized French classes to targeted audiences such as health care, engineering or administrative workers. Carrefour Francisation promotes French-speaking workplaces through a trilingual website outlining a variety of available resources, including on-site French classes. Finally, many immigrant community organizations offer French classes. Among them, the Shield of Athena, Accueil aux immigrants de l’Est de Montréal and Service à la famille chinoise du Grand Montréal offer free French classes. Many private language classes also operate in Montréal, such as Centre international de langues de Montréal and École de langues LPS.

Given Canada’s official bilingualism, one might wonder whether English classes should also be made available to immigrants to increase their employability. One respondent to our interview-questionnaire noted the difficulties of many African immigrants who did not need subsidized French classes, but were disappointed not to be provided with subsidized English training that could help them achieve the fluency in English that is often required to obtain good employment in Montréal. Another respondent mentioned a certain demand for English classes, but acknowledged that learning French should be a higher priority for immigrants arriving in Montréal.

Other places in which multilingualism is very audible in Montréal are the city’s four major universities: Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), Université de Montréal, Concordia University and McGill University. UQAM is a French-language institution and its website is mainly in French, with the main information readily available in English, Spanish and Portuguese (89). Université de Montréal is also a French-language institution and its website is in French only, with extensive information available in English (88). Linguistic support has been set up to help non-Francophones learn French and perform better in French. Concordia and McGill universities are English-language institutions, but have fully bilingual French and English websites (70) (76).

In conclusion, it seems that French language education and training is central to Montréal’s ability to integrate immigrants while maintaining French as the language of life, politics and business. Immigrants come to Montréal, some without proficiency in French; however, their children are required by law to attend French primary and secondary schools. The fact that school board websites are in French only and do not offer practical information in other languages is surprising given that situation. Considering the long history of immigrants integrating into the English community, the fear that immigrants would choose not to learn French is understandable. However, bridges must be built in a way that makes learning French possible, desirable and rewarding.
4.2. Multilingualism and plurilingualism 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 already mentioned above, the jurisdiction of municipalities in Canada, with the partial exception of Ontario, is relatively narrow and most social issues affecting cities are, at least officially, dealt with at the provincial level. Although Montréal is a unilingual Francophone city, the social and demographic reality is that Montréal is a very multilingual city and services must sometimes be provided in languages other than French. It is interesting to note that the City of Montréal website is in French with only few portions translated into English. At the same time, the city supports ethnocultural diversity in a number of ways. It supports activities and celebrations specifically for allophone groups. For example, it provides logistic and financial support for the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March) and the city council has repeatedly proclaimed its position against discrimination and for cultural diversity and inclusion. It has entered into partnerships with the MICC aimed at women and young adults aged 18 to 30. Montréal is divided into sub-municipal units that vary in terms of wealth and diversity. Using relevant statistical data, it has targeted specific areas in need of specific services. For example, following the earthquake in Haiti, numerous Haitians were admitted as immigrants and homes were found in specific areas where customized services facilitating their integration were provided.

The City also operates the Intercultural Council of Montréal, which reports directly to the city council and to its executive. It is a means by which community members are invited to participate in the political life of Montréal. It also offers the City's public servants intercultural training designed to make them aware of cultural differences and increase their ability to deal with cultural diversity. Although the ombudsman's office provides services only in French and English, its website provides information in 14 languages. In 2006 the City adopted the Charter of Rights and Responsibilities, in which discrimination on the grounds of language is prohibited. The Charter is available in multiple languages.

One respondent to our interview-questionnaire stressed a number of times that, while providing information and services in English in some circumstances was a responsibility of the City of Montréal, no similar responsibility exists for information and services in other languages. For her, immigrants have the responsibility either to attain a level of proficiency in French that enables them to interact with the City, or to find someone to help them with these interactions. Another respondent mentioned that multilingual demands were mostly fulfilled through an internal pool of multilingual staff that could intervene as needed.

The Montréal public library and the Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec (BANQ), located in downtown Montréal, also hold impressive collections of books in languages other than French and English. They provide various tools for Francophones to learn other languages and for allophones to learn French. In collaboration with TD Bank, the BANQ organizes story times in different languages (for example, Mandarin, Arabic and Spanish). These events specifically target new immigrant families, providing storytelling in the children’s native language, while parents attend a meeting in French about the host society and culture.

Figure 1: Montréal’s Charter of Rights and Responsibilities (Chinese translation)
Source: (78)
Located in the major cosmopolitan centre of Quebec, health organizations in Montréal must also provide Anglophones and allophones with health services. By law, these services must be available in English. Although the Act respecting health services and social services suggests providing services in other languages as well, there is a clear distinction between the right to be served in French and English and the privilege, in specific situations, to be served in the language in which one is most comfortable. The way this is implemented depends on the linguistic environment in which the services are being provided, and on individual cases:

People who do not have a sufficient command of French or English to effectively interact with a health-care worker must contact their CSSS to obtain the services of an interpreter. If the CSSS considers the request admissible, it calls in the Interregional Interpreters Bank to request the services of one of the Bank’s interpreters, who work in over 55 languages... The costs are entirely borne by the CSSS. Under no circumstances should an Allophone have to pay for the interpretation services (45).

In specific cases where not reaching an allophone audience may have serious life-threatening consequences, health organizations do produce multilingual material. Figure 3 (above) is an example.

There are 20 hospitals in Montréal. Most of the French-language ones (for example Saint-Luc, Sacré-Cœur and Jean-Talon) have websites in French only, while English-language hospitals (Jewish and Royal Victoria) are bilingual in French and English. No information is readily available in other languages.

The Société de transport de Montréal (STM) is the public transit system in the city. Its website is available in French and English, with no mention of special services in other languages (72). While 20.1 per cent of Canadian-born residents use the STM to get to work, this number increases to 48.6 per cent in the case of newcomers (23), 2011, 18).

One respondent to our interview questionnaire stressed that, while public services such as the centres locaux de services communautaires (CLSC) and police departments do not have linguistic and cultural capacities to respond to sensitive needs (in the case discussed it is the needs of immigrant women who are victims of conjugal violence) they are quick to rely free of charge on the expertise of non-profit organizations, transferring a public burden onto private, under-resourced organizations.

Although the Montréal is officially a unilingual French city, multilingualism is a social reality that public officials cannot ignore. Montréal's Charter of Rights and Responsibilities is available in multiple languages, but most of the website is in French only, with a few sections in English. More efforts are made in the health sector to provide multilingual information.
4.3. Multilingualism and plurilingualism 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 Montréal.

Economic integration is one cornerstone of overall immigrant integration. The City’s website recognizes the precarious situation of immigrant communities: the unemployment rate for immigrants is twice that of native-born residents, the situation of North Africans, Black communities and visible minority women is even worse. The higher level of education that many immigrants have does not seem to affect unemployment levels or wages, resulting in a significant loss of highly educated workers (13), 2010). This issue is handled by a variety of organizations helping immigrants to enter the workforce. Clef pour l’intégration au travail des immigrants (CITIM) is an organization specifically targeting Francophones (52). Accueil pour immigrants et réfugiés du Sud-Ouest and Accueil pour immigrants et réfugiés du Sud-Ouest (Centre Prisme) provides a set of services including French classes, job search support and daycare (43). Another organization, L’Hirondelle, is a non-profit organization working in collaboration with public, private and community partners to promote the socio-economic integration of immigrants through employment support, counselling, etc. (63). The websites of these three organizations are in French only, which seems odd, especially when it comes to recruiting students for French language courses. The Alliance pour l’accueil et l’intégration des immigrants et immigrantes (ALAC) appears to be the benchmark in Montréal for multilingual employment support. Founded in 1983, this organization is dedicated to immigrant integration, primarily through language courses, employment support and social intervention. The website is available in more than 40 languages, with some sections (probably in the process of being translated) linking to Google Translate (46).

The issue of the main language of work is also of great interest in Montréal. Indeed, many studies highlight the fact that the language in which immigrants work has an impact on the official language they ultimately adopt at home (6), 2008, 2). In Montréal, 69 per cent of small- to medium-enterprises (SMEs) have French as their main language of work, compared to 86 per cent in the rest of Quebec; 71 per cent of employees in the city know French, versus 76 per cent in the province, and 59 per cent of SMEs in Montréal have commercial signs in French only, compared to 85 per cent in the rest of Quebec. In terms of hiring, 40 per cent of employers require English, compared to 20 per cent in the rest of Quebec (9), 2008).

Businesses can take advantage of various programs. The Office de la langue française du Québec provides various tools for businesses in the process of “francizing” their operations. Languedetravail.com is a website built by Quebec’s main unions that provides a sectoral dictionary that helps businesses translate technical terms in aeronautics and high technology into French. They also provide Francophone workers with information about their language rights in the workplace (61).

One respondent to our interview questionnaire mentioned that businesses are quick to embrace multilingualism when they perceive a business opportunity. The respondent added that Montréal residents should value multilingualism and not fear it, for it could easily become an economic advantage on a global scale.

Economic integration is crucial in overall immigrant integration into Montréal and Quebec society. This importance is reflected in the number of organizations wholly or partially dedicated to employment counselling and support. As most of these organizations advertise in French only, the question remains about how information on their services reaches immigrants with limited proficiency in French, potentially those most in need of the services. Do the organizations post flyers in the gathering places of their target audience? Do they receive referrals from other public and private agents? Do they have their own outreach staff attending community events?

4.4. Multilingualism and plurilingualism 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.
Multilingualism is particularly present in Montréal’s cultural scene. An example is the growing bilingual and multilingual theatre scene and leading cultural figures such as Socalled, who performed in a trilingual show (Yiddish, French and English) in June 2013 at the Segal Centre for Performing Arts. The Segal Centre for Performing Arts includes in its community calendar a Yiddish theatre series and many events inspired by the Yiddish culture and language, which were prominent in Montréal until the 1960s. Some of the events are trilingual (71).

There are also a great number of cultural and ethnic festivals each year in Montréal. Les Week-ends du monde advertises the major events. The Italian Week and the Peruvian Festival of Montréal are just two examples of multicultural and multilingual events (47) (59). Each summer since 1972, the Peruvian Festival of Montréal has attracted up to 10,000 visitors, with dance and vocal performances, food and many other activities. Political representatives from all three levels of government deliver speeches at this event.

There also are numerous media outlets that are multilingual or that provide services in languages other than French and English. For example, Radio Centreville broadcasts in eight languages, namely English, French, Spanish, Greek, Portuguese, Creole, Mandarin and Cantonese. Established in 1975, Radio Centreville is inspired by Montréal’s cultural mosaic and strives to represent this cultural diversity (68). Also, in Montréal alone, Ethnique Media publishes 68 different newspapers in dozens of different languages. The company’s goal is to enable ethnic communities to stay informed and connected, and provide templates for ethnic businesses to advertise in their target markets (60).

Many researchers have stressed the importance of first- and second-generation immigrants’ choice of French or English as the main official language spoken at home. The extent to which integration is successful is partly assessed in Quebec by the extent to which French becomes the home language. One allegedly important factor is the language or country of origin. Coming from a Romance language country seems to facilitate the transfer to French at home. For other languages, there has been little change in recent decades in the transfer to French at home, which happens in approximately 13 per cent of the cases (6), 2008. Note that there are heated debates about the importance of the “mother tongue factor” in explaining linguistic transfer. Other dynamics are also at play. Neighbourhoods also have an effect on whether English or French is adopted as the home language (11), 2011. Although Quebec language laws promote French education among newcomers, the attractiveness of learning and adopting French stems naturally from its increasing economic importance in the workplace (40), 2011; (32), 2010. The decision to switch to French at home may also be related to perceptions that are unique to newcomers settling in Montréal. Not having been part of the French-English debate, they see Canada as a bilingual country. Depending on the neighbourhood, there may be more or less pressure to integrate into the French community, be it for economic or social reasons. English may be seen as a lingua franca, easier to access than French.

There are also a number of community groups in Montréal that provide support to immigrants and individuals with specific linguistic needs. Many organizations already discussed in the sections on education and economic life (for example, L’Hirondelle) offer services that would also be associated with the private sphere (63). A selection of community organizations contributing to immigrants’ wellness in their private lives is discussed below.

First, the non-governmental organization (NGO) Shield of Athena offers emergency shelter and professional services to women and children who are victims of domestic violence. In operation for almost 25 years, its support, intervention and prevention services are culturally and linguistically adapted to meet the needs of 17 linguistic groups in Montréal. Although it promotes its services through the ethnic media and an extensive community outreach team, 60 per cent of the women it assists are direct referrals from public institutions, such as hospitals, the police
Since 2004 it has operated a multilingual shelter for victims of domestic violence. Its website is in ten different languages and its educational material is available in over 15 languages. Carrefour de Liaison et d’Aide Multiethnique (CLAM) is a non-profit organization founded in 1981 that helps immigrants settle and integrate into the various spheres of life in Montréal and Quebec culture. CLAM closely monitors changes to public policies on immigration and is committed to adapting its services to the ever-changing demands of its target audience. The CLAM website is in French only. Again, this suggests that information is disseminated to linguistic minorities in Montréal primarily through partnering organizations, ethnic media and flyers in key community centres. The Comité d’action de Parc Extension distributes flyers in key places of the borough to promote its multilingual services regarding tenant rights.

One respondent to our interview questionnaire mentioned that multilingual non-profit organizations are very rare in Montréal, if not totally absent. He personally has never encountered one.

The question of multilingualism in the private sphere is also framed differently in Montréal than in other Canadian cities, because there is considerable fear that English will become the language of life in the city. Some studies have suggested that people with certain mother tongues would learn and adopt French more naturally than others. The question of how multilingual French websites could reach allophones wishing and needing to improve their French and access employment counselling is worth raising. One respondent working in a non-profit organization whose website is multilingual told us that the majority of their advertising was done through ethnic media and outreach staff at community events. Despite the fear that French will become endangered, multilingualism is well and thriving in Montréal’s arts and culture.

4.5. Multilingualism and plurilingualism 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.

The neighbourhood in which one lives affects many aspects of life, including the language in which day-to-day encounters occur. Indeed, denser allophone communities tend to slow down the adoption of either French or English at home (11), (11). Philippe Apparicio and Anne-Marie Séguin, from INRS Urbanisation, culture et société, write that immigrants are less isolated in Montréal than they are in Toronto and Vancouver. On average, immigrants lived in areas where 31 per cent of residents were immigrants, compared to averages of 50 per cent and 42.5 per cent for Toronto and Vancouver, respectively (4), (2008), (6). Montréal nonetheless enjoys neighbourhoods that are unmistakably associated with defined communities. Jewish, Italian and Chinese areas are not only privately but also...
publicly supported to show their ethnocultural characteristics. Cultural groups nowadays tend to relocate from inner city areas to the outskirts of the city and even to the suburbs ([40], 2004). A large portion of the Chinese community left the downtown area where Chinatown is located and settled in the South Shore city of Brossard.

In one area of town where the Portuguese community has been established for decades, the City has set up sidewalk benches decorated with ceramic tiles from Quebec artists of Portuguese origin, inscribed with quotations from Portuguese authors, along with a French translations.

Saint-Laurent Street, formerly called La Main and symbolically dividing French-speaking Montréal (east) and English-speaking Montréal (west) has been a cultural meeting point for decades, with most of the “ethnic” and linguistic communities crossing it. Walking northeast on Saint-Laurent from the Portuguese area brings one to the Mile-End, an area where the Jewish community is still concentrated, with other cultural groups living there as well. The Ukrainian National Federation has its centre in that area.

One of the most diverse, multilingual areas in Montréal is Parc-Extension. In that area, 78 per cent of the residents have a mother tongue other than English or French (31.7 per cent in the whole city). The density and the size of families in Parc-Ex are much higher than in the rest of the city (14).
One respondent mentioned the importance of the Maghreb community, with many stores, coffee shops and restaurants in the Saint-Michel area. Another respondent noticed the increasing presence and visibility of Spanish speakers in the Rosemont-Petite-Patrie area.

In principle and to a large extent, commercial signs are subject to the Charter of the French Language. In its original form, it required commercial signs to be in French only. As a result of many changes, some resulting from litigation, the law now requires that the French part of the sign, when a sign is bilingual, be predominant. Pierre Bouchard (10, 2012) reports that, in 2010, French is clearly predominant in 85.2 per cent of the business surveyed, not predominant in 7.4 per cent and absent in 7.4 per cent. Businesses in malls and in the western part of the city tend to conform less than those in the eastern and northern parts. A very small percentage (6 per cent) advertises in a language other than French or English. One respondent to our interview questionnaire talked about the discourse of “linguistic endangerment” that positions English and other languages as “threats” to the future of French in Montréal. To her, the presence in downtown Montréal of two Anglophone universities, both of which have international and Canadian students whose level of proficiency in French is low, amplifies the impression that English is gaining and that

Anglophones in Montréal still are not learning French. To her, hearing English in areas considered Francophone is much more upsetting to Francophones than hearing Spanish, for example. Another respondent said that, while he thinks the commercial signs rule is well understood and respected, the presence of dépanneurs (convenience stores) offering no services in French is more frequent.

In this section, we have seen that, while many areas are associated with one or many cultural groups, there are no actual “ethnic ghettos” in Montréal. “Ethnic” and linguistic concentration is substantially less in Montréal than it is in Vancouver and Toronto. In terms of commercial signs, the predominance of French is imposed through Bill 101, which for the most part successfully ensures a French linguistic landscape in the city. However, the feeling of linguistic endangerment persists with all respondents who believe the issue of commercial signs in Montréal is a sensitive one.
5. Analysis of key themes/discussion

A few key aspects stand out from our review of multilingualism in Montréal. It is important to note that the immigration pattern in Montréal is quite different from that of Vancouver and Toronto, where South Asian languages are the most commonly spoken languages after English and French. In Montréal, the third most popular mother tongue is Arabic, followed by Spanish. As for the category of most commonly spoken language, Spanish comes third, after French and English. This is due to the fluency in this language of many Francophones and Anglophones. We also noticed that some languages were more visible than others in Montréal. Italian and Portuguese are very visible and valued, while languages like Arabic and Creoles, which are numerically very present, may be slightly overlooked. This raises the question of the length of time it takes cities to adapt to new patterns of immigration, as the Italian and Portuguese communities in Montréal are much older, and the Arab-speaking and Creole populations are more recent.

What really stands out from our analysis is that issues relating to language are very sensitive in Montréal. The reasons are historical and political, such as (1) the continuous decrease of Quebec’s demographic weight in the Canadian whole; (2) the tendency of immigrants to develop loyalty to Canada and Canadian culture rather than Quebec and Québécois culture ([7]; 2010); (3) the failure of the referendum on sovereignty; and (4) the history of linguistic and economic domination of Francophones. Of the four cities studied, Montréal is the one where the second most spoken language is the strongest, where the most spoken language is the most challenged by the other official language. The Québécois’ reactions to reasonable accommodations, potentially relating to linguistic reasonable accommodation, towards ethno-cultural groups can be traced, according to Gerard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, who co-chaired a public commission on the topic, to religious and linguistic domination suffered in the past. This conclusion is echoed by Bourhis ([13], 2010) in his study of differential incomes of immigrants and French Québécois:

Results suggest that Québécois Francophones remain imbued more with the psychology of a besieged minority than a dominant majority feeling responsible for its vulnerable minorities ([13], 2010, 72).

On this theme, one respondent clearly related the discourse of linguistic endangerment with what she calls “ethno-nationalism.” Three respondents out of six thought the “fear” of English was reconfigured in Montréal into fear of multilingualism. Uncertain, two more respondents hoped this was not the case. This led one respondent to ask a very difficult question: Is Montréal the home of all Montréalers or only French-speaking residents?

On this ambiguous relationship between Montréal and its intrinsic multilingualism, author Sherry Simon ([40], 2006) writes about literary pieces involving the linguistic spaces of Montréal. In contrast with Paris, Toronto and New York, Montréal has always been linguistically ambiguous, with the two official languages competing for demographic and symbolic superiority. The author writes, “Montréal est animé à la fois par une sensibilité polyglotte et par son corollaire incontournable, une conscience de sa fragilité linguistique” ([40], 2006, 53).10

This being said, Montréal is a very multicultural and multilingual city. While officially unilingual, it is the responsibility, as established through laws and by-laws, of public authorities to provide some information and services in English. As for accessing information and services in other languages, it is not a “right”, as one of our respondent said with much emphasis. This question of rights vs. privileges and responsibilities is very important in the Montréal language debate. The respondent just referred to stressed that it was the immigrants’ responsibility to attain a level of proficiency in French that enabled them to interact effectively with public institutions. Yet, some multilingual reaching out may be necessary to attain the “francization” objective. The proportion of websites exclusively available in French shed some light on the level of information available to some of the most vulnerable immigrants in Montréal.

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10 Our translation: Montréal is animated both with a multilingual sensibility and its necessary corollary, the acknowledgment of its own linguistic uncertainty.
### Appendix 1: Interview summary tables

**Table 1: Interview summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUCIDE network questions</th>
<th>Answers from Montréal informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In what sector are you working (public sector, non-profit organization, private business, other)?</td>
<td>1. Independent officer within the city; 1 Non-profit (entrepreneurship support); 1 professeur d’Université; 2 non-profit;</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>2. Quadrilingual (official languages + 2); 2 bilingual (2 official languages); 1 bilingual (French + a language other than English).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Discuss.</td>
<td>4. Yes; 1. No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you think multilingualism is a sensitive issue in your city? Discuss.</td>
<td>1. C’est certainement un sujet délicat. En raison du contexte historique, je ne perçois pas l’Anglais de la même manière que les autres langues étrangères au Français et je crois que les informations doivent être disponibles anglais, au besoin et sur demande, lorsqu’un anglophone ne parlant pas français risque d’être affecté par une décision ou une demande de l’autorité gouvernementale. Pour les autres langues, toutefois, je ne crois pas que l’administration publique doive assumer tout le fardeau de cette situation. À mon avis, un minimum d’information peut être offert au public, dans différentes langues, mais il faut responsabiliser les citoyens pour qu’ils trouvent eux-mêmes un interlocuteur qui puisse faire le lien avec l’administration, en français ou si requis, en anglais.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Montréal est une métropole importante. Nous travaillons très fort à la positionner sur l’échelle mondiale. S’ouvrir sur le monde, c’est un acte de partage. Parler anglais, c’est se donner une chance de pouvoir s’ouvrir au monde. Parler le français c’est respecter nos valeurs et nos différences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Oh my, ma recherche porte sur les enjeux sous-jacents aux choix linguistiques à Montréal. Plus spécifiquement, je fais de la recherche sur les multilingues et leurs pratiques linguistiques et comment ils perçoivent ces enjeux. Montréal has often been described as the battleground on which the future of French will be won or lost – this gets played out daily in encounters and the linguistic choices made in these encounters. I am also very interested in how the political and everyday discourse of language endangerment in Quebec positions bilingualism and multilingualism (and hence, bilinguals and multilinguals) as threats to the future of French. I think the recent film “la langue à terre” is an excellent example of this discourse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>La réponse simple à votre question est donc OUI, le multilinguisme est un sujet politique et sensible, vu les enjeux politiques de l’ethnonationalisme et les discours qui accompagnent l’ethnonationalisme. This discourse is very pervasive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Oui c’est délicat à Montréal. Le fait que Montréal soit le moteur économique pour le Québec et que la langue anglaise devient plus importante, on sent une fébrilité des personnes qui militent pour cette identité purement francophone. En fait, c’est une problématique historique de voir les français vs les anglais...et ajoutez à cela les nouveaux arrivants. Donc, on sent que le peuple québécois est «frileux» puisque le français perd du terrain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Yes. Montréal is multilingual; English was very important for a long time. It’s even difficult to get services in English sometimes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Selon vous, la peur devant la menace de l'anglais est-elle reconfigurée à Montréal en crainte devant toutes les langues ?

1. Je ne suis pas certaine de comprendre cette question. Tel que soumis, je considère que l’anglais a un statut particulier à Montréal, en raison du contexte historique. Je ne crois pas que l’administration soit tenue de faire les mêmes efforts de communications dans les autres langues que l’anglais.

2. J’espère que non!

3. Oui, et je le vois au quotidien dans mon milieu de travail. La formation des futurs enseignants au primaire et préscolaire. Même les plus ouverts à la diversité ethnoculturelle, on un «kneejerk reaction» when it comes to linguistic diversity. Most are afraid to make any room for the recognition of children's linguistic repertoires in their classrooms.

4. Oui la peur est présente. De plus, si les nouveaux arrivants sont plus enclins de parler anglais, alors la crainte pourrait s’amplifier.

5. Don’t know. Hopes not.

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 important? Which ones enjoy the greatest visibility? Which have less visibility?

1. Statistiques Canada a des données sur le sujet. Nous avons d’ailleurs utilisé ces informations pour offrir un minimum d’information en 14 langues, sur notre site Web. Les plaignants de langue maternelle autre que le Français ou l’Anglais qui font le plus souvent appel à nos services parlent surtout l’espagnol, l’italien, le portugais, le chinois, l’arabe. Mais nous n’offrons pas de service dans ces langues. Français et Anglais seulement.


3. Please allow me to have some fun with this question. What goes unremarked in Montréal is very fluent French-English bilingualism. More specifically, anglophones are noticed when they can’t speak French or speak French with a strong accent. Bilinguals who can skate across French and English are not noticed and if they are anglophone, they are simply not on the perceptual radar of those who are convinced Anglophones don’t speak French.

The same applies to a certain degree to immigrant bilinguals. Attention goes to those who can’t speak French, to reinforce the discourse of endangerment. Those that are very fluent seem to go unnoticed. An interesting phenomenon: many students in Montréal’s two English universities are from outside of Quebec. Their presence in the downtown core seems to add to the perception that AngloQuebecers haven’t learned French. English is clearly the language that upsets the most when heard in parts of town that were considered “francophone” – le plateau.

S’anglicise as an example. Hearing Spanish in that neighborhood seems to provoke less concern.

4. Dans mon domaine le français prédomine. Cependant, nous avons une clientèle dont la langue maternelle est l’espagnol. Dans le territoire de Rosemont Petite-Patrie, l’espagnol est très présent vu la forte concentration de résidents et commerçants latino-américains dans ce quartier.

5. Multilingual services should be provided according to needs instead of numbers. They should not be available only to recent immigrants because some immigrants never had the opportunity to learn French or English and yet they might require information and services.
### LUCIDE network questions

**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?*

---

**Answers from Montréal informants**

1. D’accord avec la Ville d’offrir ses services principalement en français et d’offrir de traduire au besoin, et oralement, les informations pertinentes pour un interlocuteur anglophone. D’accord que le Ville ne traduise pas tous ses documents en Anglais. La Ville offre quelques services culturels dans d’autres langues, mais sur une base ponctuelle et ce n’est pas un droit. Cette approche m’apparaît ok.


3. Question trop grande pour une réponse rapide. Je crois que malgré les discours contre le multilinguisme et le bilinguisme rapporté dans les médias, au quotidien, les montréalais s’entendent très bien et s’accommodent en général très bien. La loi 101 elle-même fait preuve d’un grand pragmatisme linguistique.

4. À prime abord, je favorable à donner plus d’importance à la langue du Québec, qui est le français. Tout nouvel arrivant qui réside au Québec devrait avoir une «quasi-obligation» d’étudier le français. La Ville de Montréal semble se donner les atouts nécessaires pour mettre l’emphase du multilinguisme. Ce qui est à mon avis correct. Que ce soit dans les affichages, les études, le multilinguisme est une réalité à gérer et il nous faut vivre avec cela. Je crois tout de même qu’il faut toujours que la langue française doit être mise en valeur. C’est l’identité du Québec. Au sein des entreprises, il me semble que le multilinguisme est d’un importance capitale puisque cela a un impact direct sur sa compétitivité. Cependant, il est plus difficile pour un nouvel arrivant de faire face à cette thématique. Par exemple, il plus évident pour une entreprise de choisir une personne qui parle français/anglais que français/espagnol, même si l’entreprise réalise des affaires principalement au Québec. L’importance étant donné pour le français, la personne qui parlerais espagnol (et non anglais) ne pourrait être choisie.

5. Does not know.

---

### 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. La traduction technologique n’est pas au point. Une bonne traduction ne doit pas traduire des mots dans le même ordre que le français. Il faut traduire le sens de la phrase. Seul une personne très bilingue peut faire une bonne traduction.

2. Par la traduction humaine et ça nous va.

3. Je n’ai jamais fait appel aux services de traduction ou d’interprétation.

4. 80 per cent du temps c’est géré grâce à la technologie (systèmes technologiques).

5. Through cultural intermediaries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUCIDE network questions</th>
<th>Answers from Montréal informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or French? Please, describe.</td>
<td>1. Lorsqu’on responsabilise les citoyens qui réclament un service ou un droit, ils trouvent quelqu’un qui parle la langue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Connaissance limitée du français empêche des promoteurs de suivre nos formations/ateliers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Oui, encore une fois, je pourrais vous écrire un texte.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voici une petite liste d’exemples-cas: 1) des immigrants francophones d’Afrique qui réclament droit à des cours d’anglais pour pouvoir trouver du travail à Montréal (ils n’ont pas besoin des cours de francisation subventionnés), 2) des vieux dans la communauté anglophone qui sont beaucoup moins bilingues que leurs enfants et petits enfants, 3) des anglophones dans des régions éloignées (lower north shore) – ils sont très coupés des regroupements régionaux et des services francophones au niveau provincial – à leur détriment, 4) des jeunes anglophones sur le marché du travail québécois – si on ajoute à cela background défavorisé et les enjeux de «race».</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Il arrive encore que des commerçant ne peuvent s’exprimer en français, mais davantage en anglais. Cela m’est arrivé dans un dépanneur. Même si répondais en français, la personne parlait seulement en anglais. Honnêtement, j’ai quitté les lieux. Il mérite, selon moi, de faire plus d’effort pour parler en français.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Yes. All the time. Some immigrants women who are victims of domestic violence often have no information about the legal system and the police procedures. Without this information, they cannot access any resource or service.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Is there any one language you think would deserve a boost in visibility and in terms of the services provided in your city? | 1. Non.                                                                                           |
|                                                                                                                   | 2. Non.                                                                                           |
|                                                                                                                   | 3. Ce qui nous fera beaucoup de bien, une bonne discussion sur les langues et sur la reconnaissance des langues des citoyens de Montréal. Est-ce que Montréal appartient à tous ces citoyens ou surtout à ces citoyens francophones? |
|                                                                                                                   | 5. Don’t know.                                                                                   |

<p>| Have you encountered publicity and signs announcing exclusively in languages other than English? In what languages? How do you personally feel about it? | 1. Dans le quartier chinois particulièrement, il devrait y avoir plus de français. |
|                                                                                                               | 2. Non.                                                                                           |
|                                                                                                               | 3. –                                                                                              |
|                                                                                                               | 4. J’en vois pas beaucoup. Je crois que généralement les consignes sont claires quant à l’affichage. Ce qui me déplaît davantage c’est quand les gens ne font pas d’effort pour apprendre ou parler le français. |
|                                                                                                               | 5. Yes. Not bothered by it in the least. It gives character to the city.                          |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LUCIDE network questions</th>
<th>Answers from Montréal informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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?</td>
<td>1. Non.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non.</td>
<td>3. –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Non, je n’ai pas connaissance.</td>
<td>5. -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considérez-vous que trop peu de services sont disponibles à Montréal dans des langues autres que le français et l’anglais ?</td>
<td>1. Je ne crois pas que les services devraient être offerts dans d’autres langues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Non.</td>
<td>3. Je ne peux pas répondre à cette question.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. C’est même inexistant. Je n’ai jamais vu, ici à Montréal, quel service décrit en 3 langues ou plus. La seule fois serait dans un organisme (OBNL) en aide aux nouveaux arrivants.</td>
<td>5. Considering the demands for multilingual information and services by women victims of violence (most of which (60 per cent) are referred by public institutions, yes, there is a big lack of multilingual resources and services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally, do you think multilingualism is valued in your city?</td>
<td>1. Non et c’est bien ainsi – On lui fait une place dans le milieu culturel mais pour le reste, les nouveaux arrivants doivent apprendre la langue locale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Oui, question de bien se positionner face à l’immigration, au tourisme et aux perspectives de développement d’affaires.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Oui et non. Nous aimons bien décrire Montréal comme cosmopolite et multiculturel, mais que faire avec les langues qui accompagnent le cosmopolitisme et le multiculturalisme. Thank God for Sugar Sammy – if we can start to laugh at our contradictions, we might just start to get over them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. C’est valorisé mais il faut cesser de voir les autres langues comme une menace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you could change one thing in the way multilingualism is dealt with in your city, what would it be?</td>
<td>1. Aucun engagement à offrir un service dans une langue autre que le Français ou l’Anglais.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Get passed the discourse of endangerment and actually look at what has been won in Quebec over the last forty years. On se porte bien mais plusieurs demeure convaincu qu’on devrait être inquiet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. À mon avis il est important de gérer de la promotion du multilinguisme. Il faut aller graduellement avec des annonces, des lieux affichés pour mettre en valeur cette richesse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Give funding to community organization providing multilingual information and services.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix 2: Sociodemographic tables

#### Table 2: Top 12 most common mother tongues in Canadian cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1 (63.3%)</td>
<td>11 (11%)</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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3 (3.0%)</td>
<td>5 (2.9%)</td>
<td>2 (31.4%)</td>
<td>6 (0.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>10 (1.9%)</td>
<td>9 (0.8%)</td>
<td>9 (0.5%)</td>
<td>6 (0.8%)</td>
<td></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>
<td></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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>11 (1.9%)</td>
<td>5 (3.9%)</td>
<td>7 (0.6%)</td>
<td>5 (1.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>5 (2.8%)</td>
<td>2 (6.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>12 (1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>9 (1.9%)</td>
<td></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>
<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>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>12 (0.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>3 (3.4%)</td>
<td>3 (2.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>6 (1.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>8 (1.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>10 (0.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>11 (0.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>7 (1.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somali</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (0.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>10 (1.2%)</td>
<td>8 (0.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>8 (2.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (38)
Appendix 2: Sociodemographic tables (continued)

Table 3: Top 10 most spoken languages in Canadian cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</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></td>
<td></td>
<td>8 (0.7%)</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></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (6.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandarin</td>
<td>11 (1.9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (5.0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>6 (3.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (6.0%)</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></td>
<td>7 (2.8%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farsi (Persian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12 (1.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (0.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>5 (3.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (3.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creoles</td>
<td>6 (2.0%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>7 (1.3%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>12 (0.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>11 (0.8%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 (0.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<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></td>
<td>12 (1.7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (38)

Table 4: 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: (28)
Bibliography for Montréal

Template A: Data on/about multilingualism


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**Template B: Manifestation/examples of multilingualism/plurilingualism**


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By Lorna Carson, Sarah McMonagle, Deirdre Murphy